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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, last line,—for a Hechche read at Hechche

, 17, line 10 from top,—for Phankaprasavana read Phankaprasavana

„ 32, line 17 from bottom —for nI read In

, 41, line 8 from top,—for Nādlat read Nādlāi

, 48, foot note 1,—for Badāri read Badāri

Page 107, text line 17,—for Dhindhaka- read Tthindhaka

, 108 line 14 from bottom , , ,

, 120 No 10 —The dates in the Burmese inscription at Bōdh-Gayā are said to fall in January, A D 1295, and November, A D 1298 that, however, is not correct —the case is as follows —(1) The first date answers quite regularly, for the year B E 657 expired, to Friday, 16th December, A D 1295 —(2) The second date is “irregular” instead of working out for a Sunday as given in the record, for the year B E 660 expired, the given lunar day answers to Monday, 13th October, A D 1298, and for the year B E 660 current it answers to Thursday, 24th October, A D 1297 —See my paper in the *Jour R As Soc*, 1913, pp 378-84, where I have treated these two dates fully, and have shown how easily Burmese dates may be calculated by using the means provided by Sir Alfred Finnis in his *Burmese and Arakanese Calendars* (1909) and his “Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A D 638 to 1752” published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol 39 (1910), pp 289-315 —J F FLEET

, 114, text line 31,—for *ब्रह्मण्डे* read *ब्रह्मण्डे*

172, below Table XIII,—for 177 read 171

„ 185, line 36 from top,—cancel the words “who was the King’s commander in-chief”

236 line 3 from bottom,—for Kongunivarman read Kongonivarman.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XI.

No 1—AN INSCRIPTION AT DEVAGERI

By J F FLEET, ICS (RETD), PH D, CIE

This inscription has been mentioned by me in vol 5 above, p. 172 and I have given a brief statement of the purport of it under No 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind Ant*, vol. 30 (1901), p 217 I publish it now for the first time, and give a facsimile of it from an ink-impression made for me by Mr Kalyan Sitaram Chitre in 1890, when (if my memory is correct) he was Māmlatdār of the Sampgaum tāluka of the Belgaum District

The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No 85, at Dēvagēri, a village about six miles west-by-south from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar District The Indian Atlas sheet No 42 (1827) shews the place as 'Dewgeeree' The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deogeres' The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) presents its name as 'Deogiri'. And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the Bombay Gazetteer treats it as 'Devgeri' (p 665). In connexion with some early Kadamba copperplate records which were obtained at this village, I originally gave its name as 'Dēvagiri',¹ in accordance with those spellings Subsequently I was given to understand that the cultivators call it 'Dēvagere', and that this should be taken as its real name and I have sometimes used this form² Since then, however, I have ascertained that a record of A D 1075 in the temple of Basavanna at the village itself distinctly gives its name as Dēvamgēri, as also does a record of the period A D 1210-47 at the temple of Mārtandadēva at a neighbouring village, Kōlūr also, that the impression of a record of A D 1121 in the temple of Basavanna, while leaving it doubtful whether the original does or does not present the *anusāra* again distinctly gives the second component of the name as *gēri*, and thus yields either Dēvamgēri or Dēvagēri Further, Mr K S Chitre, while writing the name on the impressions sent by him to me as 'Dēvagiri' in English characters, according to the official spelling, wrote it as 'Dēvagēri', in the same place, in the Mōdi or current Marāṭhī characters I therefore entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call the village is, not 'Dēvagere' (as reported to me), but Dēvagēri, and that this

¹ *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 33 and I have used the form 'Dēogiri' in vol 5 above, p 172

² For instance, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol 1, part 2, p 285 ff

is the form of the name that should be used¹ At the same time, in justification to a certain extent of the official form of the name, I may state that a record of A D 1674 on a pillar in the same temple of Basavanna does distinctly present the name as Dēvagiri, and thus carries back the corrupt form for an appreciable time The inscription now published does not mention the name Dēvamgēri in any form, but speaks only of a village called Palarūr This name seems to be another form, by transposition,² of the name which we have as Paralūr (*Ind Ant*, vol 11, p 70) in the inscription of the time of Kirtivarman II (A D 746-47 and 757) at Ādūr, about eight miles south-west-by-west from Dēvagēri, and as Brihat-Paralūr (*id*, vol 7, p 35, line 9) in the still earlier copperplate grant, of the third year of Mrigēśavarman, which was discovered at Dēvagēri itself In any case, the purport of our record distinctly implies that the stone which bears it, and which was found in a field in the lands of Dēvagēri, was set up in the village Palarūr, and thus marks Palarūr as being then the name of the place It may be added that the inscription of A D 1075, mentioned above, registers an assignment of tolls, for certain purposes of the god Kankalēśvara of Dēvamgēri, at Dēvamgēri and Palavūr and in the *tala*, 'site or tract', composed of Eleya-Tammuge and two unnamed villages here we may possibly have still another form of the name Paralūr, Palarūr but it is difficult to account for the *v* in the place of the *r*, and Palavūr may be another village which does not now exist Any such name as Paralūr, Palarūr, and Palavūr, is not now found in maps, etc And the position seems to be that Dēvagēri was originally a *dēvamgēri* or *dēvapuri*, a 'god's ward', of Palarūr, that the lands of Palarūr and some other villages have been absorbed into the lands of Dēvagēri, which is a somewhat large village, and that consequently the latter name only has survived The inscription now published places Palarūr, tacitly but plainly, in the Banavāsī twelve-thousand province So, also, the record of A D 1075 in the same way places Dēvamgēri, with the other villages mentioned in it in that same province, and, further, in a division of it known as the Bāsavura one-hundred-and-forty

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, showing a bull, recumbent to the right (proper left) and apparently intended for the usual Nandi, and below it, plainly not as a family or dynastic emblem but in connexion with the topic of the record, an elephant, standing to the right (proper left), with a man standing behind it with uplifted arms The writing covers an area about 1' 8' broad in lines 9 to 14 by 3' 0' high. The stone on which it is engraved seems to have been even originally of an irregular shape, and it is only at the end of lines 1 to 8, 17, 20, and 21, and at the beginning of lines 18 to 22, that any portions of it have been broken away

The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and, generally, well executed In lines 1 to 15 the size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{2}$ " as in the *ya* of *baḷḷyan*, line 9, to $\frac{3}{4}$ ", as in the *ba* of *baṛe*, line 15, in lines 16 ff it increases up to (for single letters) $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ba* of *sāsīrbar*, line 19, and it almost seems that this part of the record may have been written by another hand the *ynū* of *ay-nūra*, line 2, is $1\frac{3}{4}$ " high the *lni* of *maseyal-nīran*, line 11, is 2" high and the *chch* of *mechchīdem*, line 16, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high They are of the general standard of the tenth century A D and closely thereabouts They include both the types of the initial short *i*, on which detail see p 7 ff below the earlier type of this vowel occurs in *vppatt*, line 2, the later type is found in *īdam*, line 20, also in *īdan* at the beginning of line 18, where, however, it is mostly broken away. The *lh*, *j*, *b*, and *l* are all of the later types, the guttural nasal *n* does not occur. No distinction seems to be made between *d* and *ḍ* In *chhatra*, for *chchhattra*, line 6, we have the rare full

¹ Regarding the confusion which has arisen in the official spelling of various place names in consequence of mistakes that have been made between *kere*, *kere*, 'a tank', and *kēri*, 'a street', see my note on the name Annigere in vol 6 above, p 100, note 3

² Compare the metathesis in *maral* and *malar*, *aral* and *alar*, and *eral* and *elar* see Śabdamanidarpana, verse 29

form of *chh*, which necessarily can seldom occur except when, as here, it is used instead of *chchh*

The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record was neatly put together by the use of the *satīaptamī* or locative infinitives *ene*, lines 10, 11, 14, *ve*, line 14, *bare*, line 15, and *nale*, line 15, coupled with the subjunctive or conditional *endode*, lines 12, 13, 16. And not unworthy of note, in respect of the nicety of the composition, is the point that, whereas the remainder of the record, appropriately cast in pure Kanarese, naturally presents the words *pul*, *pullu*, for 'grass' (lines 11, 14, 15), and *āne* for 'elephant' (line 15), into the ruling prince's mouth there are put (in accordance with the theory of the Hindū drama, that kings and such people should speak Sanskrit) Sanskrit words, woven however into a Kanarese sentence, which include *trina* and *hastin*¹. Line 7 gives us *nēvarade*, the instrumental singular of a word *nēvara* which seems to be a longer form of *nēra*, = *nēr* (3), 'straightness, propriety, pleasantness'. In line 10-11 we have *kudugal* as a variant of *kudugōl*, *kudagōl*, *kudigōl*, *kudugalu*, 'a kind of sickle', for which forms see Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary under *kudu* (3)². In the first component of the term *būdagūl*, 'an offering of boiled rice to ghosts', lines 12, 17, we have *būda*, instead of the more usual *būta*, as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bhūta*. In *arasara* and *ada*, line 12, *pulla*, line 14, and *koyvara*, line 15, we have either a careless omission of the final *m* (*n*), or, with equal probability, instances of the accusative in *a* instead of *am* (*an*)³. Line 8 presents the word *baḷi* (3), 'a man who calls or invites' or we may say 'a summoner', in connexion with which the following remarks may be made. In the form *baḷi* (with *l* instead of *ḷ*) we have this same word in an unpublished inscription of A D 1052 at Niralgī in the Hāngal tāluka, Dhārwar, in a passage which runs — śrīman-mahāmandalēśvaram Harikēśaridēvar . . . śrīmad-agrabāram Nirīḷya mahājanam mūnūrvvarige baḷyan=attī barisī, "the illustrious *Mahāmandalēśvara* Harikēśaridēva . . .

having sent a summoner to the three-hundred *Mahājanas* of the holy *agrabāra* Nirīḷi, and having caused them to come," etc. and similar passages occur in records of A D 1074 and 1075 at the same place. And we can now recognize that we have the word *baḷi* itself in line 20 of the Ādūr inscription (*Ind Ant*, vol 11, p 70), where, modifying my original rendering, I would translate — "The *Gurāra* Prabhāchandra, the summoner of the Jain temple of Paralūr, obtained this grant." It would seem that, in addition to meaning generally 'any man who calls or invites', the word denoted also a recognized official of some kind, both religious and secular.

In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsura* twice in lines 1 to 3, (2) the use of *s* for *ś* throughout, (3) the mistakes of *hh* for *k* in *sakha*, line 1, of *d* for *dh* in *samadigata*, line 4, and of *ri* for *ṛi* in *trina*, line 9⁴.

The inscription can only be treated as a spurious record, as which it has been entered under No 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind Ant*, vol 30 (1901), p 217, because it

¹ This is the record which I mentioned, from this point of view, in the discussion on "Sanskrit as a spoken language", see *Jour R. As. Soc.*, 1904, 486.

² Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary adds the form *kudugula*. The most familiar term is *kudugōl*, in its later form *kudugōlu*.

³ According, indeed, to Kēśirāja's Śabdamanidarpana, verse 134, and Bhattakalanka's Karnāṭakaśabdānuśāsana, sūtra 231, we might regard some of these as genitives used in the sense of accusatives. But *ada* at any rate is not a genitive. And there can be little doubt that Dr Kittel's opinion is correct, namely, that the supposition of a use of the genitive for the accusative is unnecessary, and that the accusative in *a*, frequent enough in the mediæval and modern dialects, existed in also the more ancient colloquial dialect, though it had not been generally accepted by classical writers. See his *Kannada Grammar*, §§ 117, 122, 352. Many instances of the accusative in *a* can be found in my Kanarese ballads: thus, *māta* for *mātannu*, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 300, line 3 from the bottom, *siffa* for *sittannu* = *sittannu*, p 301, line 1, *karava* for *karavannu*, line 8, *yēna* for *yēnannu* line 11. It would, in fact, be pedantic to use the accusative termination in ordinary speech, except perhaps with pronouns.

⁴ Except, of course, for Sanskrit words being aimed at here, there would be no objection to *trina*.

puiports to have been framed on a date which is utterly incompatible with the period to which its characters refer it. As, however, it states (apart from the date) nothing that is in any way unnatural, suspicious, or irreconcilable with the local history for its true period, we may accept the information given in it as true. It deals with a thing which it calls *būdagūl*. This term is composed of *būda*, a *tadbhava*-form of the Sanskrit *bhūta*, 'a spirit, goblin, ghost', and the Kanarese *kūl*, *kūlu*, 'boiled rice', and it denotes 'an offering of boiled rice to the ghosts'. Other names of the offering are *bhūtabali* and *bhūtayajña*, also the word *bali* by itself, which is explained in Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary as meaning, amongst other things, 'an offering to demons (especially also Durgā or Kālī), etc., performed by putting heaps of boiled rice, or by killing sheep, buffaloes, etc., and also men'. As a regular sacrifice, the offering ranked as one of the *pañchamahīyajña* or 'five great sacrifices' see, for instance, the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, 3. 70. I have been told, however, that in a more special way the *bhūtabali* is offered in connexion with the *garbhādāna* or ceremony performed to ensure conception. I further learnt from the late Sir James Campbell that the *bhūtabali* is offered in cases of barrenness, from the point of view that that misfortune is due to the influence of malicious spirits. And we thus obtain a clear explanation as to why the record represents the village-maidens as interested in the matter of the *būdagūl*. The inscription mentions a certain *Mahāsāmantādhipati* or great feudal prince named Śāntivarman, who was governing the Banavāsī twelve-thousand province. It describes him as belonging to the Mātūra race, and as having the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town Trikundapura", with reference to the place of origin of his family, and as possessing the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner¹. It recites that Śāntivarman came, in the course of a tour, to Palarūr, and demanded a supply of grass for his horses and elephants. For some reason not stated, the right to make the offering of boiled rice to the ghosts was in abeyance, apparently under a sentence of excommunication. Incited by the village-maidens (*hodagūsugal*, line 11), who said that, if he could get the restriction removed, he might marry as many of them as he might wish, a man named Allagunda cut a supply of grass so much to the satisfaction of Śāntivarman that the latter offered to grant him a boon. Whereupon Allagunda asked for, and obtained, the restoration of the right to make the offering to the ghosts. As to whether the village-maidens kept their promise to him, the record is silent.

The inscription is dated on a Monday coupled with the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīra of the Kālayukta *samvatsara*, Śīka-samvat 522. This date, however, is obviously not authentic and all else that need be said about it is as follows. By the mean-sign system, which is the one that applies for that time, Kālayukta began on 29 October, A.D. 600, in Śīka samvat 522 expired, and ended on 25 October, A.D. 601. In that period, the given *tithi* ended closely about 22 hours 55 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Sunday, 13 November, A.D. 600, and cannot be connected with the Monday. And from this we see that the case is not one in which the writer of the record obtained a correct date by calculation.

As one means towards determining the real date of the record, we may cite some other notices of the Mātūra family, to which the record refers the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman. We have one mention of it in the Śīavana-Belgola epitaph of the great Ganga prince Nolambintaka-Mārasimha (A.D. 963-64 to 974), which describes him as seizing the possessions of the lord of the Vanavāsī country, and causing him or those who belong to the Mātūra race to do obeisance to him (*arts* vol. 5, p. 179). No personal name, however, is mentioned there. Some other notices of the family, of a specific nature, from other records in Mysore, are as follows —

(1) An inscription in Hechehe in the Sorab taluka, Shimoga District. *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 8,

¹ The Udayāndīram plate of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman allot a "mirror banner made of (? put together with) a peacock's tail" to the Śābara king Udayana. *South Ind. Inscriptions*, vol. 2, p. 372.

Sb 476 This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III, and is dated in the Vikāra *samvatsara*, Śaka samvat 861 (expired), with details falling in December, A D 939. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* Māchiga, Māchidēva,—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”, born in the Mātūra race, and having the Nandavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner,—was then ruling at Herdese ¹ the sphere of his government is not stated

(2) An inscription at Ōtūra in the same tāluka *ibid*, Sb 70 This record is not dated but it refers itself to the same reign, and is therefore to be placed between A D. 939 and 959 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* Māchīyarasa was then lord of the Banavāsī twelve-thousand It describes him just as Māchiga, Māchidēva, is described in No 1 above, and he is plainly the same person

(3) An inscription at Kakkarasi in the same tāluka *ibid*, Sb 474. This record refers itself to the same reign, and is dated in the Ānanda *samvatsara*, Śaka samvat 876 (expired), with details falling in October, A D 954 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* Māchīyarasa—described in the same terms as in Nos 1 and 2 above—was then ruling over “the twelve thousand”²

(4) Another inscription at Hecheche *ibid*, Sb 479 This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Kakka II, and consequently, though not dated, may be referred to closely about A D 972 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmanta* Śāntivarman—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”, born in the Mātūra race, and having the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner—was then ruling at Herdese

(5) Another inscription at Hecheche *ibid*, Sb 477 This record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla-Taila II, and is dated (without full details) in the Khara *samvatsara*, Śaka samvat 913 (expired), = A D 991-92 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* Śāntivarman—described otherwise in just the same terms as in No 4 above—was then ruling the Belguhe 70, the Edenād 70, the Tandavūra 12, the Gedeya 12, the Mugunda 12, the Puhvatti 12, the Kalvatti 7, and the Śāntalige 1000

These other notices of the Mātūra family agree with the palaeographic evidence in placing the real date of the record in the tenth century A D And as a means towards determining its exact date we take the given *samvatsara*, Kīlayukta In the tenth century, this *samvatsara* came only once By the southern lunisolar system, which is applicable for this time to the locality to which the record belongs, it coincided with Śaka-samvat 880 expired And in this year the given details are correct for Monday, 15 November, A D 958, on which day the specified *tithi* ended at about 17 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) This result satisfies the requirements of the case, both palaeographic and historical And we entertain no doubt that this is the real date on which the record was framed, and that the Śāntivarman mentioned in it is the Śāntivarman of the Hecheche inscriptions Nos 4 and 5 above As to why the writer of the record antedated it by practically six of the sixty-years cycles, we can only conjecture that the ban laid upon the village had existed for some long time, that it had been disregarded, and that antedating (made in fact to a preposterous extent) was necessary to legalize acts which had been performed in spite of it

¹ This name, much damaged here, is completed from No 4 below

² An inscription at Kelagūna Kirugunise in the same tāluka, *ibid*, Sb 501 which refers itself to the same reign, and is dated (without full details) in the Kālayukta *samvatsara*, Śaka samvat 881 (current) = A D 958-959, tells us that a certain Māchiga was then governing the Edenād seventy He may have been some junior member of the family, perhaps holding office under Śāntivarman But there is nothing in the record to mark him as such

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti² Sakha³-nripa-kāl-ātita-sambatsara-[satam]-
- 2 gal-ay-nūra irppatt-eradaneya Kālayukta-[sam]-
- 3 batsara[da*] Mārggasira-suddha-bidyeyum Sōmavāra[d-and]u[m]
- 4 Svasti samadī(dhī)gatapañchamahāsabda-[ma*]hāsāmantādhīpatī
- 5 Trikundapura-paramēsvara Brahmakshatriya Mātūra-vams-ōdbhavam Na-
- 6 [nda]navanachhatra-hayalāñcha(ñchha)na-darppanadhvaja-virājamānam
- 7 [Sā]ntīvarmma⁴ [n]ēvarade maryyādey=āge Banavāsī-pa[n]n[ī]-
- 8 roh[chh]āsīraman=āluttam yathā-kramade Palarūrge ba[nd]=e-
- 9 lpadimbarge baḷīyan=attī emma haya-hastī samūhakke tri(trī)na-
- 10 samgraham bēlkum=ene ollit-āgi koyvem=endu pōp-āgal=Allagunda ku-
- 11 ḍugalam=maseyal=niran=ereyim=ene kodagūsugal=ita pullam koyd=a-
- 12 rasara mechchisī būdagūlam bīdisuvon=akkum=endod=ada bīdi-
- 13 sīdode nim=enag=ē geyvir=endod=inib-em-olage nī mechchīdarolam ma-
- 14 duve-nīlu yene pōgi pulla koyutt-ire arasan=[ā]neyan=ēr-īlḍu
- 15 koyvara nōdutta bare Allagundan=āneya pulla sūdole nīle-
- 16 y=īdey=arasam mechchīdem bēdi-koll=endode
- 17 būdagūlam bīdim=endu bīdisīdo[m] [||*]
- 18 [I]dan=aḷīdom Vāranāsīyum sāsira
- 19 [ka]vīleyum sāsīrbar=ppārvooruman=a-
- 20 [līda] pātakan=akkum idam kādon=imī[u]-
- 21 [mam pāl]īsidom[*] [||*] Rāmasīnga-bhatāra nīrīsī[dom]
- 22 [Mamga]la(?)

TRANSLATION

Hail! On the second tithi, and on Monday, of the bright fortnight of Mārgasira of the Kālayukta samvatsara which was the five hundred and twenty-second (year of) the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śāka kings—

(Line 4) Hail! The *Mahāsāmantādhīpatī* Śāntīvarman,—who has attained the *pañchamahāsabda*, who is a supreme lord of the town Trikundapura, who has been born in the Brahmakshatriya Mātūra race,⁵ who is decorated with the Nandanavana umbrella and the horse crest and the mirror banner,—while governing the Banavāsī twelve thousand with rectitude and according to established customs, came in due course to Palarūr, and sent a summoner to the seventy (*Mahājanas*) to say —“A supply of grass is wanted for Our troop of horses and elephants!”

(L 10) Thereupon (*the cutters*) said —“Right well will we cut!”, and were going out. Then Allagunda said —“Pour ye out water to whet (*my*) sickle!” Thereupon the young maidens said —“This is the man who will cut grass, and please the king, and cause the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts to be set free” Thereupon he said —“If I cause that to be set

¹ From the ink impressions. Ordinary brackets are used for such corrections and doubtful points as can be conveniently noted in this manner. Square brackets are used to mark syllables, or parts of them, which in the original are illegible or broken away and lost. An asterisk, attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation do not stand in the original text.

² There are various marks before this word. But they seem to be due only to injuries to the stone, and not to include any symbol for the word *ōm*.

³ Read *saka*, for *saka*.

⁴ The first syllable of this name is greatly damaged, and cannot be recognized distinctly even on the back of the impressions. There can be no doubt, however, that it was *sā*, for *sā*.

⁵ That is, “in the Mātūra race which is of mixed Brāhman and Kshatriya origin.” On the term Brahmakshatriya see some remarks by Mr D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 35 ff.

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free, what will ye do for me?" To which they said —"Marry just as many of us as thou mayest like!"¹

(L 14) Thereupon he went out And when, while he was cutting grass, the king, mounted on an elephant, came looking on at the cutters, Allagunda stood up on the very bundle of grass which was for the elephant Then, behold!, the king said —"We are pleased ask a boon!" Thereupon he said —"Set ye free the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts" and thus he caused it to be set free

(L 18) He who destroys this shall incur the guilt of destroying Vāranāsi and a thousand brown cows and a thousand Brāhmins! He who protects this is a protector of just so much!

(L 21) The worthy Rāmasinga set this up [May it be auspicious (?)]

Note on the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i

The alphabet exhibited in this Dēvageri inscription is a specimen, belonging to the tenth century A D, of that which Professor Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie*, § 29, termed the Kanarese and Telugu alphabet². An interesting detail in this particular record is that it presents the two types of the initial short i of this alphabet we have the earlier type in *irppatt*, line 2, and the later type in *idam*, line 20 the latter is found also in *idan*, at the beginning of line 18, but is much damaged there And we have to consider the circumstances in which this mixture of the two types could occur I had hoped to give a sketch with plates, of the full history of the vowel in question, and at the same time of the initial long i because, in addition to the interest that attaches to the study itself, the types and forms of these two letters may at any time be found particularly instructive in respect of the proper placing of undated genuine records, and of fixing limits for the fabrication of some of the spurious records For the present, however, it has been found impracticable to prepare the requisite plates, chiefly in consequence of a want of published facsimiles for the crucial period when the earlier types were being supplanted by the later ones I must, therefore, confine my treatment of the matter to the history of the initial short i in the Kanarese and Telugu countries during the transitional period, and limit my remarks to such details as can be made clear without more than half a dozen illustrations

The earlier type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VII, line 3, cols XII, XIII, XV to XVIII, and plate VIII, line 3, cols II to V I give two other illustrations in the margin A is drawn from the i of *inūr-vorum*, line 20, letter No 13, in the Snūr inscription of A D 866 from the Dhārwar District, Bombay, *ante*, vol 7, p 206, plate B is from the i of *irugange*, line 5, No 22, in the Bēgūr inscription of the period A D 908-38 from the Bangalore District, Mysore, *ante*, vol 6, p 48, plate In this type the character consisted, when fully made, of two parts, with various forms according to certain differences in the details of the two parts The lower part consisted of two components, which were placed sometimes on the lower line of the writing, sometimes below it These components, when made with uniformity, were sometimes two small circles, as in B, or two round marks which were not completely closed in as circles, and sometimes two dots, as in A, which might be either round or of irregular shape But sometimes, whether owing to caprice or carelessness of the writers, or to indifferent work by the engravers, or to the material breaking away (especially in the case of records on stone) in the hands of the engravers, these details are met with interchanged, and we have a circle accompanied by a dot And occasionally the components of

¹ Literally, "amongst us who are so many as these, marry all whom thou art pleased with!"

² German original in the *Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, vol 1, part 11 (1896) English version in *Ind Ant*, vol 33 (1904), appendix

the lower part were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were then usually brought down to the lower line of the writing for a published instance of this, from the eastern parts of Southern India, see *iti*, line 43, No 17, *irruḷa*, line 66, No 5, and *idiyūri*, the same line, No 14, in the Kaluchumbarru grant of the period A D 945-70, *ante*, vol 7, p 186, plate. In a quite exceptional instance of A D 982 from Mysore (see p 13 below) the lower part consists of three circles, instead of two this can only be regarded as a freak. The upper part sometimes took the form of a plain smooth arch, as in *utodu*, line 2, No 5, and *ittodān=*, line 3, No 11, in the inscription of the period A D 597-608 outside the Vaiṣṇava cave No 3 at Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr District, Bombay, *Archæol Surv West India*, vol 1, p 24, plate, *Ind Ant*, vol 10, p 59, plate. But usually there was a more or less marked notch or bend down, pointed or curved, in the centre of the top we have this in its pointed form in the illustrations A and B given herewith, and more markedly in *iti*, line 21, No. 12, in one of the early Kadamba copperplate records, *Ind Ant*, vol 6, p 96, plate in its curved form, which had the effect of giving a waving shape to the top stroke, we have it in *iti*, the last line, No 9, in the Haidarābād plates of A D 612, *ibid*, p 74, plate. And sometimes this notched form was made so flatly that it resembles rather closely the outspread wings of a hovering bird see, for instance (though these cases do not come from the particular territories with which we are concerned), Professor Buhler's plate VII, 3, IV, VI, VII, IX, and plate VIII, 3, I. The upper part is usually found single, formed by one continuous sweeping movement but in some cases it has a disjointed appearance, with a break in the middle, as if it was made by two separate strokes, as in *idam=*, line 9, No 17, in the Nerūr plates of the period A D 609-42 from the Sawantwādi State, Bombay, *Ind Ant*, vol 8, p 44, plate, and in *ua*, line 42, No 9, from the end, *idam*, line 56, No 9 from the end, and *idigūr=*, line 82, No 10 from the end, in the Kadaba plates from the Tumkūr District, Mysore, which bear a date in A D 812 or 813, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 14, plate - *Epi Carn*, vol 12, Gb 61, plate as, however, this feature is only noticed in records on copper, it is evidently to be attributed to the process of engraving, not to the writers. The sides of the upper part were not always of equal length. And sometimes the left side is curled in much more than the right side, as, for instance, in the cases mentioned above from the Haidarābād and Kadaba plates, and, in fact, in the Dēvagēri inscription itself. Sometimes both the sides were well curled in, as in the illustrations A and B above, and more markedly in *iridu*, line 4, No 1, and *ivu*, line 5, No 1, in the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of about A D 765, *ante*, vol 6, p 162, plate so also in an instance from the eastern parts of Southern India, in *iti*, line 85, No 7 from the end, in the Ranastapūndī grant of A D 1019, *ante*, vol 6, p 357, plate. Occasionally, the right side was continued downwards in a slanting direction to, or towards, between the two components of the lower part one instance of this is found in *idam=* (for *imam=*), line 13, No 40, in the Mahākūta pillar inscription of A D 602, *Ind Ant*, vol 19, p 18, plate another is Professor Buhler's plate VII, 3, XVIII, which is from the *ity=* in line 13, No 11, of the Eastern Chalukya record of A D 608, *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 186, with plate in vol 8, p 320. And sometimes the right side was continued down into the right component of the lower part this was a transitional form, which will be noticed below.

The later type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *i* has been illustrated by Professor Buhler in his plate VIII, line 3, cols VI, VIII, IX. I give three other illustrations in the margin C from *ittam=*, line 22, No 2 from the end, in the (?) Masulipatam plates or Ākulamannandu grant of the period A D 934-45 (see p 15 below). D is drawn from the *i* of *int=mitu*, in line 46 of the inscription of A D 980 at Saundatti in the Belgaum District, Bombay, *Jour Bo Br R As Soc*, vol 10, p 207 (no plate), and it is practically the modern form now used, both in Kanarese and in Telugu. E is from the *i* of *ivu*, line 25, No 4, in the inscription of A.D 1064 on the Jatinga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore, *ante*, vol 4, p 212, plate. In this type the character, when properly and

C	D	E
2	ō	3

customarily formed, did not consist of separate parts, but was made in one unbroken whole by a continuous sweeping movement of the reed or *stilus*. But, as with the earlier type, the top is occasionally found in a disjointed shape, as a result of the process of engraving for instance, in *śuk*, line 79, No 1, in the Chellūr plates of A D 1143, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 59, plate. And the top part in the instance figured as C above was evidently made by the writer by two strokes instead of one continuous movement. The top of the letter in this type is the upper part of the earlier type, in its notched form but a very exceptional form is occasionally found in records from the eastern side of Southern India, in which the character begins with a curl down towards the left, instead of the curl up to the right see, for instance, *iti*, line 102, the last *akshara* but one, in the Tiki plates of A D 1086-87, *ante*, vol 6, p 343, plate. The remainder of it was made by continuing the right side of the top downwards, and then in a loop upwards to the left and turning to the right to meet the down-stroke, and it was finished off by a projection taken to the right and turned down into a sort of tail in some cases, however, this projection to the right is very rudimentary, as, indeed, in the illustration E, and in others, of the transitional class (see below), it does not appear at all.

The method of the transition from the earlier to the later type can be easily recognized though an intervening link or two may be wanting. The first step was a continuation of the right side of the upper part of the earlier type down to touch the right component of the lower part. I give an instance of this, in the illustration F in the margin, from an Eastern Chalukya record, the Trandapara grant, of the period A D. 844-83 (see p 15 below). The next step was to form the right component of the lower part, not by an entirely separate movement after raising the reed or *stilus*, but by an unbroken continuation of the down stroke we have an instance of this, with the right lower component formed by a continuation of that movement to the left, in Professor Bühler's plate VIII, 3, II, which is from the *ī* of *int app āi* in line 13, No 4 from the end, in the Kanarese record of Govinda III of A D. 804, *Ind Ant*, vol 11, p 137, plate¹. It must, however, have become customary, in this continuous formation of the right lower component, to make the movement to the right, instead of the left. The next step probably was to make the entire letter by one continuous stroke, without any lifting of the reed or *stilus*, in the manner suggested in illustration G given in the margin, with the two circles of the lower part running into each other. In the cursive movement thus set up, a subsequent step certainly was to make one large loop serve the purpose of the two circles, as in illustration H we have instances of this in *ty-ūra* (for *ty-ūra*), line 12, No 7, and *ī* (for *ī*) *dammavan*-, line 16, the last *akshara*, in the inscription of A D 1047-48 at Mindigal in the Kolār District, Mysore, *ante*, vol 5, p 207, plate. It seems to have been then recognized that a confusion was liable to arise between the initial short *ī* and the initial *ai* of the same alphabet² and it must have been in order to avoid such

F



G

H



¹ In this record the vowel is found in also *īdam* (for *īdam*), line 12 13 but it does not present the same peculiarity there.

² The Kanarese and Telugu initial *ai* is of somewhat rare occurrence, and has not been illustrated by Professor Bühler, who, in fact, gave only one southern *ai*, plate VII, 6, VII, from *aivaryya*, line 61, No 7, in the Aluṇa Valabhi plates of A D 766, my *Gupta Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol 3, p 179, plate. Other instances from that part of Southern India may be seen in *aihi*, line 23, No 37, of plate II, in the Valabhi record of A D 760, *Ind Ant*, vol 6, p 21, plate, and in the same word, line 21, No 11, in the Rāshtrakūṭa record of A D 813 from Tōrkhēdō, *ante*, vol 3, p 55, plate. These two forms are more like those which we have from the Kanarese country.

A Kanarese initial *ai* of the eleventh century may be seen in *ai goḷagam*, line 14, No 4 from the end, in the Mindigal Chōla inscription of A D 1047 48 from Mysore, *ante*, vol 5, p 207, plate. An earlier form may be seen in *ai-guḷa*, line 13, the last *akshara* but one, in a Bāna inscription, also from Mysore, *Ind Ant*, vol 10, p 39, plate, *Ep̄i Carn* vol 10 (Kolār), Sp 6, with plate (a better one) at translations, p 272.

A Telugu initial *ai* of about A D 900 may be seen in *aivariya*, line 32, No 9, in the Eastern Chalukya grant of the period A D. 888 918, *ante*, vol 5, p 129, plate.

confusion that there was added the projecting tail to the right, which produced the form illustrated in C, D, and E above

Professor Buhler's latest instances of the earlier type are as follows. As noted in the preceding paragraph, his plate VIII, 3, II, is an *z* of A.D. 804, and is really a transitional form. His plate VIII, 3, III, is from the record on the Kadab^z plates from Mysore, bearing a date in A.D. 812 or 813 the vowel is found fourteen times in this record the instance figured seems to be from *wa*, line 15, No 23 (side in *a*, line 1), *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p. 14, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol. 12 (Tumkūr), Gb 61, plate His remaining two illustrations are from the eastern parts of Southern India The later of them, plate VIII, 3, V, is entered as if it was taken from the copper-plate record which gives the date of the coronation of Amma II in A.D. 945, *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 15, plates but that record does not include any initial *z*, and the illustration seems to have been supplied from *ih=ayatē*, line 40, No 7 (side in *b*, last line), in the 'Pāṇavaram' plates or Diggubayru grant of the period A.D. 934-45, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 214, plate On the other side, his earliest instance of the later type is plate VIII, 3, VI it is from the eastern part of Southern India, from the copperplate record which gives the date of the anointment of Rājārāja I in A.D. 1022, and may be of any date from that year up to about A.D. 1063; and it appears to be the *z* of *iti*, line 11, No 5, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 50, plate There is thus a gap in the history of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *z*, of roughly a century, from A.D. 934-45 to 1022-63, to be extended, in fact, as regards the Kanarese country, to even two centuries in respect of which we have, so far, no information We have now to see how this gap can be bridged over It was chiefly due, as far as Professor Buhler was concerned, to a lack of materials in the shape of published facsimiles The same want still exists to almost the same extent But we can now cite various facsimiles which have been published since his time and I can supplement them by ink-impressions which necessarily were not available to him

We will consider first such materials as are available from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency; taking the matter up from the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Buhler's latest instance of the earlier type Here I use only records which are specifically dated, and, when I cannot refer to a published plate, I cite my details from ink-impressions which were prepared under my direction when I was in the districts in question¹

From these parts, we still have the earlier type of the initial short *z* running through the records of the time of the Rāshtrakūta king Amoghavarsha I We have it in the Nilgund inscription, dated in A.D. 866, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, *ante*, vol 6, p 102, plate, in *iti*, line 6, No 17 it occurs also in *idan=* towards the end of line 28, to which part of the record, however, the plate does not extend We have it again in the Sirūr inscription of the same date, from the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar, *ante*, vol 7, p 206, plate, in *iti*, line 4, No 6, and *inūruvorum*, line 20, No. 13 the illustration A on p 7 above is from the latter instance Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 872 or 874, at Chīñchli in the Gadag tāluka, in *indapayyam* and *int=i*, line 4 Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 874, at Rōn, the head-quarters of the Rōn tāluka in the same district, in *idan=*, line 10 also in the same word in line 4 of a second record, not dated, below that one. And again in the Nidagundi inscription of A.D. 874-75, or within a year on either side, from the Bankāpūr tāluka, Dhārwar, *ante*, vol 7, p 213, plate, in *idam*, line 16, No 13, in *idan=*, line 17, No 12, and in *z* (for *i*) *kallam*, line 19, No 8 also in *z* (for *i*) *ṭanamam* in line 25 in the supplementary record at the top of the stone, not shown in the plate And for the next reign, that of Krishna II, we

¹ I have abstained from quoting a few records which are of doubtful authenticity and it has of course been useless to quote records which refer themselves to (for instance) the reign of a Kannaradōva or Kannaravallabha, without anything to indicate which king Krishna is intended But I have not found in any of them anything that conflicts in any way whatsoever with the facts and results which I bring forward.

have it in an unpublished inscription, dated in A D. 897-98, at the village Chūchh mentioned above, in *iti*, line 7, and *idam*, lines 14 and 17

On the other hand, we have the later type in an unpublished fragmentary inscription of the same reign, of Krishna II, dated in A D 901-2, at Yeli-Śūr in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, in *irppatta*, line 1 here the precise form is a lop-sided one, very much like that which we have in *ity*=, line 41, No 12, in the Teki plates of A D 1086-87 from the eastern side of Southern India, *ante*, vol 6, p 339, plate And the later type is found again in the Nandwāḍige inscription of the same reign, dated in A D 903, from the Hungund tāluka, Bijāpūr, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 221, with plate in vol 11, p 127, in *irppatt*-, line 2, No. 1 These two cases are the earliest instances of the later type that I can cite from either the western or the eastern parts of Southern India but they are run close by an instance of A D. 909-10 from the Kōlār District, Mysore (see p 12 below)

The next record takes us back to the earlier type it is the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of the time of Indra III, dated in A D 916-17, from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 224 (no plate) here we have the earlier type, in a thoroughly archaic form, in *idam*, line 10, and *i* (for *i*) *stityan*=, line 11 Regarding the second inscription on the same stone, see lower down on this page

The next records take us on again to the later type One is the unpublished Kalas inscription of the time of Gōvinda IV, dated in A D 930, from the Bankāpūr tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol 6, p 177 here we have the vowel in the later type in *idan*=, line 73 The others are records of the time of Krishna III Here we have the later type in the unpublished inscription, dated in A D 942, at Rōn, Dhārwar District, noticed in *Ind Ant*, vol 30, p 262, in *i[du]*, or some such word, in the last line but one Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A D 946, at Tuppada-Kurahatti in the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar, in *idarke*, line 16, in *int=i keygam* and *idam*, line 20, and in *idan*=, line 23 And again in the Soratūr inscription of A D 951, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 257 (no plate), in *idan*=, line 20

On the other hand, the earlier type is presented again in the unpublished Chūchh inscription of the same reign, dated in A D 953, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol 6, p 83, in *idarke* or *warke*, line 29

We next have the later type again in the unpublished inscription of A D 967, 970, or 971, of the time of Khottiga, at Hirē-Handigōl in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol 6 p 180, in *int=appavam*, line 20

But the earlier type appears again in an unpublished inscription of the same reign, dated in A D 969, at Nāgāvi in the same tāluka, noticed *ante*, vol 6, p 180, and *Dyn Kan Distrs*, p 422, note 3, in *warke* or *idarke* in the last line but five

For the time of the last Rāshtrakūta king, Kakka II, I cannot cite any instance of the use of this initial vowel The next available record is one in which we find the two types mixed, just as in the Dēvagēri inscription It is the inscription of A D. 975 from Hebbāl, in the Lakshmīśwar subdivision of the Miraj State within the limits of the Dhārwar District, *ante*, vol 4, p 351 (no plate) here we have the later type in *irppattu*, line 35; but in *int=iy=ayiar*=, line 38, we have the earlier type, with the sides of the top brought down to the lower line of the writing, and with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part of the letter¹ And we may note that we have the same mixture of types in the undated inscription which lies below the Hattī-Mattūr record of A D 916-17 (mentioned above) from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 224 (no plate) here we have the later type in *int=war*=, line 15, and in

¹ For similar instances from the eastern parts of Southern India, see pp 15, 16, below

īdam, line 17, but in *īdan=*, line 19, we have the earlier type, and again with prolongation of the sides of the top down to the lower line of the writing, together with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part. It thus now seems that, in spite of a somewhat marked difference in the general appearance of the characters, this second record at Hattī-Mattūr cannot be placed as late as I thought when I edited it, but must be referred to not long after A D. 975.

The two cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph are the latest instances, that I can cite, of the use of the earlier type of the initial *ī* in the Kanarese districts of Bombay. The next available records all show the fully developed later type. The first is the unpublished inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tarla II, dated in A D 980, at Sogal in the Parasgad tāluka, Belgium, mentioned in *Dyn Kan Distrs*, p 428. Here we have the vowel in *ī* (for *ī*) *dharmmaman=*, line 2 from the end. The next is the inscription of the same reign, dated six months later in the same year, at Saundatti, the head-quarters of the Parasgad tāluka, *Jour Bo Br R As Soc*, vol 10, p 204 (no plate). Here we have the vowel in *int=īntu*, line 46, illustrated as D on p 8 above. The next is the unpublished inscription of the time of Irivabedanga-Satyāśraya, dated in A.D. 1002, at Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwanī, mentioned in *Ind Ant*, vol 2, p 297, No 3 (where the date has been wrongly shown as Śaka-samvat 984, instead of 924). Here we have the vowel in *int=īvaṛim*, line 6 from the end. It seems unnecessary to pursue the matter beyond this point. In every other instance from the Bombay districts, known to me, only the later type is found.

We now take the matter up for Mysore and Coorg; starting, again, with the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Buhler's latest instance of the earlier type, and using chiefly records which are specifically dated, but also a few which can be distinctly referred to well-ascertained periods. Here, when I cannot point to published plates, I cite my details from ink-impressions for which I am indebted to Professor Hultzsch and Mr H. Krishna Sastri.

From these parts, we have the earlier type of the initial short *ī* in an inscription dated in A D 878-79 at Baragūr in the Tumkūr District, *Epi Carn*, vol 12, Si 38 (no plate), in *int=ā*, east face, line 1. Again in the Bihūr inscription, dated in A D 888, from Coorg, *Ind Ant*, vol 6, p 102, No 2, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol 1, p 5 (no plate), in *īdarkhe*, line 10, No 14, and line 11, No 13, and in *īdan=*, line 11, No 18. Again in an inscription of about A D 891-92 (see *ante*, vol 6, p 68) at Kyātanahalli in the Mysore District, *Epi Carn*, vol 3, Sr 147, plate, in *īdan=*, line 15, No 1. Again in an inscription dated in A D 904 at Bētamangala in the Kōlār District, *Epi Carn*, vol 10, Bp 1 (no plate), in *īppatt-*, line 3, in *īvagi* (?), line 14, and in *īdan=*, line 15. Here, in the second instance, the right side of the upper part of the letter is continued down to the right component of the lower part, giving a transitional form mentioned on p 9 above. Again in an inscription dated in A D 907 at Tāyalūr in the Mysore District, *Epi Carn*, vol 3, Md 14, with plate, in *īdan=*, line 12, the last *akshara* but one, in *īdarkhe*, line 14, No 18, and in *īmbara*, line 15, No 17. In these three cases the two circles or dots forming the lower part of the letter are absent, but that is probably due to the person who prepared the lithograph (which is not a facsimile), rather than to the writer or the engraver. And again in the Bēgūr inscription of the Ganga prince Ereyappa, of the period about A.D 908 to 938, from the Bangalore District, *ante*, vol 6, p 48, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol 9, frontispiece, in *īrugange*, line 5, No 22, in *īggālūru*, line 8, No 4, and in *īntuma[m]*, line 15, No 4. The first of these instances is given as illustration B on p 7 above.

In Mysore and Coorg, I find the later type first in an inscription, dated in A D 909-10, at Manīgattu-Gollaballi in the Kōlār District, *Epi Carn*, vol 10, Mb 229 (no plate). Here we have the vowel in *īre*, line 4, and *īnpara*, line 7, in a form resembling illustration D on p 8 above, but not shaped in so slanting a fashion, and made with the looped part smaller in proportion, it resembles more closely, in fact, the instance of A D 961-62 mentioned farther on.

This is the earliest instance but two, known to me, of the occurrence of the later type. the earlier instances are those of A D 901-2 and 903 from the Dhārwar and Bijāpūr Districts, Bombay, mentioned on p 11 above. If this instance came from the north of Mysore, it would be quite intelligible. But it comes from a part where we do not trace the later type again till A D 1029-30, and where we find indications of a transitional position even after that time (see p 14 below). It is therefore peculiar. And we can only regard it as intrusive, and conjecture that the writer of this record was not a local man, but came from some territory where the later type of the vowel was well established. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that the record, which comes from the Bairakūr hōbhi in the north-east quarter of the Mulbāgal tāluka, near the boundary of the North Arcot District, Madras, is a Bāna record. we know that the territory of the Bāna princes of this period extended at least well into North Arcot.

We are taken back to the earlier type by the next available record, an inscription of the time of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda IV, dated in A D 930-31, at Nandigudi in the Chitaldroog District, *Epi Carn*, vol 11, Dg 119, plate, here we have the vowel in *idan=*, line 8, No 9. We have it again in an inscription dated in A D 942 at Hēmavati in the Anantapur District, *Epi Carn*, vol 12, Si 28,¹ in *irua*, line 29, and *int=war*, line 53. And again in an inscription dated in A D 944-45 at Bētānangala in the Kōlār District, *Epi Carn*, vol 10, Bp 2 (no plate), in *idan=*, line 12. here the components of the lower part of the letter were perhaps omitted.

The next record comes from the northern part of Mysore, and gives us a second instance of the later type, namely, an inscription dated in A D 961-62 on the Jattunga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, *Epi Carn*, vol 11, Mk 27, with plate at texts, p 142. here we have the vowel in *idara*, line 5, No 1.

In the south, however, we have the earlier type again in the epitaph of the Ganga prince Nolambantaka-Mārasimha, framed in A D 975, at Śravana-Belgola in the Hassan District, *ante*, vol 5, p 178, plate, in *ity=*, line 50, No 1, and *intu*, line 100, No 1. here, in both cases, both the sides of the upper part of the letter were continued down to the components of the lower part. We have it again in the Peggu-ūr inscription dated in A D 978, from Coorg, *Ind Ant*, vol 6, p 102, No 1, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol 1, p 7, plate, in *idan=*, line 18, No 1. And again in the Śravana-Belgola epitaph of the Rāshtrakūta prince Indra IV, dated in A D 982, from the Hassan District, *Epi Carn*, vol 2, p 53 (no plate), in *iriyalk=*, north face, line 15, and *irade*, south face, line 31. here in the first case, the lower component consists quite exceptionally, of three (instead of two) circles.²

I cannot cite any use of the earlier type in Mysore after that date. From about half-way down the western side of the province, we have the fully developed later type in the Chikmagalur inscription, which belongs to the period A D 989—1005, from the Kadūr District, *ante*, vol 8, p 58 (no plate), *Epi Carn*, vol 6, Cm 3 (no plate). I cite the form from the photograph from which I edited the record, in *innūru* (for *innūru*), line 9, in *int=war=* and *i* (for *i*) *kodungeyam*, line 12, and in *indavūrada*, line 16. And the next two citable records from the northern parts (beyond which we need not pursue the matter for that locality) present the same type. One is an inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha II, dated in A D 1035, at Belagāmi in the Shimoga District, *Epi Carn*, vol 7, Śk 126, plate, see, more clearly, the photograph in *Pālī, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No 155. here we have the vowel in *int=i*, line 23, No 5, and in *int=i*, line 32, No 4. The other is the inscription

¹ A plate is given *op cit*, translations, p 92, but it shows only the first seventeen lines of the record. In line 14 we have, not *indrō* as given in the published text in Roman characters, but *indrō*, with the long *i* by mistake for the short vowel, as given in the text in Kanarese characters.

² In line 25 of the north face, at the beginning of verse 6, the original seems distinctly to have *dhīru*, as given in the text in Kanarese characters. At any rate, the word is not *iru*, as given in the romanized text.

of the time of the Western Chālukya prince Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya, dated in A D 1064, on the Jattanga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, *ante*, vol 4, p 213, plate, *Epi Carn.*, vol 11, Mk 29, with plate at texts, p 130 here we have the vowel in *vu*, line 25, No 4, and in *ι* (for *ī*) *dharmman=*, line 26, No 3, from the end the illustration E on p 8 above is from the first of these two instances

The northern parts of Mysore, however, the Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts, were subjected to progressive influences, first under the Rāshtrakūta kings and then under the Western Chālukyas, which did not penetrate much beyond them In the south, I trace the later type again, for the first time after A D 909-10 (p 12 above), in the Chōla inscription, dated in A D. 1029-30, at Sōladēvanahalli in the Bangalore District, *Epi Carn.*, vol 9, N1 1, with plate at translations, p 28, in *idarkke*, line 14, No 11 here the letter is formed in a very exceptional manner, the end of it is curled over inside the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried on to that stroke or across it into the usual tail We perhaps have the later type, fully formed, in the Chōla inscription, dated in A D 1032 (see *ante*, vol 4, p 69), at Suttūru in the Mysore District, *Epi Carn.*, vol 3, Nj 164 (no plate) here, in the last line, we seem to have either *desey=akhhhanduga*, corrected into *dese ikhhhanduga*, or else *dese ikhhhanduga*, corrected into *desey=akhhhanduga* for *desey=ikhhhanduga* And we certainly have a form of the later type in the Chōla inscription, dated in A D. 1047-48, at Mīndigal in the Kōlār District, *ante*, vol 5, p 207, plate, *Epi Carn.*, vol 10, Ct 30 (no plate), in *iy=ūra* (for *īy=ūra*), line 12, No 7, and in *ι* (for *ī*) *dammauan*, line 16, the last *akṣhara* here, in both cases, the form is practically identical with that which I have given as a transitional form in the illustration H on p 9 above, the loop of the lower part stops short at the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried across that stroke and on to form the usual tail These two instances of A D 1029-30 and 1047-48 are suggestive that for an appreciable time after A D 982 the letter was still in a transitional stage in the southern and south-eastern parts, and that, when more materials are available, we may find the earlier type still in use there up to about A D 1000 Good specimens of the later type in its full form, from the southern part of the province, may be seen in two records, dated in A D 1117, from Bēlūr in the Hassan District; *Epi Carn.*, vol 5, B1 58, plate, in *ity=atō*, line 2, No 7 from the end, and in *man=*, line 13, No 57 and *ibid.*, B1 71, plate, in *ity=atō*, line 10, No 6 But it was, of course, well established everywhere long before that time

Coming now to sum up the inquiry, we find the position to be as follows In the Kanarese districts of Bombay, we have the earlier type of the initial short *ι* still in use up to at least A D 975 But the later type figures freely along with it from A D 901-2 For this part of the country, then, we may consider that the tenth century was a transitional period of usage, when the later type, though well established, had not yet superseded the earlier one, but both of them were accepted on equal terms And in these circumstances we feel no surprise at finding the two types occasionally used together in one and the same record in the Dēvagēri inscription, which we refer to A D 958, in the Hebbāl inscription, which is dated in A D 975, and in the undated inscription at Hatti-Mattūr As regards Mysore, with Coorg, we must separate the northern parts from the southern. In the north, the case was probably much the same as in the Bombay districts, though we have not, so far, actually traced the later type there before A D 961-62 And, as we find the later type half-way down the western side of the province between A D 989 and 1005, we may expect to meet with it anywhere from about A D 1000 In the south, however, the change was plainly slower We have not, indeed, actually traced the use of the earlier type there after A D 982 But the later type is found there only once before that time, in an instance of A D 909-10 which we can only regard as intrusive And the records of A D 1029-30 and 1047-48 suggest that the commencement of the period of transitional usage in the south can hardly be placed

much, if at all, before A D 975, and that we may yet meet with instances of the earlier type there running well into the eleventh century

We turn now to the eastern parts of Southern India, taking the matter up from the records of the Eastern Chalukya kings, in which series, again, we now have available various inscriptions, presenting the vowel in question and covering the period in which we are interested, which were not known to Professor Bühler¹ There are two records of this series which I have not been able to examine namely, the Ederu plates or Gontūru grant of Amma I, of the period A D 918-25, *South-Ind Inscr*, vol 1, p 39 (no plate), where we have the vowel twice, in lines 38, 54, and the Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I, dated in his thirty-second year, A D 1053-54, *ante*, vol 4, p 303 (no plate) here the vowel occurs twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 80-87 Setting them aside, from an examination, either in the published plates or in ink-impressions, of all the other records of the whole series down to A D 1143, I find the position to be as follows —

The record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Trandaparu grant, of Vijayāditya III, of the period A D, 844-88, *Epi Ind*, vol 5, p 123, with plate showing lines 1 to 15 and 26 to 30, contains the vowel twice, in *uttham*-, line 18, and *ua*, line 35, and presents it in both cases in the earlier type, but in the transitional form with the right side of the upper part continued down to touch the right component of the lower part The published facsimile does not include these two passages I have given this form, from *ua*, line 35, as illustration F on p 9 above

The earliest instance of the later type from this part of Southern India² is found in the record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Akulamannandu grant, of Chālukya-Bhīma II, of the period A D 934-45, *ante*, vol 5, p 135, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8 and 17 to 25 in this record the vowel occurs only once, in *uttham*-, line 22, the last *akshara* but one, given as illustration C on p 8 above the upper part of it was plainly formed by two separate strokes instead of one continuous movement The other records of the same period show the earlier type the Diggubārū grant on the 'Paganavaram' plates, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 213, with plates, has it three times, in lines 15 and 40 (see note 1 on this page), the Kodhatalli grant on the Kolavennu plates, *South-Ind Inscr*, vol 1, p 44 (no plates), also gives it three times, in *indur*-, line 19, *uttham*- (for *uttham*-), line 22, and *iti*, line 23, and in the instance in line 23 the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing³

The records of the next period, the reign of Vijayāditya-Amma II, A D 945-70, shew only the earlier type, as follows⁴—The Masulipatam plates or Pāmbārū grant, *ante*, vol 5, p 140, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, and 17 to 24 once, in *indant*-, line 25, the last *akshara* but two⁵ The Elavarū grant, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 91, with plates, five times, in lines

¹ His limiting instances of the two types were taken from this same series of records His latest instance of the earlier type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col V, and it seems to be the *i* of *ih-arjātē*, line 40, No 7 (side in *l*, last line), in the 'Paganavaram' plates or Diggubārū grant of Chālukya Bhīma II, of the period A D 934-45, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 213, with plates this record presents the vowel again in *ica*, line 15, No 14, and *u-ātīpūtam*, line 40, the last *akshara* but four His earliest instance of the later type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col VI, from the Korumelli grant, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 50, with plates, which gives the date of the anointment of Rājārāja I in A D 1022, and may be of any date from that time up to about A D 1063 this record presents the vowel six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103 Professor Bühler's illustration seems to be from *iti*, line 11, No 5

² For the slightly earlier instances from Bombay and Mysore, see pp 11, 12, above

³ Compare similar instances in the Kaluchumbārū grant see p 16 below

⁴ Two of them do not present the vowel at all the Padamkalūru grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 15, and the Tānderu grant on the Vandram plates, *ante*, vol 9, p 138

⁵ Professor Kielhorn was in doubt as to the type of the letter here see *loc cit*, p 136, note 4 But I am able to say, from clearer impressions than those which he had, that it is certainly of the earlier type, with damage of the right component of the lower part

39, 48, 51, 54, 55 The Gāṇḍugolāṇa grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 249, with plates twice, in lines 20, 22 The Masulipatam plates, *South-Ind Inscr*, vol 1, p 47 (no plate) once, in line 34 The Kaluchumbāṣṭra grant, *ante*, vol 7, p 185, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, 33 to 50, and 60 to 69 three times, in *iti*, line 43, No 17, *irula*, line 66, No 5, and *idiyūri*, the same line, No 14, and here, in each case, the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing¹ And the Mahiyapūṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol 9, p 50, with plates once, in *va*, line 23, No 6

The next known record is the Ranastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, *ante*, vol 6, p 351, with plates This record, which gives the date of the king's anointment in A D 1011, and is itself dated in his eighth year, in A D 1018, presents the vowel seven times, in lines 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87, 97, and in the earlier type throughout

This is the latest instance of the use of the earlier type that I can cite from either the eastern or the western parts of Southern India In the Eastern Chalukya series, the next records are two of the time of Rājārāja I, and the order of them perhaps remains to be determined according to what we may learn from one of them about the use of this vowel One is the Korumelli grant, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 50, with plates, which gives the date of the king's anointment, in A D 1022, and may possibly date from that year itself it presents the later type of the vowel, six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103 The other is the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol 4, p 303 (no plate), which also mentions the date of the anointment, but is itself dated in the thirty-second year of the reign, A D 1053-54, it has the vowel twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 81-87, and, as mentioned on p 15 above, it remains to be examined in respect of the type which it presents

NO 2—PALITANA PLATES OF SIMHADITYA, THE YEAR 255

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

The existence of these plates was made public by the late Mr A M T Jackson, I C S, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXXIX p 129, No I They belong to the State of Palitānā in Kāthiāvar and are reported to have been unearthed in the city of Palitānā some forty years ago When first discovered, they were fastened together with six Maṭṭraka grants by a single Valabhī seal and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank underneath a large stone I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink impressions, prepared by Dr Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr W C Tudor Owen, I C S, Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the originals

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to Mr Venkayya, about $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth and varying between $7\frac{1}{4}$ and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height Each of the two plates bears on its inner side 14 lines of well-preserved writing The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially of the second one There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, but no ring or seal is forthcoming

The alphabet is of an early Southern type and includes the signs of *ṛiṇāmūliya* (ll 2, 17) and of *upadhmanīya* (ll 9, 19, 23, 27) and final forms of *i* (l 25) and of *n* (l 4) The date (l 27) is expressed in numerical symbols

¹ Compare a similar instance in the Kadhātillī grant on the Kolavennu plates see p 15 above For instances from the west, see pp 11, 12, 13, above

- 4 तरुवाचीणफलच्छायतयैकान्तपरोपकारी प्रशस्तलक्ष्यलक्षणः चान्तिमान्
 5 चीणशत्रुरचीणकुशलाशयो युधिष्ठिरवदसाधारणधर्मसेतुः श्रीसेनापति-
 6 वराहदासस्तस्य सत्मनूईशरघादिनृपसदृशचरितो नयविनयदमदया-
 7 दानदक्षदाक्षिण्योत्साहसंपन्नो¹ मन्वादिप्रणीतस्मृत्यन्तरसलिलावगाहनविशु-
 8 द्धधोर्दीर्घः स्वकरपरिभूतारितिसिरनिकरो निजकुलगगनसकलामलेन्दुरद-
 9 लिनगुणविभूषणस्सामन्तमहाराजभट्टिशूरस्तदनुज² प्रतिदिनमुपचीय-
 10 मानानेकविधधर्मास्तुप्रवाहोपहतकलिप्रतापः सततमितरेतरावि-
 11 रुद्धधर्मात्यसुखाधिगमोपायपारीणः शार्ङ्गपाणिरिव निरङ्कुशपराक्रमा-
 12 क्रान्तद्वारकाधिपतिरनेकदेवतायतनसभाप्रपारासावसथविहारका-
 13 रयिता कलादपि³ क्लितयुगधर्मावलम्बी परमगुरुवत्सल, परमब्रह्मस्व-
 14 शरण्यः परापरज, सामन्तमहाराजवराहदासस्तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate

- 15 प्रसभमहाहवसमागमावाप्तदिबुखोज्ञीयमानानेकयशः
 16 स्फुटमधुरललितोदारधीरगम्भीरवल्गुप्रसृताभिधान⁴ श्यामोन्नतविपुल-
 17 वक्षस्थलस्थिरातिशयानुरक्तश्री[:*] सामन्तमहाराजसिद्धादित्यकुशली⁵ सर्वानेव
 18 राजपुत्रराजस्थानीयामात्यद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटचारभट्टहस्त्यश्चारोहादीन्⁶
 19 समान्नापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदितं यथा मया मातापिचो⁷ पुत्र्याप्यायनायात्स-
 20 नद्योभयलोकहितसुखावाप्तये⁸ एलापद्रवास्तव्यब्राह्मणवप्यस्वामिने
 21 मैत्रायणिकसत्रह्वचारिणे कृष्णात्रेयसगोत्राय⁹ दर्भचारग्रामे भोण्डक-
 22 वधिरकुटुम्बी सह वाप्या भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्याचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षति-
 23 समकालीन¹⁰ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यतया निसृष्टो यतोस्य भुजतो¹¹ न केनचि-
 24 दाबाधा कार्येति ॥ उ[क्तं] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्ठि
 वर्षसहस्रा-
 25 हि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
 वसेत् ॥ [१*]
 26 यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रेईनानि धर्मायतनीक्रितानि¹⁰ [*] निर्मात्यवान्त-
 प्रतिमा-
 27 नि तानि को नास साधु¹¹ पुनराददीत [॥ २*] इति ॥ सं २००
 ५० ५ अश्वयुज¹¹ शु १० ३ [॥*]
 28 सहस्रो मम ॥

¹ Read °दाक्ष्य° for °दच°

⁴ Read °सिद्धादित्य°

⁷ Read °वाप्तये

¹⁰ Read °क्रितानि

² Read कलावपि कृत°

⁵ Read °दीन्

⁸ Read कृष्णा°

¹¹ Read आश्व°

³ Read °प्रयिता°

⁶ Read °पिचो°

⁹ Read भुजतो°

[The page contains handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be a continuation from the previous page. The text is partially obscured by a large black rectangular redaction mark.]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

四

11

61

4

4

33

1

2

—

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान् ॥
 धनुर्धरं शरैश्च पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान् ॥
 अर्जुनो ह्यश्वत्थामां वीर्यवान् ॥
 द्रुपदो ह्यश्वत्थामां वीर्यवान् ॥
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
 मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत सज्जनाः ॥
 २ ॥

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) *Om* Hail! From Phankaprasravana¹ In the succession of the family of the Gārulakas, who subdued all enemies by (*their*) prosperity which was produced by the performance of eminent deeds, who gained decisive victories in encounters (*with their enemies*) in many hundreds of battles, (*and*) who sprang from a race adorned with the ornaments of high glory and fame,² —there appeared the glorious *Sēnāpati* Varāhadāsa (I), whose great wealth was being lived upon by the distressed, the helpless, refugees, the sick, suppliants, and kinsmen, who invariably benefited others by granting unceasing rewards and shelter, as a tree by affording unceasing fruits and shade, who had noble aims and auspicious marks, who possessed forbearance, who destroyed his enemies, (*who was*) a receptacle of unceasing prosperity, (*and who was*) an unparalleled bridge of justice, as (*king*) Yudhishtira

(L. 6) His virtuous son (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Bhattisūra, whose conduct resembled that of kings like Daśaratha, who was endowed with prudence, modesty, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, cleverness, politeness, and energy, whose mind was purified by bathing in the water of the contents of the codes of law composed by Manu and others, who was brave (*or wise*), who, having subdued the multitude of enemies by his own hand (*as if he were*) dispelling the mass of darkness by his rays, (*became*) the spotless full-moon on the firmament of his family, (*and*) who was adorned with spotless virtues

(L. 9) His younger brother (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Varāhadāsa (II), who dispelled the heat of the Kali (*age*) by the stream of libations at (*his*) manifold charities which were accumulating every day, who was constantly expert in means for the acquisition of merit, wealth, and pleasure not conflicting with each other, who overcame the lord of Dvārakā by unchecked valour, as Śārngapāni (Krishna) possessed unchecked valour and was the lord of Dvārakā, who caused to be built many temples of the gods, halls, drinking-fountains,³ gardens, rest-houses,⁴ and (*Buddhist*) monasteries (*vihāra*), who, even in the Kali (*age*), held fast to the virtues of the Kṛta-yuga, who was excessively devoted to (*his*) elders, who assiduously afforded protection to pious men, (*and*) who knew what is remote and proximate

(L. 14) His son, the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Sīmhāditya, who has acquired much⁵ fame, which is being sung in (*all*) the quarters of the horizon, by encountering (*his enemies*) in fierce great battles, whose epithets 'sweet, charming, noble, firm, deep, handsome, and modest' are well-known, (*and*) to whose dark, high, and broad chest the goddess of fortune is firmly and excessively attached,—being in good health, (*thus*) commands all (*people*), (*viz*) princes (*rājaputra*), palace-officers (*rājasthānīya*),⁶ ministers, city-officers (*drāṅgika*),⁷ headmen (*mahattara*), irregular soldiers,⁸ spies, regular soldiers, riders on elephants or horses, etc —

(L. 19) "Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain Myself welfare and happiness in both worlds, I have granted to the Brāhmana Bappasvāmin residing at Īlāpadra, who is a student of the Maitrāyanika school (*and*) belongs to the Krishnātrēya *gōtra*, (*the field of*) Bhōndaka-Badhira-Kutumbin⁹ in the village Darbhachāra, together with a pond, according to the maxim of *bhūmicchkhidra*, under the

¹ The ablative has to be construed with the verb *samāñāpayati*, 'he commands,' in l. 19

² *I.e.* glory in this life and fame after death See Bühler, *Z D M G* Vol XXXVII p 575.

³ Compare *sabhā prapā karēna* in the Nāsik inscription No 10, l. 2 f., above, Vol VIII p 78

⁴ The words *ārāma* and *avasatha* occur in the same inscription, l. 2

⁵ This use of *anēla* is very inelegant

⁶ Compare Dr. Stein's Translation of the *Rājataranginī*, Vol I p 316, note on verse 601

⁷ See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr* p 169, note 6

⁸ [For a different rendering of the word *chafa*, see above, Vol X p 75 — Ed.]

⁹ *Badhira* means 'deaf' With *bhōndaka* compare Hindi *bhōndā*, 'ugly'

rules of gifts to Brāhmanas, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist, (and) to be enjoyed by (his) sons, grandsons, and (further) descendants

(L. 23) "Therefore nobody shall cause obstruction to him while he enjoys (*this field*) "

(L. 24) "And the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken "

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 27) In the year 255, on the 13th (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvāyuja.

(L. 28.) (*This is*) My own signature.

No. 3—SAHETH-MAHETH PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, [VIKRAMA-]
SAMVAT 1156.

By PANDIT DATA RAM SAHNI, M A

Dr. Vogel has already announced the discovery of this copper-plate inscription in two articles. One of these appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 11th May, 1908, under the title of "Śrāvastī and its remains" and contains all the salient points in the history of this ancient city, derivable from the Pāli texts and the writings of modern explorers. It winds up with the statement that the present inscription conclusively settles the identification of Sahēth and Mahēth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts with the Jētavana and Śrāvastī, respectively, of Buddhist literature. The connection of the copper-plate with Jētavana and Śrāvastī is expressed in the most unmistakable language in the inscription engraved on it, and since the plate has been found carefully deposited in a cell of a large monastery at Sahēth, it was obviously intended for it. Mr. V. A. Smith, however, while referring to the plate in a footnote on page 792 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1908, has expressed the opinion that the plate may have been brought to Sahēth from the real Śrāvastī which he locates somewhere near Balāpur in Nepal Tarai, not far from the place where the Rapti leaves the hills.

The evidence in favour of the identification of Sahēth-Mahēth with Śrāvastī is set forth by Mr. Marshall in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,¹ and here it is enough to enumerate the main facts. Foremost of these is the remarkable agreement which exists between the topography of the remains at Sahēth-Mahēth and the descriptions of Śrāvastī recorded by the Chinese pilgrims. We next come to the well-known colossal *bōdhisattva* discovered by General Cunningham on this site, which according to the Kushana inscription on its pedestal was set up at Śrāvastī. A fragment of its umbrella post (*danda*) with the same inscription as that on the *bōdhisattva* has recently been brought to light by Dr. Vogel. It is now in the Lucknow Museum, but is believed originally to have been unearthed at Sahēth by Dr. Hooy. Then there is the inscribed copper-plate which forms the subject of this paper. And last of all we have the lower half of a life-size statue of a *bōdhisattva* which was discovered by Mr. Marshall at Sahēth-Mahēth in the year 1908-09. The pedestal of this statue bears an early Kushana inscription which states that it was presented by certain Kshatriya brothers at the Jētavana of Śrāvastī. In the face of all this evidence it would be strange, indeed, if the identification of Sahēth-Mahēth remained doubtful, merely because the statements of the Chinese pilgrims about the location of Śrāvastī are somewhat incorrect.

The plate was discovered by me in a monastery (No. 21, map of Sahēth, Dr. Hooy's Report²) on the site of Sahēth in the spring of 1908 when I was assisting Dr. Vogel in his excavations.

¹ For 1909, pp. 1066 seq.

² *Vide J. A. S. B.* for 1892, Part I, extra number.

there This building was partially excavated by Dr Hoey, and it was here that, on breaking through the paved courtyard, he found the inscribed slab published in the *Ind Ant.* Vol XVII, p 61 ff¹ Dr Hoey also opened out seven out of the twenty-four cells which surround the courtyard in the centre and it was in one of these, namely, the one adjoining the entrance chamber on the south, that the copper-plate under reference was found It was carefully packed in an earthen box, 2 feet square and 3 inches high externally, closed with a lid of the same material, the space between the plate and the receptacle being filled with clay The box was built against the foundation of the northern wall of the cell referred to, just below the floor, well secured to the wall by means of brickwork on all sides

The plate measures 18" by 14" and is $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick In the centre of the upper part there is a ring-hole $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter The ring was not found, nor the seal which must have surmounted it² The plate is inscribed on one side only and contains 27 lines of writing in a perfect state of preservation The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit throughout In respect of orthography, the following points may be noted The letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* throughout The doubling of consonants before and after *r* occurs in lines 4 (twice), 5, 16 (twice), 17, 18 (twice), 19 (twice), 22 (twice), 23, 24 (thrice), and 27 The horizontal top stroke (*mātrā*) which elsewhere distinguishes the letters *v* and *l* from *dh* and *n*, respectively, is, in a few cases, also found in the latter Omissions of letters are supplied by the insertion of the corresponding signs immediately above or below their original places cf *ra* in *Turashka* in line 21 and *bha* in *bhadrāsanam* in line 23 A rough figure of Garuda is engraved once at the end of the 11th line and again in the last line before the words *mamgalam mahā-śrīh*

The inscription begins, like all the other epigraphs of the Gāhadavāla king Govindachandra that have so far come to light, with nine verses in different metres containing his genealogy, and ends with seven benedictive and imprecatory verses and an eighth which supplies the name of the engraver The formal portion is contained in the rest of the epigraph and is, as usual, in prose I have given the full text of the inscription, but omitted from the translation the first nine verses, because they are paraphrased in the prose passage following them, and the next seven which contain the usual admonitions to future kings The taxes specified (line 21) as due to the donees are the *bhāgabhogakara*, the *pravānikara*, and the *Turushkadanda*³ The last named tax figures only in the records of three other kings of the Gāhadavāla dynasty, namely, the Chandravatī plate of Govindachandra's grandfather, Chandradēva,⁴ the inscription issued by Govindachandra himself on behalf of his father Madanapāla,⁵ and a plate of Vijayachandra and the Yuvarāja Jayachandra⁶

In respect of the localities mentioned in the record, it is gratifying to note that some of them can be identified beyond all possibility of doubt The other places have, in all probability, gone out of existence One of these latter is Vihāra, the first of the six villages granted It is said to have been situated in the district of what appears to be Vādā-chaturaśītī⁷ There is a comparatively large village called Bāja Jōt or the Holy Bāja, about 2 miles west of Sahēth I am inclined to think that Vādā may possibly be a mistake for Bāja The next village Pattanā is situated about 3 miles south-west of Sahēth or about 2 miles south of

¹ [It is worthy of note that the slab was found "in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building," see also the following note—Ed]

² [The absence of the ring and seal would show that the plate must have had a history of its own before it came to be deposited at the spot where it has now been discovered—Ed]

³ For an explanation of *turushkadanda*, see above, Vol IX, p 321

⁴ Above, Vol IX, p 305, text line 15

⁵ *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII, p 17, text line 21

⁶ Above, Vol IV, p 120, text lines 22-23

⁷ [It is not unlikely that all the six villages granted by the king were situated in the district of Vādā chaturaśītī—Ed]

Katrā on the road leading to Khargupur Bāvār and is now called Patnā. There is a mass of ancient remains near the village and the peasants have discovered a few old wells which they use for the irrigation of their fields. The village of Upalaundā I cannot identify. The fourth village is called Vavvahālī in the plate. This is presumably now represented by Bclahā situated near the village of Patnā. The villagers say that it is ancient. The next place is "Ghōsādi attached to Mēyī." Ghōsādi does not exist, but Mēyī is still an important village near Subhāgpur on the Gonda-Intiathok road. The last village is "Payāsī belonging to Pōthivāra." This I identify with a village of the name of Bayāsī which formerly stood 2 *kṛs* to north-east of Sabēth Mabēth, but was washed away by the Raptī some years ago. Its site is still known by the name of Bayāsī.

[In line 19 f. the Buddhist ascetic Śākyarakṣita is said to have been a native of Utkala, i.e. Orissa, and his disciple Vāgiśvararakṣita belonged to the Chōḍa country. The date of the inscription, viz. Vikrama-Samvat 1186, corresponds to A.D. 1128-9, which falls into the reign of the Chōḷa king Vikrama-Chōḷa. The Gahadavāla kings of Kanauj appear to have been on friendly terms with the Chōḷas of Tanjore¹ whose dominions extended into the Northern Circars during the reigns of Kulōttunga I. and Vikrama-Chōḷa. It is not certain if Vāgiśvararakṣita came from the Tamil country or from the vicinity of Amarāvati which was included in the dominions of the Chōḷa king at the time. We know very little of the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country. But there is no doubt that there were adherents of that creed down to the 13th century A.D. in the country round Amarāvati in the Guntur District. Besides, Kumārādēvī, the Buddhist queen of Gōvindahandra, was the daughter of a chief of Pithī. And Dr. Konow says it is possible to identify Pithī with Pithāpuram in the modern Godavari District of the Madras Presidency². If this be the case, it is no matter for surprise that the two Buddhist ascetics who pleased Gōvindahandra were natives of Orissa and the Chōḷa country. Probably they were introduced to the king by his queen Kumārādēvī, who probably brought about, either directly or indirectly, the gift recorded in the subjoined inscription. The sentence *punar api vāsāṇikṛitya grāmā amē śhad api dattā* "these six villages were given again by a charter" implies that these villages had originally been granted to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Jētavana, but, for some reason or other, resumed subsequently. At Sarnāth, queen Kumārādēvī restored the "lord of the turning of the wheel" and erected a *vihāra* for his accommodation. It is not impossible that the same queen also infused fresh life into the Buddhist establishment at Jētavana by sending for the two Buddhist ascetics and inducing the king to restore the six villages which once belonged to the *vihāra*—Ed.]

TEXT

1 Om³ svasti |

Akunthōtkantha-Vaikuntha-kanthapītha-luthat-karah |
samrambhah surat-ārambhō sa Śrīyah śrēyasō=stu vah || [*]
Āsīd=Āsītady[u]ṭi-vamśa-jāta-kṣmāpāla-mālā-

2

su divam gatāsu |
sākṣhād=Vīvasvān=iva bhūti-dhāmnā nāmnā Yaśōvīgraha ity=udārah || [2*]
Tat-sutō=bhūn=Mahīcha[m]draś=chandra-dhama-mubham nija[m] || [*]
yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-

¹ [See the *Annual Report* of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for 1907-08, paragraphs 58 ff.—Fd.]

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 322

³ Expressed by a symbol

- 3 pārē vyāpāritam yaśah || [3*]
Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasika[h] krānta-dvīshan-maṇḍalō
vidhvast-ōddhata-vairi-yōdha-timurāh śrī-Chamdradēvō nripah |
yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha-pra
- 4 jōpadravam
śrīmad-Gādhīpur-ādhirā[ṇya]m¹=asamam dōr-vvikramēn=ārjyatam || [4*]
Tīrthānī Kāśī-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśal-Ēmdra-
sthānīyakānī paripālayat=ādhyagmya |
hēm=ātmatulyam=a-
- 5 nīśam dādītī dvijēbhya
yēn=ānkitā vasumatī śataśas=tulābhīh || [5*]
Tasy=ātmaṇō Madanapāla itī kshītindra-
chūdāmanir=vyajayatē [n]ṇa-gōtra-chamdrāh |
ya[sy=ā]bhūshaka-kalas-ō[lla]sītah payōbhīh
prā(pra)-
- 6 kshālītām kalī-rajah-patalam dhantryāh || [6*]
Yasy=āsīd=viṇaya-prayāna-samayō vung²-āchal-ōchchais-chalan-
mādyat-kumbhī-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhraśyan-mahīma[m]dalāh |
chūdaratna-vibhinnā-tālu-
- 7 galita-styān-āsrig-udbhāsītah
Śīśah pēsha vaśād=iva kshānam=abhūt=krōdō nilīn-ānanah || [7*]
Tasmād=ajāyata vij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-vallī-
va(ba)ddh-āvaruddha-nava-rā[ṇya]-gajō narēndrah |
sāmdr-ā-
- 8 mṛita-drava-muchām prabhavō gavām yō
Gōvīmdachamdra itī chamdra iv=ā[m]vu(bu)rāsēh || [8*]
Na katham=apy=alabhamnta(bhanta) ranakshamā[m]s=
tūrishu dīkshu gajān=atha Vajrinah |
kakubhī va(ba)bhrāmur=A[bhra]mu-vallabha-
pratī-
- 9 bhatā iva yasya ghatā-gajāh || [9*]
Sō=yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samsēvita-charanah paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-niṇa-bhuj-ōpārjita-Kanyakuvj(bj)-ādhipa-
- 10 tyā śrīmach-[Cha]mdradēva-pādānudhyātā-paramabhattāra[ka]-mahārājādhirāja-para-
mēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrīma[n*]-Madanapālādēva-pā[dā]nudhyātā-
paramabhattā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-para-
- 11 mēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhīpati-vīvidha-vidyā-
vichāra-Vāchaspatiḥ śrīmad-Gō[vi]ndachamdradēvō , vijayī ||³



|| ||

¹ The akshara *ṇya* looks like *dya*; one of the strokes necessary to make it *ṇya* has been omitted

² Read *tung*°

³ This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 12 to 21 are superfluous

- 12 Vādā(jā)-chaturāṣīti-pattalāyām Vihāra | ¹Pattanā | Upalaundā |
Vavvahali | Mōyi-samva(ba)ddha-Ghōsādī Pōthivāra-sam[va](ba)ddha-
Payāsi-grāma-nivāsina
- 13 nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=apī² rāja-rājñi-yuvaiāja-mamti-purōhita-pra[ti]hāra-
sēnāpati-bhāndāgārik-ākshapatalīka-bhūbhag-aaimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-
- 14 karitragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāriṇaś=cha puruṣhān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)-
dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā | Vīditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōparīkṣita-
grāmāb sa-ja-
- 15 la-sthalāh sa-lōha-lavan-ākarāh sa-matsy-ākarāh sa-pallikarāh³ sa-gartt-ōsha[rā]h
sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vātīkā-vitapa-trina-yūti-gōchāra-paryantāh s-ōrddhv-ūdhāś=
chatur-āghāta-viśu-
- 16 ddha-sva-simā-paryantāh | Samvatsarē shadaśīty-adhik-aikādaśa-śatē Āshādhē
mā[s]jē [Sō]mavārē Pūrvvāshādhā-nakshatrē pūrnīmāyām tithau
ankatō=pi samvat 1186 Āshādhā
- 17 sudi 16 Sōmē | ady-ōha śrī-Vārānasyām Gamgāyām [sn]ātvā mantra-dēva-
muni-manuja-bhūta-pūtri-ganāms=tarppayitvā tmi[ra]-pātala-pātana-patu-mahasam=
⁴Ushnarōchishamm=upasthāy=An-
- 18 shadhipati-śakala-śekharam samabhyarohya tribhuvana-trātar=Vāsudēvasya
pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā mātāpitrōr=
ātmanas=cha punya-yaśō-bhividdhayē gō-
- 19 karṇa-kuśalātā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvam | Utkala-dēśiya-Saugata-parivrajaka-
mahāpandita-Śākyarakṣita-tachchhishya-Chōda-dēśiya-Saugata-parivrajaka-
mahāpandi-
- 20 ta-Vāgīśvararakṣitābhyām paritōshitair=asmābhih Śrimaj-Jētavana-mahāvihā-
ra-vāstavya-Vu(Bu)ddhabhattāraka-pramukha-param-ārya-[ś]ākyabhikṣu-
samghāya vihār-āntara-maryāda-
- 21 yā paribhōg-ārtham mahatā chitta-prasāden=āhamdrākkam punar=apī śāsani-
kritya grā[m]ā imē shad=apī dattā⁵ matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-
pravanikara-Tu[ra]shkadayda-pra-
- 22 bhriti-sarvvādāyān=ājñā-[śra]vana-vidhēyi-bhūya dāsyath=ēti || Bhavanti ch=ātra
ś[ī]okāh | [I*] Bhūmim yah pratgrīhṇāti yaś=cha bhūmm prayachchati |
ubhau tau punyakarmmanau niyatau(tam) svarg[ga]gāmī-
- 23 nau | [10*]
Śamkham [bha]dr-āsanam [ch]ohhatram var-āśvā vara-vāranāh |
bhūmi-dānasya chi[hnā]ni phalam=ētat=Paramdara || [11*]
Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhūh Sagar-ādībhūh |
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
- 24 tasya tadā [pha]la[m] || [12*]
Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinah pārthiv-āndrān
bhūyō bhūyō yūchatē Rāma[bha]drah |
sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nnarānām
kalē kalē pālaniyō bhavadbhūh || [13*]
Shashiti-va-

¹ [Either the reading is *Paṭṭanyā*, or there are two vertical strokes after *Paṭṭanā* —Ed.]

² Read *apī cha*

³ [I think the reading is *sa parannakarāh*, see above Vol IV p 101, text-line 17 and plate —Ed.]

⁴ Read *°sham*

⁵ Read *dattā it*

2.5

- 25 rsha-sahasrāṇi svar[gē] vasatī bhūmīdah |
 āchchhettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [14*]
 Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhāām |
 sa viśthāyām krīmīr=bhūtā
- 26 p[tribhū]h saha majjavī(tī) || [15*]
 Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=adam vasudh-ādhipatyam=
 āpāta-mātra-madhurā [vī]śhay-ōpabhōgāh |
 pr[ā]nā[s]-trin-āgra-jala-vimdu-samā narānām
 dharmmah sakhā param=abhō paralōka-yānē || [16*]
- 27 Śrīmad-Gōvīndachandrasya bhūpatēr=ājñay=ālikhat |¹
 tāmram=ētat=Surādityah kāyasthah sarvva-sāstra-vit || [17*]
 ॐ २| २| Mangalam mahā-śrīh || ||

TRANSLATION

(Lines 9 to 22)

That victorious and glorious king, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara Gōvīndachandradēva*,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings, who is (another) *Vāchaspati* in investigating the various sciences; who is the lord of the three kings, viz the *asvapati* (lord of horses), the *gajapati* (lord of elephants) and the *narapati* (lord of men), who meditates on the feet of the illustrious *P M P P Madanapāla-dēva*, who (in his turn) meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P M P P Chandradēva*, who acquired the sovereignty over *Kanyakubja* by (the strength of) his own arms,—orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in the villages of *Vihāra* in the district (?) of *Vādā-chaturāṣīti*, of *Paṭtanā*, *Upalaundā*, *Vavvahālī*, *Ghōsādī* attached to *Mēyī* and of *Payāsī* attached to *Pōthivāra*, as well as the kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?) *sthānas* and *gōkulas* in the following manner —

“Be it known to you, that, having been gratified by the *Saugata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpandita Śākyarakshita*, (a resident) of the *Utkala* country, and his disciple, the *Saugata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpandita Vāgīśvararakshita*, (a resident) of the *Chōḍa* country, I have to-day,—on a Monday, the pūrṇimā tithī of the month of *Āshādhā*, (the moon being) in the *Pūrvāshādhā nakshatra* in the year comprising eleven hundred increased by eighty-six, also in figures Samvat 1186, *Āshādhā sudi 15*, Monday,—after bathing in the *Ganges*, at the holy *Vārānasī*, propitiating the sacred texts, divinities,³ sages, men, beings and the group of deceased ancestors, adoring the sun, whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness, worshipping the moon-crested (*Śiva*), worshipping *Vāsudēva*, the protector of the three worlds, and after offering to (the god of) fire an oblation rich in milk-rice, bestowed again⁴ by a charter for the enhancement of the merit and fame of my parents and of myself, by (pouring) from the palm of my hand water sanctified by the *gōharna* and the *kusa*

¹ [The sign of *avagraha* is inserted in the original between the aksharas *yā* and *l* —Ed.]

² [Each of these vertical strokes is preceded by a symbol which looks like the letter *ॐ* found in this inscription. —Ed.]

³ See *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 10, note 55

⁴ I do not understand the force of the word “again” (*punarap*) here This would seem to signify that the king was only renewing an older grant of his

grass,¹ with a great satisfaction of the heart, for enjoyment in the manner of other convents for (as long as) the moon and the sun (endure), the six villages named above, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, repositories (*i.e.* ponds) of fish, *pallikaras*, pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *madhūka* and mango (trees), parks, bushes, grass and pasture lands up to their proper limits clearly defined by their four boundaries, with the elevations and depressions, upon the most respectable community (*samgha*) of Buddhist friars (*Śākyabhrīkshu*) of whom Buddhahattāraka is the chief, residing in the great convent of the Holy Jētavana. Bearing (this) in mind, and being ready to listen to (our) commands you should (*continue to*) give (to the donees) the *bhāgabhogakara*, the *praramkara*, the *Turushkadanda* and all the other sources of income that are due "

[Lines 22—26 contain seven imprecatory and benedictory verses]

(L 27) Under the orders of the glorious king Gōvindhachandra, this grant was written by the Kāyastha Surāditya, who is proficient in all *śāstras* Good luck (and) great prosperity!

NO 4 —THE CHAHAMANAS OF MARWAR

BY D R BHANDARKAR, M A , POONA

In his paper on "The Chāhamānas of Naddūla" the late Professor Kielhorn has edited the Sūndhā hill inscription of Chāchigadēva² which helps to determine the order of succession and the relationship of the various princes, whose inscriptions had been published, but whose connection with one another had long remained unknown. We are now aware that they were all of the Chāhamāna dynasty. But there were several families of the Chāhamānas that reigned in Rājputānā. It was, therefore, necessary to distinguish the line that ruled over Mārwar from other branches ruling elsewhere. And Professor Kielhorn chose to group them together under the title "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla". But some of these Chāhamānas reigned at Naddūla (Nādōl), and some at Jābālpura (Jālor). Strictly speaking, they should, therefore, have been called "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla and Jābālpura". The descendants of the former are called Nādōlīās, and of the latter Sōnagarās. Again, at Sānchōr, inscriptions are found of a Chāhamāna prince who seems to be neither a Nādōlīā nor a Sōnagarā, but rather a Sānchōrā, another subdivision of the Chōhāns. Under such circumstances, it is best to designate these Chōhāns as "the Chāhamānas of Mārwar".

The subjoined inscriptions were discovered during the two tours undertaken by me in 1907-08 and 1908-09 in the southern and south-eastern parts of Mārwar, and this paper is really a supplement to that of Professor Kielhorn, without which it would not have been possible to make my article interesting.

I AND II —SĀDADĪ AND NĀDŌL INSCRIPTIONS OF JŌJALADĒVA , [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1147³

The first of these inscriptions was found at Sādadi, and the second at Nādōl, both in the Dēsūri District, Gōdvād Division, Jodhpur State. The former is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgēśvara, but as all the materials of this temple are said to have been brought from ruins elsewhere, it is clear that the inscription did not originally belong to Sādadi. It contains

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV p. 10, note 57.

² Above, Vol. IX p. 70.

³ [For short notices of these two records see above, Vol. IX p. 158 f.—Ed.]

11 lines of writing, which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The second inscription is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmēśvara, and bears 13 lines of writing which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $9\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The letters of the first are deeply cut, and, excepting two or three *al·haras* at the beginning of lines 8-10, the record is well preserved. The second is weather-worn and has not yielded satisfactory impressions. The whole of it, however, is intact. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and both the inscriptions are in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*. Of words unknown or rarely employed, we may note the following: (1) *yātrā*, (2) *satka*, (3) *vadaharaka*, (4) *śūlapāla*, and (5) *pramadākula*. *Yātrā* is a festival which is held on different days for different gods¹. The word is frequently met with in the Bhīmāl inscriptions. *Satka* of course means "belonging to," and, though foreign to classical Sanskrit literature, is found in later inscriptions and in Jaina literature. *Vadaharaka*, I think, is the Sanskritised form of the Mārwarī word *baderō*, meaning "an old man." The word *śūlapāla*, which occurs only in No II, is given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary to mean "the keeper of a brothel or frequenter of brothels," but the sense intended here seems to be that of "associates of courtezans, who accompany them on musical instruments while singing or dancing." *Pramadākula* means obviously a host of courtezans, and is used in this sense also in the Bhīmāl inscriptions.

The contents of both the inscriptions are, most identical. They are dated on Wednesday, the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha, i.e. the [Vikrama-] year 1147 and refer themselves to the reign of Jōjaladēva, who, in No I, is styled *Mahārāja* and, in No II, *Mahārājādhirāja*. They lay down the order of the king with regard to the management of festivals in connection with all the gods, such as Lakshmanasvāmin and others. The order is that when the festival of any particular god commences, the courtezans attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *śūlapālas* to celebrate it by instrumental music, dancing, singing, and so forth. Jōjaladēva goes even to the extent of conjuring his descendants and other princes to keep the festivals of all the gods going in this manner, and warns them by adding that he, who, at the time of a festival, attempts to abolish this practice, be he an ascetic, an old person, or a learned man, should be prevented from doing so by the reigning ruler. The inscription ends with a curse on those princes who will not maintain this practice.

In the temple of Jāgēśvara at Sādadi, where No I was engraved on a pillar, other inscriptions also are found, but incised on another pillar of exactly the same style. From them it is clear that the temple of Lakshmanasvāmin was at Nādūla, i.e. Nādōl. Again, in order that the festival of one god may be celebrated by courtezans attached to other temples, all the temples must be in one and the same town, i.e. in Nādōl. The name of the god Lakshmanasvāmin suggests that he was so called after Lakshmana, the founder of the Mārwar branch of the Chōhāns.

I

TEXT²

- 1 श्रीं सवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुदि २ बुधवासरे⁴ महा-
- 2 राजश्रीजीजलदेवेन श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृति-
- 3 समस्तदेवानां यात्राकालव्यवहारो लेखितः ॥
- 4 यत्र दिने यत्र देवे यात्रा भवति तत्रापरसमस्तदे-

¹ [This word has become *jātra*, *jātre* or *sāttirai* in the Dravidian languages of the South—Ed.]—

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read बुध^०

- 5 वानां सत्कप्रमदाकुलैः सर्वैः साकल्यैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्याव-
 6 द्धियागत्य वाद्यनृत्यगानादिविधि[न]। यात्रा कर्तव्याऽग्रे
 7 च सर्वकालमस्मद्दशजैरन्यैर्वा भाविभूमिपालैरित्यं
 8 [सर्व]देवेषु यात्रा कारयितव्या यात्राकाले तपस्वी वड-
 9 — — —¹विद्यावान्वाऽपरोपि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य
 10 — —²[नि]ग्रहः करणीयः । य[द्य] राजाऽनेन³ क्रमेण यात्रा
 11 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥—

II.

TEXT⁴

- 1 श्री⁵ संवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुदि २ बुधवास-⁶
 2 रे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजोजलदेवः सम-
 3 स्तदेवानां श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृतीनां यात्राव्य-
 4 वहारं लिखयति यथा ॥ यत्र घस्त्रे यत्र [दे]वे
 5 यात्रा भवति तत्र समस्तदेवानां सत्कप्रमदाकु-
 6 लैराकल्पसयुक्तैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्यावद्भिश्च सशूल-
 7 पालैरागत्य नित्यं वाद्यनृत्य[गीत]ादिविधिना यात्रा
 8 करणीया । अग्रे च सर्वकालमस्मद्दशजैरन्यैर्वा भा-
 9 विभूमिपालैरित्यं⁷ सर्वदेवेषु यात्रा⁸ कारयितव्या ।
 10 यात्राकाले तपस्वी वडहरको विद्यावान्वाऽपरो-
 11 पि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य राज्ञा निग्रह⁹ कर-
 12 णीयः । यद्य राजाऽनेन क्रमेण सर्वदेवेषु यात्रा
 13 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥०॥

III —SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF AŚVARĀJA,
 [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1167.

This inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of a subsidiary shrine in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sēvādī, a village about 5 miles to the south-east of Bāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōdvād Division. It contains 3 lines, and the writing covers a space of 3' 6" broad by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The inscription is, on the whole,

¹ Restore वडहरको.

² Supply राज्ञा

³ The *akṣhara* न is entered below the line and is different from the other n's in the inscription

⁴ From the original stone.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Read बुध^०

⁷ There is a break in the middle of the vertical line which denotes the *ā* of *trā*

⁸ Read नियह

well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *d* is worthy of note (e.g. in *Padrādā*, *Chhēchhadiyā*, and so forth), and occurs in the Nādōl copper-plate inscription of Kīrtipāla. Some of the letters are partially engraved. To take an instance, the left upper stroke of *ma* in *Padrādā-grāmē* in l 2 is missing, and the letter looks like *na*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole record is in prose except the concluding benedictory verse. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed *jagatī* and *mahā-sāhaniya* in l 1, and *java* and *hāraka* in l 2. *Jagatī* is found in many inscriptions in the sense of "the grounds". It corresponds, in my opinion, to the Hindi word *jagah* or *jagya* and the Marāṭhī word *jāga*¹. *Sāhaniya* most probably corresponds to the *dēsi* word *sāhanī*, meaning "master of stables". The same word occurs as a title of two Paramāra Rājputs in an inscription incised on a jamb of the hall door of the Nilakantha-Mahādēva temple at Nanā. *Java* and *hāraka* are also found in another inscription in the same temple at Sēvādī. They occur as *hāraka* and *java* in No XV below. Both are used in connection with an *arahaṣa* (*araghaṣṭa*), i.e. a well with a wheel attached thereto for drawing water. From this it appears that *java* or *javā* must be taken in the sense of *yava*, barley-corn. *Hāraka* seems to be the same as the Marāṭhī word *hārā*, a large basket of a particular form and of loose texture, often used in measuring corn. This receives confirmation from No XV.

The inscription is dated on the first of the bright half of Chaitra of the [Vikrama] year 1167, when Aśvarāja was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and Katukarāja the *yuvarāja* or hen-apparent. It then records a grant by Uppalarāja, son of Uttimarāja and grandson of Pūavi, the Great Master of Stables (*mahā-sāhaniya*), together with his family, the names of some of whose members are specified. The gift was made for the daily worship of Śrī-Dharmanāthadēva in the temple of Samīpātī, and what was granted was barley-corn equal to one *hāraka* from everyone of the wells (*arahaṣa*) belonging to the villages of *Padrādā*, *Medramchā*, *Chhēchhadiyā* and *Maddadī*.

Of the localities mentioned, Samīpātī is doubtless Sēvādī, which is also pronounced as Semvādī. And Dharmanāthadēva must be unquestionably the divinity installed in the cell, above the door of which the inscription is engraved. Chhēchhadiyā again must be Chhēchhlī, about 4 miles to the north of Sēvādī. The rest are unidentifiable.

TEXT :

1 श्री० ॥ स ११६७ चैत्र सु १ महाराजाधिराजश्रीअश्वराजराज्ये । श्री-
कटुकराजयुवरा[ज्ये^४ ।] समीपाटीयचैत्ये जगतौ^५ श्री[ध]र्मनाथदेवसां^६ नित्य-
पूजार्थं (१) महासाहणियपूअविपौत्रे[ण] ७कृत्तिमराजपुत्रेण उप्पलराकेन
(१) मागत आवल (॥^८)

^१ Above, Vol I p 277, note 18^२ From the original stone^३ Expressed by a symbol^४ Read ०यौवराज्ये^५ Read जगतौ

^६ [On the impressions which Mr Bhandarkar has kindly sent me for reference, the reading intended is ०देवस्य, though the subscript *y* is not properly formed. Other instances of such careless engraving are noticed by Mr Bhandarkar himself. There is a dot which may be taken for an *anusāra*, but it is not quite pronounced and may be due to accident.—Ed.]

^७ [The *y* of पुत्रेण looks like उ —Ed.] As most of the inscriptions here published do not aim at giving grammatically correct Sanskrit text, the places, where no attempt at observing the rules of *sandhi* is made, will be passed over, and only violations thereof will be noticed.

^८ [These two strokes look like र in the impression.—Ed.]

- 2 वि० सलखणजोगरादि कुटुवसमं¹ (i) पद्राडाया[मि] (i) तथा मे[द्रं]चाग्रामे
 (i) तथा छेकडियामडडोग्रामे (ii) [अ]रहट अरहटं प्रति [द]त्त. जवहारकाः
 (ii) एकः १ ॥ यः कोपि लोप[य]यति (i) स गोस्त्रीत्रा[ह्य]णविनाश-
 पापेनात्मा[न]²
- 3 एतत् ये (i) प्रतिपालयि[य]ति (i) तेस्मदीयधर्म[म]ाग्याः सदा भविष्यन्ति ॥ इति
 मत्वा प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।
 'वहुभिर्वसुधा [भु]क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥ १ ॥ छ ॥

IV—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUKARĀJA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1172

The inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvira at Sēvādī. It is highly weather-worn and cannot consequently be easily deciphered. It was again bedaubed with redlead, when I was there, I do not know for what purpose. An estampage taken of it with my own hands has, however, enabled me to read almost the whole of it with certainty. It consists of 8 lines, and covers a space of 2' 1½" broad by 4½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *b* occurs in the inscription, *eg* in *vibudha-pati*³ in l 1, *bal-ādhipah* in l 4, and so forth. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the opening *Om* and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered and are 15 in all. One solecism occurs in *sriy-ādhārō* in l 2. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of the letter *v* both for *v* and *b*, and (2) the substitution of *n* for *ṇ* in conjunct consonants, *eg* in *punya-vismistah*, l 3, *vitirnam*, l 6, and so forth. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *khattaka* occurring in l 7. I came across the same word in an inscription in a shrine of the Jaina temple at Pāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jōdhpur State. This word occurs also in the Ābū inscriptions, *eg* it is used in l 40 of Inscription No I (above, Vol VIII p 213), where the meaning of 'niche' appears to be all but certain⁴. This sense fits here exactly. In line 3 again, is the word *bhukti*, which does not here simply denote a territorial division as elsewhere, but rather a province or a group of villages enjoyed as *jāgīr*. Lastly, the curious expression *Māghē Tryamva(ba)ka-samprāptau* in l 6 also deserves to be noticed in this connection. It literally means "in Māgha on the arrival of Tryambaka (Śiva)," and I am all but certain that it denotes what is popularly known as the Śiva-rātri, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tirthamkara. Verse 2 gives the name of Anahila, and his son named Jimda is mentioned in the verse following as proficient in polity and as belonging to the Chāhamāna dynasty. His son was Aśvarāja, and the son of the latter was Katukarāja (vv 4-5). In verse 6 we are told that in his *bhukti*, *ie* the province enjoyed by him, was the town named Śamipātī (Sēvādī), and at this place there was a temple of Viranātha (Mahāvira), bearing comparison with paradise. From verse 7 onwards we are introduced to a different line of descent. In this verse we are informed that there was one Yaśōdēva, leader of the army (*bal-ādhipa*), of pure soul, and foremost in the

¹ Read कुटुव°

² Read °न्राह्य°

³ Supply here some such word as लोपयैत्

⁴ Read बहु°, the lines are here reversed

⁵ [See also above, Vol VIII p 200, and the note on p 200 in the 'Additions and corrections' to that volume—Ed.]

assemblies of kings and *mahājanas* (banias) The next verse says that he, of equable mind, was never flagging in conferring favours on the relatives, friends, and virtuous people of the Shandēraka *gachchha* His son was Bāhada, who was well known amongst the learned like Viśvakarmā (verse 9), and the son of Bāhada was Thallaka, who was devoted to the Jaina religion and was an object of the king's favour (verse 10) To Thallaka an annual benefaction of eight *drammas* was made by Katukaraja on the Śiva-rātri day in the month of Māgha (vv 11-12) Verse 13 expresses a wish for the continuance of the gift so long as the sun and the moon last, made for the worship of Śāntinātha in the *khattaka* of Yaśodēva In the next verse we are told that the image of Śāntinātha in the temple of Jina in Śamipātī was caused to be made by his grandfather The last is an imprecatory verse, threatening with punishment those who would resume the grant The inscription ends with the mere date Samvat 1172, corresponding to A D 1115

It will be seen from the above account that the grantor was Katukarāja, son of Aśvarāja But he does not appear to have been a ruler at the time For in none of the verses is he spoken of as king, and in verse 6 we are informed, as we have seen, that Samipātī (Sēvādī) was in his *bhūti* Here neither the word *rājya* which would have suited the metre, nor any other term synonymous with it is used This shows that even in A D 1115, the date of the inscription, he was a *yutarāja* enjoying some villages as *jāgīr*

Shandēraka-sad-gachchha is no doubt the same as the Sandēraka *gachchha* of the Nādōl plates of Ālhanadēva dated V E 1218, and the Sandēra or Shandēraka *gachchha* of the Mount Abū inscriptions Saudera or Shandēraka is to be identified with the present Sāndērāv, 10 miles north-west of Bāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōdvād Division The name occurs also in an inscription in the temple of Mahāvira at that place (below No XVI) It is one of the many instances in which the Jaina *gachchhas* are called after the names of places in Mārwar

TEXT 1

- 1 श्री०^१ ॥ स्वजन्मनि जनताया जाता परतोपकारिणी शान्ति । विबुधपति-
विनुतचरण स शान्तिनामा जिनी जयति ॥१ आसीदुग्रप्रतापाद्यः
श्रीमदणहिलभूषति ।
- 2 येन प्रचडदोईडपराक्रम[जि]ता मही ॥२ तत्पुत्रः ^३चाहमानानामन्वये
नीतिसद्वह(ह) । जिदराजाभिधो राजा सत्यसौ(शौ)र्यसमाश्रयः ॥३ तत्त[नू]ज-
स्ततो जातः प्रतापाक्रातभूतलः [i*] अ[श्व]राजः श्रियाधारो^४ [भू]-
- 3 [प]तिर्भूता वरः ॥४ ततः कटुकराजेति त[त्पु]त्रो धरणीतले । जज्ञे स त्याग-
सौभाग्यविख्यातः पुन्यविस्मित^५ ॥५ तद्भुक्तौ^६ पत्तन र[म्य] शमीपाटीति-
नाम[कं] । तत्रास्ति वीरनाथस्य चैत्य स्वर्गसमोपम ॥६
- 4 इतश्चासीत् वि[शु]द्धात्मा यशोदेवो बलाधिपः । राज्ञा महानजनस्यापि सभायाम-
ग्रणीस्थितः ॥७ श्रीषडेरकसद्वच्छे बधूना सुहृ[दा] सता । नित्योपकुर्वता
येन न आत 'समचेतसा ॥८

^१ From an estampage
यस्वजन्मनि instead of स्वजन्मनि —Ed]

^२ Read 'पुत्रयाह'

^३ Expressed also by a symbol [On the impressions the reading seems to be

^४ Read श्रियाधारी, but it will not suit the metre

^५ Read पुन्य [On the impressions the first *akṣhara* of the word विस्मित looks more like नि than मि —Ed]

^६ Read तद्भुक्तौ

^७ [On the impression the first *akṣhara* of this word seems to be .श.—Ed]

- 5 तत्सुतो बाहडो , जातो नराधिपजन[प्रिय]: । विश्वकर्मेव सर्व्वत्र प्रसिद्धो
विदुषां मतः ॥८ तत्पुत्रः [प्र]थितो लोके जैनधर्मपरायणः । उत्पन्नः
[य]ज्ञको¹ राज्ञः प्रसादगुणमदिरं ॥
- 6 १० दयादाक्षिन्वगाभीर्यवुद्धिचिद्वानसंयुतः² । श्रीमत्क[टु]कराजेन तस्य दानं³
[क्तं] शुभं ॥११ माघे च्यवकसप्राप्तौ⁴ वितीर्ण⁵ प्रतिवर्षक । द्रम्माष्टक
प्रमाणेन यज्ञका-
- 7 य प्रमोदतः ॥१२ पूजा[र्घ्य] शान्तिनाथस्य यशोदेवस्य ख[त्त]के । प्रवर्हयतु
चंद्रार्कं यावदादानमु[ज्व]ल⁶ ॥१३ पितामहे[न] तस्येदं शमीपाद्यां जिनालये ।
कारित शान्तिना-
- 8 यस्य बिंबं जनमनोहर ॥१४ धर्मेण लिप्यते राजा पृथ्वी भुनक्ति यो
यदा । ब्रह्महत्यासहस्रेण⁷ पातकेन विलोपय[न्] ॥१५ सवत् ११७२

V —BĀLĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀŚVĀKA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1200

This inscription was found at Bālī. It is engraved on one of the lintels resting on the pillars of the *sabhā-mandapa* of the temple of Bālā alias Bahuguna-mātā. It contains 6 lines of writing, which cover a space of 7" broad by 2' 2½" high. Excepting the greater portion of line 1 and a few letters in line 5, it is well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose, excepting one verse in ll 4-5. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *grāsa* in l 2, which corresponds to the modern *grās*, signifying the landed possessions of a member of one of the ruling tribes. In lines 3 and 4 occur some abbreviations such as *bho*°, *pu*°, *va*°, and so forth. I do not know what their full forms are.

The inscription opens with the date, of which all the details are lost, except the [Vikrama-] year 1200. It refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārāja-dhīrāja* Śrī-Jayasīhadēva, of course, of the Chaulukya dynasty and speaks of the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Āśvāka as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet," i.e. as his feudatory. At that time the village of Vālahī was being enjoyed as *grās* by the queen Śrī-Tihunaka. It then records a grant of four *drammas* by Bōpanava-sṭhabhana, son of Pālhā, in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahughrīpa. Further details of the grant are given but are not quite clear, but it appears to have been laid down that at the time of the horse-fair (lit. selling of horses) one *dramma* was to be given to the goddess, two *drammas* to the *samgha-pati* Galapalyādīyā, son of Chōhadī, and resident at the village of Thāmbhīla, one *dramma* to Vālhana and Gāravāta, sons of Mōhana, one *dramma* each to the machine-wells, such as

¹ Read च्यवकस्यज्ञको

² Read °दाक्षिण°

³ [On the impression the reading is तस्यादान° —Ed.]

⁴ Read °यवक°

⁵ Read वितीर्ण

⁶ [The *akṣhara* in brackets looks like ह्री —Ed.]

⁷ Read ब्रह्म° and °सहस्रेण.

those named S tka, Bhanīyā, Bahadā, Mahiyā, and so forth, one *dramma* to the *bhāmdūri* Būtī, and so on. The record was written by one Kulachandra

The feudatory chieftain Āśvāka referred to herein is doubtless identical with the Āśvarāja of the two previous inscriptions. Valahī must be the modern Bālī, and the goddess Bāṅghīmā the same as Bahuguna or Bōḷa-mātā, in whose temple the inscription is engraved

TEXT.¹

- 1 संवत् । [१२]०० [समस्त]राजा-
वलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजश्रीज[य]-
- 2 सोहवेदकल्याणविजयराज्ये^२ तत्पा[ट]पञ्चोपजीवि[नि मञ्ज]राजश्रीआश्याके^३ । एव
काले प्रवर्त्तमाने 'राज्ञीश्रीतिहुणकग्रासामुज्यमानवा[ल]होग्रा[म]स्य सत्त्वश्री-
वहु[वृ-]
- 3 ण[ट](दे)वी[यात्रा]निवि(मि)त्त भो० पाल्हासुत भो० वोपणवस्थभनेन वालही प्रति^४
प्रदत्त द्रां ४ तथा घोडाविक्रए द्रा १ [त]या च याभिल[ग्र]ाम-
वास्तव्यसधपतिचोहडिपुत्रगलपल्यादिया[इ]
- 4 प्रति प्रदत्त द्रा २ [पू० मो]हणसुतवाल्ह[ण]गार[वा]ट प्रति द्रा १ सीक्कभरिया-
बोहडामहियाप्रभृति अरहटप्रति प्रदत्त द्रा १ भा० वूटा प्रति द्रा १
व० उदकपीहया० आ० ते० पली १ प्रदत्त ॥ यस्य यस्य
- 5 [य*]दा भूमि तस्य^५ तस्य तदा फलं । यस्तु एत लोपयति^७ तस्य ब्रह्मह-
त्यादय^६ ॥१^९ श्रीकुलचद्रेण लिखित ॥ सद्गुणा वा० रा० कातियस
. लाही प्रति द्रा १ अरठपा-
- 6 दणा० उ ॥ भौसै ४ घाटधरणप्रति द्रां १।

VI—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUDEVĀ,

[SIMHA-]SAMVAT 31

This inscription also was found at Sēvādī, near a house in front of the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra. It is what is called there a *surabhi* stone, i.e. a stone which is surmounted with

¹ From the original stone² Read 'सीहदेव'³ [On the estampage which Mr Bhandarkar has sent me, the reading सचि instead of राज is also possible.—Ed.]⁴ [The *akshara* क of तिहुणक is not on the line. There is a letter or symbol above the line which Mr Bhandarkar takes for क, and this is how he gets तिहुणक.—Ed.]

Read वालही प्रति, as the text was never intended to be grammatically correct, such inaccuracies will not be corrected unless it is absolutely necessary to do so

⁵ Read भूमिसस्य⁶ Read एतक्षीप^७⁷ Read ब्रह्म, the metre of these lines is violated⁸ [On the estampage the reading seems to be ॥ ५ ॥ कुल०.—Ed.]

the sculpture of a cow and her calf and with the sun and the moon on each side. The inscription is mutilated in several places, and the letters have become very much worn out. The inscription is of no importance except for what is contained in the first three lines, about the reading of which there remains no doubt. They give the date Sam 31 Bhāda[va]dā [su]dī 11, and state that Katudēva was at that time *Mahārājādharāja* and reigning at Nādīla (Nādī) and that Samipātī was being enjoyed by (his son) Jayatasīha, the *Yuarāja*, or heir-apparent. This Katudēva is the same as the Katukarāja of Nos III and IV, above, and, as we know that he was the *Yuarāja* from V E 1167 to 1172, the only era, to which we can refer the year 31, the date of this inscription, is that started by the Chaulukya sovereign Siddharāja-Jayasimha, commonly known as Simha-Samvat. It then becomes equivalent to V E 1200 or A D 1143. That the province of Gōdvād was included in the dominions of Siddharāja-Jayasimha is proved by the preceding inscription. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the year 31 of our record belongs to the Simha era.

TEXT.¹

- 1 सं ३१ भादद^२ [सु]दि ११ ऽद्येह श्रीन[डू]ले ।
- 2 ^३— [हा]राजाधिराजश्रीकटुदेवविजयोद[यी] त—
- 3 — — ^४[ज]यतसीहयुवराजभुज्यमानसमीपाटया^५ श्रीम-
- 4 — —रपा[ल]: समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिप[ययन्]^६ ।
- 5 [श्री]वे[आ]भटसमस्तमहाजनप्रभृती[न्] । [त]-
- 6 — —[व]ार: सिधुराज — — । तस्मिन् काले प्रव[र्त]माने
- 7 लि[ष]ति च पूर्वधर्मशासन — — — यतु घाणक प्र-
- 8 [ति]स्त्रण सर्वप्रमाण श्या—हलखेटलनिषे[ध:] एत-
- 9 — —प्रतिपालयन्ति [स] आत्मानं पुण्येन लिप्यते ज
- 10 कोपि लोप[य]स्यति स ब्रह्महत्यापापेन गृह्यते ॥ मंगलं
- 11 महाश्री ॥

VII—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1189

This inscription was found in a Jaina temple at Nādīlāi, 8 miles to the north-west of Dēsūrī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōdvād Division. The temple is now dedicated to Ādinātha, but there can be no doubt, as will be seen from other inscriptions, that it was originally dedicated to Mahāvira. The inscription in question is engraved on a lintel standing on two pillars in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*. The lines of the inscription run parallel to one another but not to the edges of the lintel, and the tops of some of the concluding letters in the first line have been cut off, necessarily being outside the upper edge of the lintel. This points to the conclusion that the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* was rebuilt some time after the date of

¹ From the original stone² Read भाद्रपद³ Read महा^०⁴ Restore तस्मत्⁵ Read पाटया⁶ Read परिपययन्, further grammatical inaccuracies are better left uncorrected.

the inscription, and that the lintel on which it is incised is no longer preserved in its original form.

The record contains 6 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 5½" broad by 4½" high. The surface of the stone does not appear to have been dressed before engraving the inscription, and the letters also do not seem to have been carefully incised. The characters are Nāgarī. Of these *y* is written as if it were *p*, as is often seen in Sanskrit manuscripts. Next, the form of the letter *d* in *Nadūladāgikā*, l 2, is worthy of note and is exactly like that noted in No III. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting a verse at the end, which, however, offends against the metre. In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noticed first that there is but one *b* in the inscription and it is denoted by the sign for *v*, in *vrahama(hma)*°, l 5, and secondly, that the final consonant is represented by the addition of the suffix *u* as, *eg yad* by *yadu* in l 5. The same orthographic peculiarity I have noticed in the later copper-plate inscriptions of the Gubilot princes, which are found in Gōdvād. As regards lexicography, the words *pala* and *palikā* employed in l 3 doubtless denote some kind of liquid measure. Details of it have been set forth in Berūni, *Indica*, Vol I p 164. Attention may also be drawn to the abbreviated forms herein employed, *bham*°, l 3, and *rā*° and *u*°, l 4. *Bham*°, of course, stands for *bhamdārī*, the name of a well-known subdivision of the Ōśvāls, and *rā*° for *rāuta*, which is supposed to be a corruption of *rājaputra*, and is the same as the modern *rāvat*, one of the designations borne by Rājput jāgirdārs. I do not know the full form of *u*°. In l 3 is used the word *ghāṇaka*, which corresponds to *ghāṇī* and signifies an oil-mill. It is frequently met with in inscriptions.

The inscription is dated the 5th of the bright half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1189, and speaks of a grant made by Rudrapāla and Amritapāla, sons of the Mahārājādhirāja Rāyapāla of the Chāhamāna dynasty, in conjunction with their queen-mother Māṇaladēvī. The gift was of two *palikās* out of those due to the royal family from each oil-machine (*ghāṇaka*) and was made for the (Jaina) saints in and outside Nadūladāgikā (Nādīlāi). The witnesses to this religious benefaction were the villagers (*grāminaka*) Ttmatā, a *rāuta*, Siriyā a *u*°, Pōsari a *bama*, and Lakshmana, headed by Nāgasiva, a *bhandārī*. They apparently formed the *pañcha* of the village.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री° ॥ संवत् ११८९ माघसुदि पंचम्यां श्रीचाहमानान्वय(१)श्रीमहाराजा-
धिराज[रायपा]ल(१)-
- 2 देव° तस्य पुत्रो° रुद्रपालश्चमृतपा[ली] (१) ताभ्यां माता श्रीराज्ञीमा[न]न-
देवी तथा [नदू]ल[डा]गिका-
- 3 यां (१) सतां परजतीनां [रा]जकुलपल[म]ध्यात् पलिकाद्वय(१) घाण[कं] प्रति
धर्माय प्रदत्त° । भं० नागसि-
- 4 वप्रमुखसमस्तग्रामीणक (१) रा० तिमटा वि० सिरिया वणिक° पोरुरि(१)
लक्षण एते सा ।

¹ From the original stone

² Read पुत्रो.

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read प्रदत्त

⁵ Read °देव

⁶ Read वणिक.

- 5 खि¹ कृत्वा दत्त [1] लोपकस्य यदु पाप² गोहत्यासहसेण । ³ब्रह्महत्या-
सतेन च (1) तेन
6 पापेन लिप्यते सः⁴ ॥ ० ॥ श्री ॥

VIII—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1195

This inscription also was found at Nādlāi, but in the temple of Nēminātha, locally known as Jādvaṛjī, situated on a small hill to the south-east of the village. It is engraved on a pillar, and is, on the whole, well preserved. It consists of 26 lines of writing, and covers a space of 9½" broad by 1' 11¼" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *matu* for *mat(d)* in *matudattam*, l 22. Of unknown or rare words *bhōktāri*, l 9, *sēha*, l 11, and *ābhārya*, l 12, may be noticed. For the first I can suggest no meaning. *Sēha* is perhaps the same as the Sanskrit *sihya* meaning "a kind of loop or swing made of rope and suspended from either end of a pole or yoke to receive a load (also applied to the load so carried)." The word *ābhārya* has, in my opinion, the sense of "income, proceeds," and occurs in no less than three different compounds in a Māngirol inscription of V E 1202⁵. It is also employed as a component of another compound in Bhinnmāl inscriptions Nos XII and XV⁶. Perhaps another word may also be noticed, viz *rāuta*, which occurs in ll 8 and 21. It is evidently a corruption of *Rājaputra* and is the same as Rājput, but is here used to denote apparently a *jāgudār*.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the Omniscient, who is here Nēminātha. It then gives the date, viz Tuesday, the 15th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1195, and refers to the rule of the *Mahārājādhirāja Rāyapālādēva* over *Nadūladāgikā* (Nādlāi). It then states that for lamp, incense, offering, flowers, worship and so forth of *Sri-Nēminātha*, the *thakkura Rājadēva*, son of the *rāuta Ūdharana* of the *Gūhila* family, granted for his spiritual merit one-twentieth part of the income (*ābhārya*) derived from the loads on bullocks going on their way or coming to Nādlāi. Then a request is made to future rulers for the preservation of the grant, and *Pāmsila* is given as the name of the individual who wrote the record. Then comes the sign-manual of *Rājadēva*, who is here called a *rāuta*, which is followed by the name of the witness *Gūgi*, son of the astrologer *Dūdūpā*. The last three lines are not intelligible to me.

TEXT⁷

- 1 ओ⁸ नम सर्वज्ञाय ॥ सवत् ११
2 ८५ आमउज⁹ वदि १५ कुजे ॥
3 अद्यह ओन[इ]लडा[गि]काया महा-
4 राजाधिराजयोराय[पा]लदेवे । विज-

¹ Read एतान्ताल्लिप

² Read यत्पाप

³ Read ब्रह्म^० and शतेन

⁴ This whole verse is corrupt. It also occurs at the end of some of the following inscriptions. Perhaps it may be restored as follows — गोहत्याना सहसेण ब्रह्महत्याशतेन च । लोपकस्य तु यत्पाप तेन पापेन लिप्यते ॥

⁵ *Bharnagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp 158-9

⁶ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I pt I pp 480 and 485

⁷ From the original stone

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read आसीज^०

- 5 यी¹ राज्यं कुर्वतीत्येतस्मिन् काले श्री-
 6 मदुर्जिततीर्थः² श्री[ने]मिनाथदेव-
 7 स्य दीपधूपनैवे[द्य]पुष्पपूजाद्यर्थे गू-
 8 हिलान्वयः³(1) राउ० ऊधरणसूनु-
 9 ना भोक्तारि(२)ठ० राजदेवेन स्वपु-
 10 ख्यार्थे स्वीयादानमध्यात्⁴ मार्गे [ग]-
 11 च्छतानामागताना⁵ वृषभाना शेके[पु]⁶
 12 यदाभाव्यं भवति तन्मध्यात् विं[श]-
 13 तिमो⁷ भागः चंद्रार्क⁸ यावत् देवस्य
 14 प्रदत्तः ॥ अस्मद्वंशेयेनान्येन वा
 15 केनापि परिपद्यना न करणीया ॥
 16 अस्मदत्त⁹ न केनापि लोप[नी]यं ॥
 17 स्वहस्ते परहस्ते वा य कोपि लोप-
 18 यिष्यति¹⁰ । तस्याहं करे लग्नी
 19 न लो[प्यं] मम शासनमिद¹¹ ।[१*] लि०
 20 [पा]मिलेन ॥० स्वहस्तीयं साभि-
 21 ज्ञानपूर्वक राउ० रा[ज]देवे-
 22 न मतुदत्त¹² ॥ अवाह¹³ साक्षि[णा]
 23 ज्योतिषिक[दूहू]पासूनुना गूगि-
 24 न[१]:¹⁴ । तथा पला० [प]ाला० । पृथि
 25 वा १ सागु[ल]ा ॥ टेपसा । रा
 26 घसा ॥ मगल महा[श्री.] ॥

IX—NADŌL STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1198

This inscription was discovered at Nādōl, about 10 miles north-west of Dēsūrī, and is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmēśvara. A transcript of the first 3 lines has been given by the late Professor Kielhorn, above Vol IX p. 159. The record contains 39 lines of writing, which cover a space of 9" broad by 2' 3' high. The letters are so weather-worn that even a satisfactory estampage is not possible, but with a little care and patience the whole of the

¹ Read विजयि

² Read 'दुर्जिततीर्थ'

³ Read 'न्दय'

⁴ The *sandhi* has here been disregarded. Such omissions will not be further noticed.

⁵ Read गच्छतामागताना.

⁶ The letter पु is engraved between lines 10 and 11.

⁷ Read विशतितमो

⁸ Read चन्द्रार्क

⁹ Read अद्यदत्त

¹⁰ Read 'यिष्यति

¹¹ The word इद is superfluous and not needed for the metre.

¹² Read मया दत्त

¹³ Probably अवाय was intended.

¹⁴ Read गूणिना

inscription can be read with certainty on the original stone. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. Some of the solecisms that occur in the record are *nirgamatī*, l. 20, *nirgamantānī*, l. 15, and *nirgamāpayantīnī*, l. 19. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note (1) that *t* is (correctly) doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *pravaritamānā*, l. 3, (2) that the dental *s* is frequently substituted for the palatal *ṣ*, (3) that the sign for *r* is used also for *b*, and (4) that there is a curious tendency exhibited here of ending proper names with *u* or *a*. The *dā-t* words employed are (1) *śāśa* or *śāśu*, *śāśu* and *pāśa* (ll. 4-8) which still in Māhār have the sense of wards or localities in a town, (2) *pāśa*, a belly, (3) *avasara*, l. 24, i.e. *śrī* or *śrī*, ante chamber or porch (above, Vol. I p. 165), and (4) *chaṇḍāśa*, l. 13, of uncertain meaning, but apparently signifying a *pañchāyat*. The unusual words used in the inscription are (1) *vipatīka*, l. 12, a pilgrim or caravan of pilgrims, (2) *daṇḍāśa*, doublecept of lunge, known as *daḍḍāśa* in Rājputānā, and (3) *lāyurata* l. 21, which doubtless has the same sense as that of the word *śāśa* or *chāṇḍa*, i.e. a kind of privation and self-immolation so commonly practised once in Rājputānā and Gujārāt by Brāhmanas and Bhats to force the kings to relent and grant their wishes. Two curious expressions occurring in the record also deserve to be noticed. The first is *prīṣṭam va darsayati*, ll. 20-21, and the second is *(bā)hī-jā grahītar n-āśti*, l. 23, both of which are *deśī* idioms unknown to Sanskrit literature. The former consists of two separate expressions (1) *pāśam darsayati* — lit. "shows his belly" but really "asks for means of livelihood," and (2) *prīṣṭam darsayati* — lit. "shows his back," i.e. "flings away and thus absolves his responsibility." The second exactly corresponds to the Hindi phrase even now in use, in Rājputānā at any rate, viz. *bāl par bhī gāṇḍhī nālī*, which is employed for absolving a man from all blame.

The inscription opens with the date, viz. Sunday, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvana in the [Vikrama] year 1198, and refers itself to the blessed and victorious reign of the *Mahārāja-dhīrāja* Śrī-Rāyapālādēva. It then makes mention of sixteen Brāhmanas of the town of Dhūlōpa, residing in eight different wards. Virūga and Prabhākara belonged to Mūrivādā, Anāka and Mahādā to Dīpavādā, Dōṇ and Ghāhādā to Dūṇḍanvāsū, Mubamkara and Divākara to Bhāṅgūtavādā, Dōrācha and Dhārā to Pīpālavādā, Nārāyana and Mahācha to Anubhāvadā, Āsiga and Āsapāla to Khāṅkhanālvādā, and Dēvaṅga and Āmṅga to Bhūndavādā. Headed by all these Brāhmanas, two from each of the eight wards of Dhūlōpa and with Dēvācha as the mediator, the whole people of the town tendered a document written (i.e. signed) with their own hands. It contains a solemn promise on their part to find out, in accordance with the custom of the country, by means of the *chaṇḍāśa* or *pañchāyat* system, whatever is lost by, or snatched away from, the *bhāta*, *bhāṭaputra*, *daṇḍāśa*, *kārpāśa*, *Varuṇāśa* and others on their way. If it was, however, lost at their own place, i.e. at any particular ward in Dhūlōpa, the responsible individuals thereof already named were to find it out in person. Money, weapons, watchmen, and so forth were supplied by the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Rāyapāl to them for tracing things lost, and so there was no need of assigning the duties of watchmen to any one amongst them. A declaration was also made to the effect that, if any Brāhmin amongst them, when being asked by chiefs (*rānaka*), to find out some lost property, refused to do so, asked for means of subsistence or fled away, or, if apprehended, had recourse to *lāyurata* or self-immolation, he would die like a cur, donkey, or *chaṇḍāla*, and the chiefs (*rānaka*), such as Rāyapāla and others, would in no wise be open to blame. Then is given a list of the names of the individuals who bore witness to the document. They are as follow: (1) Katuka and the Brahmana Sājanu come from, i.e. representing the *bhāṭāraka* Īlā (residing) in the *avasara* (*śrī*) of the temple belonging to Śrī-Jayasimhadēva, (2) the *bhāṭāraka* Varuṇasiu of (the temple of) Anubhāśvara, (3) the *bhāṭāraka* Mahēśvarasiu of (the temple of) Jēndrarājēśvara, (4) the *bhāṭāraka* Jūnasiu of (the temple of) Anupam-

vēśvara, (5) the *bhattāraka* Īśānū attached (*pratibaddha*) to the *bhattāraka* Bhōpā of (the temple of) Prithvipālēsvara, (6) the *bhattāraka* Muktidēu of (the temple of) Jōjalēsvara, (7) the *bhattāraka* Vināyaka and Sāmtisiū of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (8) the *bhattāraka* Mūladēu of (the temple of) Āsalēsvara, (9) the *bhattāraka* Tatpurusha of (the temple of) Padmalēsvara, (10) the *bhattāraka* Kādaru of (the temple of) [Tripālā]kēsvara, (11) the *bhattāraka* Brahmarāsi of (the temple of) Āsapālēsvara, (12) the *abōti* Sāgāhāri belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Prithvipālēsvara, (13) the *abōti* Jagadharu belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Āsalēsvara, (14) the *abōti* Śīi-Vachhū belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (15) the whole class of bankers (*mahājānu*), such as Dēvadhara and others, belonging to Anahillapura, and (16) the whole class of bankers such as Seth Jasadhavala Katakavāla, and so forth. Then in ll 37-39 we are informed that the record was written, &c drawn up, I think, by the *thakura* Pēthada, son of Vādiga, a Gauda Kāyastha, with the consent of the people of Dhālōpa. At the end is a line, stating that the record is approved by all the people of Dhālōpa.

Of the places mentioned, Dhālōpa is obviously the village of that name, about 4 miles to the south-south-west of Nādōi. Anahillapura is, of course, Anhilvādā near the modern Pātnā, in the Kadi Division, Baroda State. Dvāravati is doubtless Dvārka on the western coast of Kathiavād. Of the caste names mentioned, *bhāta* is the same as bhāt or bards. *Bhatta-putra* is most likely intended for Bārhot, the higher class of professional panegyrists. *Dauvāraka* is probably not a caste-name, and signifies here what are known as *dūdārs* in Rājputānā. *Vanijāraka* is Vanjāris, whose hereditary calling is that of carrying grains on pack-bullocks. The name occurs under the form of *vanajāraka* in No. XI below and *vanijāraka* in a copper-plate grant of Tribhuvanapālādēva.¹ *Abōtis* are an inferior class of Brāhmanas, who are generally temple servants, and are still chiefly found in Dvārka. Of the names of the *bhattārakas* of temples, many end in *śiva* (Śīva), two in *dēu* (*dēva*), and only one in *rāsi*. I have elsewhere said that of the four well-known sects of the followers of Śīva those whose names ended in *śiva* were Śaivas, and those whose names ended in *rāsi* were Lakṣmīśa Paśupatas. But to what sect the ascetics who bore the honorific suffix *dēu* (*dēva*) belonged is not clear. Again the gods, to whose temples the *bhattārakas* were attached, were, it will be seen named after the kings. The god Jayasimhadēva was doubtless called after the Chaulukya sovereign Jayasimha, Anahilēsvara after Anahilla, great-grandson of Lakshmana, the founder of the Chahamāna family of Mārwar, Jēndrarājēsvara after Jēndrarāja or Jindurāja, son of Anahilla, Prithvipālēsvara and Jōjalēsvara, after the first and second sons of Jēndrarāja, and Āsalēsvara, who is the same as Āsapālēsvara of l 32, after Āśvapāla, elder brother of Anahilla. Anupamvēsvara, Padmalēsvara and [Tripālā]kēsvara must similarly have been named, but traces of these names have not yet been traced in inscriptions.

TEXT²

- 1 श्री³ संवत् ११८८ आषाढदि ८ रवाद्येह स-
- 2 हारा[जाधि]रानश्रीरायपालदेवः कल्याणविजय-⁴
- 3 राज्ये एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने श्रीधालीप-
- 4 स्थाने 'मेरीवाडा विप्र० वीरिगु प्रभाकर । डी[पा]-
- 5 वाडा आसदेउ महडू⁶ । दुंडणवास देउ वाहडि । भां-

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 210² Expressed by a symbol³ The loop of the letter से is not entire² From the original stone⁴ Read 'देवकल्याण'⁶ The reading नरडू⁶ is also possible

- 6 गूरवाडउ मुहकरु दिवाकर । पीपनवाडा देवाड[चु]
 7 धारउ । आंवलवाडा नारायण महाइच । खइखनला-
 8 वाडा आसिगु आसपालु । भुंडवाडा देवगु आंविगु । एवं
 9 पाडि ८ सत्कविप्रजन १६ आदी कृत्वा ममस्तलो-
 10 को मध्यकदेवाइचसहितः स्वहस्ताक्षरपत्रं प्र-
 11 यच्छति यथा ॥ मार्गे गच्छमानभाट[भट्ट]पुत्रदौ-^१
 12 वारिककार्पटिकवणिज्जारकादिसमस्तलोक-
 13 स्थ च सत्कं गतमपहत च देशाचारेण चौकडि-
 14 काप्रवाहेणास्माभिः निर्गमनीयं^२ । तथा स्वस्थाने
 15 गत स्वागेनापि निर्गमनीय । एतत् निर्गमतानां^३ म[हा*]-
 16 राजाश्रीरायपालेनास्माक रक्षाकारा[स्व]ाद्यं द्रव्य[का]-
 17 दिक मुक्तं नास्माक मध्ये रक्षाकारी मोक्तव्यः ॥ एतद-
 18 स्माभिः स्वयमपि लोहमयमगीकृत निर्गमनीय च ॥
 19 अनया^४ विधिना राणकाना निर्गमापयताना अस्माक मध्या-
 20 त् यः^५ कोपि ब्राह्मणो^६ [न] निर्गमते^७ पेट पृष्टि वा दर्शय-
 21 ति गृह्यमाणस्तु कायव्रत कृत्वा मृत्यते^८ च स च सर्वोपि
 22 स्नानगर्भचण्डालो^९ भूत्वा मृत्यते^{१०} । राजाश्रीरायपालादौ-^{११}
 23 ना राणकाना वालेपि^{१२} अधिर्नास्ति न च दू[प]ण किमप्य-
 2४ स्तोति । अत्र साक्षि० श्रीजयसिंहदेवीयदेवगृहावसरो-
 25 यभट्टारकर्दलासत्कसमायातकटुकविप्र०साजणु । त-
 26 था^{१३} श्रीअणहिलेश्वरीभट्टारकवरुणसिउ । श्रीजेन्द्रराजे-
 27 स्वरौयभट्टारकमहेस्वरसिउ^{१४} । अणुपस्वस्वरौयभट्टारक-^{१५}
 28 ज्ञानसिउ ।^{१६} पृथ्वीपाले[स्व]रौयभट्टारकभोपाप्रतिवडभट्टार[क]-^{१७}
 29 ईशानू । जोजलेश्वरौयभट्टारकमुक्तिदेउ । त्रिपुरुषीयभ-
 30 ट्टारकविनायकसांतिसिउ । आसलेश्वरौयभट्टारकमूलदेउ ।
 31 श्रीपद्मलेश्वरौयभट्टारकतत्पुरुषु । [त्रिप]ालाकेश्वरौय[भ]ट्टार-
 32 ककेदारु । आसपाले[श्व]रौयभट्टारकत्र[ह्म]रासि^{१८} ॥ पृथ्वीपाले-

^१ Read गच्छाट°^४ Read °राज°^७ Read मध्याय^{१०} Read मृत्यते^{१३} Read °राज्या°^{१६} Read °श्वरौय° and °महेस्वर°^{१८} Read °प्रतिपद°^२ Read °स्माभिर्निर्गम°^५ Read अनेन^८ Read ब्राह्मणो^{११} Read ज्ञान°^{१४} Read °वालेऽपि^{१७} Read °श्वरौय°.^{१८} Read °ब्रह्म°.^३ Read एतन्निर्गमयतां^६ Read निर्गमयतामस्माक.^९ Read निर्गमयति^{१२} Read चिद्यते^{१५} Read °श्वरौय°^{१६} Read °श्वरौय°

- 33 शरीयद्वार[व]तीमत्कश्वोटीमागाहारि¹ । 'आसलेश्वरीद्वारव-
 34 तीमत्कश्वोटीजगधर । त्रिपुरपीयद्वारवतीमत्कश्वो-
 35 टीश्वोवृ³ ॥ श्रीअणहिल्लपुरीय — — देवधरादिसमस्तमहा-
 36 जन⁴ । तथा कटकवालश्वे० जमधवज्ञादिसमस्तमहाजन[स्व](श) ।
 37 श्रीधालीपीयलोकस्य संमतेन लिखितं श्रीगौडा-
 38 न्वकायस्थठकरपेयडेन⁵ वा[दि]गसुतेन ऊनाधि-
 39 कं प्रमाणमिति । समस्तश्रीधालीपीयलोकस्य मते⁶ ॥

X—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,
 [VĪKRAMA-SAMVAT 1200]

This inscription was found in the temple of Ādinātha at Nādlāi, and is engraved on a lintel just opposite to that on which No VII is incised. It contains 5 lines⁷ of writing which cover a space of 1' 9" broad by 1½" high. The letters were filled with plaster when I first saw the inscription. The plaster had afterwards to be scraped off for enabling us to read the inscription. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose excepting the verse at the end, the last *pāda* of which sets the metre at naught. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *yatu* for *yad* and (2) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant. In line 3 occur the curious words *vala* and *plā*, of which the first appears to be incorrectly used for *pala* and the second apparently an abbreviated form of *palikā*. In line 2 the word *pālā* is used, which seems to signify a certain kind of weight. The same word occurs in the same sense in No XI. In the Sūnak grant of the Chaulukya king Karnadēva, we have the following *pālām 12 vahantī(tī) hala 4 uti hala-chatushtaya-bhūmī*. Here also the word has apparently the same meaning. Local inquiries in Gōdvād have given me the following table —

4 <i>pālā</i> =1 <i>pāyalī</i>	4 <i>manā</i> =1 <i>sē</i>
5 <i>pāyalī</i> =1 <i>mānā</i>	2 <i>sē</i> =1 <i>manā</i>

Another word that may be noted is *vimśōpaka*, which not infrequently occurs in other inscriptions also. It is doubtless a coin, which is equivalent in value to 20th of the rupee that was then current.

The inscription opens with the date, viz. Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Jēshtha (Jyāishtha) in the [Vikrama] year 1200, when the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Rāyapālādēva was reigning. It then records that the *rāuta* Rājādēva, who had come on the occasion of the *rathayātrā*, i.e. the car festival, made, for the sake of his mother, in the presence of the bankers (*mahājānas*), villagers and the people of the province, a religious benefaction consisting of one *vimśōpaka* coin from the value of the *pālās* accruing to him and two *palikās* from the *palas* of oil due to him from every *ghānaka* or oil mill.

TEXT 8

1 श्री⁹ ॥ सव[त] । १२०० जेष्ठ¹⁰ [स]दि ५ गुरौ श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरायपाल-
 देवराज्ये — — हास — — —

¹ Read 'श्वोटी'

² Read 'शरीय' and 'श्वोटी'

³ Read 'श्वोटी'

⁴ Read 'जन'

⁵ Read 'गौडान्वय'.

⁶ Read 'सत'

⁷ [The number of lines in the impression is 6—Ed.]

⁸ From the original stone

[For a Nādlai inscription of the same king, dated in the same year, see above,

Vol IX. p 159—Ed.]

⁹ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁰ Read 'जेष्ठ'

- 2 समए¹ रथयात्रार्या आगतेन (i) रा० राजदेवेन (i) आत्म(i)पाइलामध्यात् । [सर्व-
साउतपुत्र²] विंसी-
- 3 पको³ दत्तः ॥ आत्मीयघाणकतेलव[ल]मध्यात्⁴ । मातानिमित्तं⁵ पलिकाद्वयं (i) श्री २
दत्तः(त्तं) ॥ म(ii)-
- 4 हाजन(i)ग्रमीण⁶ । जनपदसमचाय⁷ । धर्माय⁸ निमित्तं विंसीपकी⁹ १
पलिकाद्वयं (i) दत्तं ॥ गोह(ii)-
- 5 त्यानां सहस्रेण¹⁰ ब्रह्म[ह*]त्यासतेन¹¹ च । स्त्रीहत्याभूणहत्या च¹² जतु¹³ पापं (i)
तेन पापेन लिप्यते स¹⁴ ।[i]¹⁵

XI—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1202

The inscription is engraved on the same lintel as No X. It contains 5 lines of writing, covering a space of 1' 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the usual imprecatory verse at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that in l 5 *jatu* is used instead of *yat*. Of rare and unusual words herein employed and not previously noticed, *dēśi* occurs in l 3, and *kirādaū* and *gāḍa* in l 4. The last is used in the sense of "cart" and *kirāḍau* is, I am told, the same as *kirīḍavā* or *kirānā*, employed to denote substances, such as gum, dry ginger, black pepper, coriander, and so forth. The meaning of the word *dēśi* is not quite certain. It seems tempting to take it in the sense of a guild, in which it occurs in the Pēhēvā inscription of the imperial Pratīhāra Bhōjadēva I (above, Vol. I p 187, l 8) and the Harsha inscription of the Chāhamāna Vīgraharāja (above, Vol II p 124, l 38). And this meaning suits here excellently. The same word occurs in another inscription found in the same temple as this, and apparently in the same sense. Another expression that requires to be noted is *la(lā)ga-māna*, the meaning of which seems to be "the measure or proportion (*māna*) of cess (*lāga*)".

The inscription opens with the date, viz Friday, the 5th of the dark half of Āsōja (Āśvina) in the [Vikrama] year 1202, when Rāyapālādēva was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and the *rāuta* Rājādēva was the *śakura* of Nādūladāgikā (Nādlāi). The object of the inscription is to record that the Vanajārakas (Vanjāris) of Abhinavapurī, Badārī and Nādlāi having assembled together into a guild (*dēśi*), Rājādēva granted, for the sake of the pious and the ascetics in the temple of Mahāvīra, rupees two for each twenty *pālās* loaded on bullocks and rupee one for each cart filled with commodities, coming under the class of *kirānās*.

Badārī is probably Bōrlī, 8 miles north of Nādlāi. Abhinavapurī is unknown to me.

¹ Read समये

² Read विंसीपकी°

³ Read °ग्रामीण°

⁴ Read विंसीपकी° [The space between °की and पलिका° is too big for the numeral १ alone —Ed]

⁵ Read °हत्यासहस्रेण

⁶ Read यत्पाप

⁷ [There are two more *akṣharas* in this line and another line below the 5th which may be transcribed as follows

(l 5 अस्मि-

(l 6) नृवंसे चरा चौणे(i)य, कीपि शपति[भं]वेत् । तस्याह च करे [ल]यः (i) शासन न[व्य]तिक्रमे[त्] । ॥ . —Ed]

⁸ I am not quite certain of this reading

⁹ Read °तेलपल°

¹⁰ Read माद°

¹¹ Read °समच°

¹² Read धर्माय°

¹³ Read °ग्रतेन

¹⁴ Probably °हत्याभ्यां was intended

¹⁵ The letters पापेन and स are not needed for the metre

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ संवत् १२०२ आसोजवदि ५ शुक्ले (i) श्रीमहागजाधिराजश्रीराय-
पालदेवराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने³ ।
- 2 श्रीनटूलडागिकायां(i) रा० राजदेवठकुरेण प्रवर्त्तमानेन(i) [श्री]महावीरचैत्ये(i)
साधुत-
- 3 पोधननि[ष्टाद्ये] (i) श्रीअभिनवपुरीय(i)बदार्या(i) अ[त्रे]षु⁴ स[न]स्तवणजारकेषु(i)
देसी मिलित्वा⁵ वृ-
- 4 [व]भ[भ]रित(i)जतु⁶ पाइलालगमाने⁷(i) ततु⁸ वीस प्रति(i)रूआ २ किराडउआ(i)
गाडं प्रति रु १ वण-
- 5 जारके⁹[ध]र्माय प्रदत्तं ॥ लोपकस्य ज[तु]¹⁰ पापं [गो]हत्यासहस्रेण ॥ ¹¹ब्रह्म-
हत्यासतेन(i) पापेन(i) लिप्यते सः¹² ॥

XII—KIRĀDŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀLHANADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1209

This inscription was found in a Śaiva temple standing amidst the ruins of Kirādū near Hāthmā, about 16 miles north north-west of Bādmēr, the principal town of the Mallānī District, Jodhpur State. A transcript and translation of it have already been published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p 172 ff. But this, like almost all the inscriptions in this book, is edited in a slovenly manner and I, therefore, make no excuse for re-editing it here.

The inscription consists of 21 lines, covering a space of 1' 5½" broad by 1' 2" high. The middle portion of the stone as far as line 17 has peeled off. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been destroyed, and the purport of the inscription is clear enough. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note (1) that a consonant following *r* is doubled and (2) that the sign for *v* is employed also for *b*, except once in *labdha* in l 2. In l 13 occurs the word *amāra-rūḍhi*, which, though known to Jaina scriptures, is foreign to Sanskrit literature. It means "the edict of the non-slaughter (of animals)."

The record opens with the date, viz Saturday, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1209, when Kuma(mā)rapāla was the paramount sovereign and Mahādēva was doing all the business of the seal, relating to the drawing up of documents, etc. Lines 4-6 speak of his feudatory, the Mahīrāja Śrī-Ālanadēva, who obtained Kirātakūpa, Lātarhada and Śivā—through his (i.e. Kumārapāla's) favour. Then we are told that Ālanadēva, on the aforesaid date, which was the Śuarātri day, thinking the granting of security to animals to be the highest gift, issued injunctions, for the increase of his spiritual merit and fame, to the mahājanas, tāmbūlikas, and other subjects, forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the

¹ From the original stone² Expressed by a symbol³ From here onwards many grammatical inaccuracies occur, which need not all be corrected⁴ Read अत्रत्येषु⁵ देश्या मिलितेषु would have been expected.⁶ Read यत्⁷ Read °लागमान.⁸ Read तद्°.⁹ Read °जारकेषु¹⁰ Read यत्.¹¹ Read ब्रह्म° and °सतेन¹² The verse obviously violates the metre

8th, 11th and 14th days of both the fortnights of every month in the three towns named above and threatening with capital punishment those who killed or caused others to kill living beings. The Brāhmaṇa priests, ministers and others were also ordered to respect this edict of non-slaughter. And amongst these, he who commits the sin of taking life, should, it is stated, be fined five *drummas*, but if the sinner be one attached to the king, he should be fined one *dramma* only. Then comes the sign-manual of the personage who issued the edict, who is here called *Mahārāja Śrī-Ālhanadēva*, followed by the approval of the great princes (*mahā-rājaputra*) *Kēlhana* and *Gajasimha*. The edict was written by the *thakkura Khēlāditya*, minister for peace and war. Then we are informed, in a postscript, that this gift of safety to animals was caused to be proclaimed, with the permission of the king, by *Pūtiga* and *Śālīga*, sons of *Subhamkara*, of the *Pōrvād* caste and residents of *Nadūlapura* (*Nādōl*). The inscription ends with the information that it was engraved by the *sātradhāra Bhāila*. *Pūtiga* and *Śālīga* are no doubt the same individuals that had a similar edict promulgated through *Girijādēvi*, queen of *Pūnapākshadēva*, a feudatory of *Rāyapāla* and ruling over the province of *Ratnapura*, the southernmost district of *Marwār*.¹

It is worthy of note that the edict in question is to be made applicable to two distinct classes with varying degrees of rigour. The class to which it is to be applied with the greatest rigour is, of course, that of the merchants (*mahājānas*) and betel-sellers (*tāmbūlikas*), who doubtless must have then as now, been Jains and consequently supposed to be the greatest respecters of animal life. The class, with reference to which the rigour is relaxed, is that of the ministers and priests. Of the first of these we cannot be certain whether they were recruited from the Brāhmaṇa caste. But the priests unquestionably can be no other than Brāhmaṇas, and when they are asked to respect animal life, it is plain that some Brāhmaṇas of *Marwar* at any rate were then in the habit of eating flesh, which is now looked upon with abhorrence by them—due no doubt to the influence of Jainism which has been predominant in *Kajputānā* for the last six centuries, if not longer.

Next, the edict was to be in force at the three places, *viz* *Kirātakūpa*, *Lātārhada*, and *Śivā* the towns which *Ālhanadēva* secured through the favour of *Kumārīpāla*. *Kirātakūpa* is undoubtedly *Kirādū*, where the present inscription was found. It is mentioned twice in another inscription in the same temple, dated V E 1235, and pertaining to the reign of the Chaulukya sovereign, *Bhīmadēva*. *Lātārhada* must doubtless be the same as *Lātāhrada*, occurring in *Bhinmal* Inscriptions Nos. XI and XII, and *Rātāhrada* in the *Sūndhā* hill inscription of *Chachigadēva*. Professor *Kielhorn*, when he edited the last inscription, was unable to identify it. But, as suggested to me by *Munshi Devī Prasad* of *Jodhpur*, it must be identified with *Rāddhadā*, which was the original name of the district round about *Nagar-Gudhā* in the *Mālāwi* province, *Māl wāi*. The third place is *Śivā*—The full form of the name is unfortunately not preserved, but I have no doubt that it must have been some name corresponding to the modern *Sheo*, a town of antiquity and even now of some importance, and the headquarters of a district of the same name.

TEXT²

- 1 श्री ॥ सव[त्] १२०८ माघवदि १४ शनी अद्येह श्री[म] .
 हाराजाधिराजप-⁴
 2 रमेश्वरउमापतिवरलक्ष्मप्रशा(सा)दप्रौढप्रताप
 निर्जित[श]कभरी-

¹ *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 206

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read °महाराजा°.

- ३ शूपाजशीमत्कुसरपालदेवकन्याणविजय¹
 पञ्चीमहादेवे [श्री]-
- 1 श्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परि[र्ष]²
 [प्र]भुप्रसादावा-
- 5 मञ्चीकिराटकूपलाटर्हदशिवा
 ³राजश्रीआलण-
- 6 देवः शिवरात्रिचतुर्दश्यां शुचिर्द
 [पु]ण्ययशोऽभि-
- 7 वृद्धये प्राणिनामभयप्रदान म⁴
 [हा]जनतवूलि-⁵
- 8 कसमसप्रकृतीन्⁶ सवीछ⁷ अभय⁸
 [से]⁹ मासे उभ-
- 9 यो पक्षयो. अष्टमीएकादशीचतुर्द[शी]
 दत्तं अतोऽनत-
- 10 र एतासु तिथिषु नगरत्रयेपि जी[ठ]
 [जा]¹⁰ च व्यतिक्रम्य जी-
- 11 वाना वध¹⁰ कारयति करोति वा स व्यापा¹¹
 आचद्रार्क याव-
- 12 त् केनापि न लोपनीय । अपरं पुरोहिता [अमा]¹²
 सर्वैरपरैश्च ए-
- 13 या अमारिरुटिः प्रमाणीकार्या । [यः की]
 कालेन क्षीयते
- 14 फलं । एषस्याभयदानस्य¹³ क्षय
 स्य प्रदत्ताऽभ-
- 15 यदक्षिणा न तु विप्रसहस्रेभ्यो
 कोपि पापिष्ठतरो जी-

¹ Supply °रान्ये after °विजय°⁴ Supply मरदादान मत्वा°⁷ Read सवीध्य⁹ Read मासे¹² Read अमात्या² Restore परिपन्थयति⁵ Read तामूलि°⁶ Supply °दानशासन प्रदत्त after अभय°.¹⁰ Read वध¹³ Read एतस्या°³ Restore °महाराज°⁶ Read °समसप्रकृती°.¹¹ Read व्यापादनीय..

- 16 ववधं कुरुते तदा स पंचद्रुमैर्दंड[नीयः]¹
 [द्वयो] माहाराजिकस्यैको
- 17 द्रुमोस्ति ॥² स्वहस्तोयं महारा[जश्रीश्रील्लहणदेवस्य] ॥ श्री महा-
 राजपुत्रश्रीकेल्लहण-
- 18 देवमतमेतत् ॥+ महाराजपुत्रगजसिंहस्य [म]तं ॥ सांधिविग्रहिक ठ०
 खेलादित्येन लि-
- 19 खितमिदं ॥ ³श्रीनदूलपुरवासिप्राक्वाटवंशप्रभृतसु(शु)भंकराभिधानश्रावकः
 तत्पुत्री लि-
- 20 तितलधर्मतया⁴ विख्यातो पूवि(ति)गशालिगौ [।*] ताभ्यामतीवक्त[प]पराभ्यां
 प्राणिनामभयप्रदानश-
- 21 शनं⁵ विज्ञप्य⁶ कारापितमिति⁷ ॥ ॥⁸ उत्कीर्णं सूत्र० भाइलेन ॥

XIII —SĀNDĒRĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1221

This inscription was found at Sāndērāv, about 10 miles north-west of Bāli. It is engraved on a lintel in the *sabhā mandapa* of the temple of Mahāvira

The record contains 4 lines of writing, which covers a space of 3' 11" broad by 3½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards lexicography, *kalyāṇika* or *kalyāṇaka* occurs in ll. 1 and 3, and *yugamdhari* and *hāḍa* in ll. 2 and 4, and *talārābhāva* in l. 2. *Kalyāṇika* is a term peculiar to Jaina theology. *Kalyāṇikas* are the auspicious days, five in number on which took place (1) the *chyavana* (conception), (2) *janma* (birth), (3) *dīkṣhā* (initiation), (4) *kēvalajñāna* (enlightenment), and (5) *nirvāṇa* (final beatitude) of each of the Tirthamkaras. The expression occurs in No. II of the Mount Ābū inscriptions edited by Dr. Lüders,⁹ and on the door jambs of the subsidiary cells in the temple of Tējapāla at Dēlvādā, the *pañcha-kalyāṇikas* are specified of all the Tirthamkaras, to whom they are dedicated. The meaning of *yugamdhari* and of *hāḍa* is unknown to me. But I surmise that *hāḍa* here stands for *hala* and that *yugamdhari* is the name of a specific kind of corn known as *juār*. The sense of the remaining word, viz., *talārābhāva*, is also not certain. The expression no doubt occurs in a Māngrōl inscription published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 158, where it is translated by "the revenue of Talārā" which hardly helps us. The same inscription is published in *Bhāvnagar Prākṛīna-Śōdhasangraha*, Bhāga I p. 5 ff. It is translated in Gujarātī on p. 9 by *khusakī jakātani-ūpaja*, i.e. the income or revenue from tolls. In the English rendering of it in the same volume, it is stated that *talārā* is the same as the modern *talōdarā*. The same

¹ Read "द्रुमैर्दंड"

² This is followed by the mark of a spear

³ Read "शसन"

⁴ [There are some symbols engraved between the two double strokes, but they are not quite clear —Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII p. 206

⁶ Read "प्राग्वाट"

⁷ Read "विज्ञाप्य"

⁸ Read "चितितले."

⁹ Read "कारित"

word occurs as *talāra* or *talārahsha* in the Chirwā inscription edited by M Geiger in the *Vienna Or. Jour*, 1907, pp 143 ff The authority of Hēmachandra and Trivikrama is quoted there to show that it is equivalent in meaning to *purādhyakshah* or *nagararakshakah* This would correspond to the office of a *koṭwāl* or city magistrate But *tala* is often used in inscriptions to mean the "suburbs of a town," A *talāra* would thus be to the suburbs what a *koṭwāl* is to a city

The inscription is dated on Friday, the 2nd of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1221, and refers itself to the reign of Śrī-Kēlhanadēva It states that Ānaladēvī, queen-mother of Kēlhanadēva granted one *hāēla* (i.e. as much land as could be tilled by a single plough in one day) of *yugamdhari* or *ṇār* corn from the king's personal property (*bhōga*), to the god Mahāvira, *mūlanāyaka*, the primeval leader, of the Shamdēraka-*gachchha*, to celebrate the *kalyānika* corresponding to the 13th of the dark half of Chaitra One *dramma* was also given from the revenue of *talārā* by the Rāshtrakūtas Pātū and Kēlhana and their brother's sons Ūttamasīha, Sūdraga, Kēlhana, Āhada, Āsala, Anatiga and others with reference to the same *kalyānika* Similarly one *hāēla* of *yugamdhari* was also granted by the *rathakāras* or cart-builders, Dhanapāla, Sūrapāla, Jōpāla, Śigadā, Amiyapāla, Jīśahada, Dēlhana, and so forth, all residing at Shamdēraka, in connection with the *kalyānika* falling on the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra

Ānaladēvī, mentioned in this inscription as the queen-mother of Kēlhanadēva must undoubtedly be the same as Annaladēvī spoken of in the Nādol plates as the consort of Ālhana, father of Kēlhana¹ In this last inscription, she is represented to have been the daughter of Sahula of the Rāshtrauda family Rāshtrauda is obviously the same as Rāshtrakūta, and the Rāshtrakūtas, Pātū, Kēlhana, and so forth, referred to in our inscription, must, therefore, be taken to be her relatives on her father's side

TEXT²

- 1 श्री³ ॥ सवत् १२२१ माघवदि २ शुक्ले अद्येह श्रीकेल्लणदेवविजयरा[ज्ये] ।
तस्य मातुराज्ञीश्रीआन[ल]देव्या⁴ श्रीषंडेरकीयमूलनायकश्रीमहावीरदेवाय
[चै]त्रवदि १३ कल्याणिकनि[मि]त्तं राजकीय-
- 2 भोगमध्यात्(।) युगधर्या. हाएल एक[*] प्रदत्तः । तथा राष्ट्रकूटपातूकेल्लणत[ज्ञा]-
तजजत्तमसीहसूद्रगकाल्लणआहडआसलअणतिगादिभिः तलाराभाव्यथस(?)गट-
- 3 सत्कात्(।) अस्मिन्नेव कल्याणके द्र १ प्रदत्तः ॥१ तथा श्रीषंडेरकवास्तव्य-
रथकारधणपालसूरपालजीपालसिगडाअमियपालजिसहडदेल्हणादिभिः [चै]त्र-
सुदि १३ कल्याणके
- 4 युगधर्याः [हाएल] ए[क १ प्र]— —⁵

XIV —NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANA, [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1228

The subjoined inscription was found near the temple of Mahādēva, about one mile south-west of Nādālāi. The shrine of it is really a natural cave, and this is the reason why it is also

¹ Above, Vol IX p 68 ff and *Ind Ant* Vol XL p 144

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ The letter *la* of °*Ānala*° is engraved above the line

⁵ Supply °दत्त.

called *bharmyar-kā-mandar*, i.e. a subterranean temple. It originally had a *sabhā-mandapa*, which is now well-nigh destroyed. And the stone, on which the inscription is engraved, appears to have been a lintel somewhere in the *sabhā-mandapa*.

As I received news of this inscription just as I was on the point of leaving Nādlāi, I was not able to take any impressions of it nor to take its measurements. It contains 3 lines of writing. The characters are Nāgarī. The record is in prose. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly vernacular. One curious thing in this connection is that *svasti* is twice used like *sri*, as an honorific prefix to the names of places. Thus the forms *Svasti-Sōnānā*^o and *Svasti-Nādūlā* are employed instead of *Śrī-Sōnānā*^o and *Śrī-Nādūlā*. As regards orthography, it may be noted that (1) *Kumara*^o is used for *Kumāra*^o in l. 1, (2) *ṣṭakā* for *ṣṭakā*, and (3) the date 1228 in l. 1 is written half in ciphers and half in letters. With reference to rare or unusual words, the following may be noticed: (1) *akshasāma*, (2) *lāpanīya*, (3) *damā*, and (4) *chahūtā-pana*, the meaning of none of which is known to me.

The inscription opens with the date viz. Monday the 13th of Mārgaśīrsha in the [Vikrama] year 1228, during the victorious reign of the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārapāla, when Kēlhana was ruler of Nādūlya, and Rānā Lakhamana of Vōripadyaka, and Anasiha was the *thākur* of Sōnānā. It then states that the *mandapa*, *akshasāma*, and *damā* of the temple of Bhīvadēśvara were constructed by Pāhīni, son of the *sūtradhāra* Mahādūa and his wife Jasadēvi. They consisted of stones and bricks, and their construction cost 330 *drammas*. He was helped in this religious work by the *sūtradhāra* Mahīdarā and Imdarāka.

Of the localities herein mentioned, Nādūlya and Sōnānā are, of course, Nādōl and Sōnānā. Vōripadyaka is probably to be identified with Bōrlī, about 8 miles north of Nādlāi.¹

TEXT²

- 1 ओ³ सवत १२ अठा(।)वीसा वरषे⁴ मागसिर सुदि १३ सोमे ओभिव-
उेश्वरदेवस्य । १ श्रीकुंवरपालदेवविजयराज्ये । श्रीनाडूल्यपुरात्(।) ओ-
केलहणःराजे⁵ वोरिपद्यके(।) राणा-
- 2 लखमण(।)राजे⁶ । स्वस्तिसोनाणग्रामे(।) ठा अणसीहुस्य । स्वस्तिनाडूले
सूत्रमहडूअ (।) भार्या जसदेवि(।)सुतपाहिणी मंडपः करापनीयः⁷ ।
अक्षसामलापनीयः डमा
- 3 । कर्त्तव्या पाषाणइटकायां घटितः चहूटापने द्र ३३० लागे । धर्मसखा
इत⁸ सूत्र महिदरा तथा इंदराको घटित कार्य । — — —
कापाडीय ।

¹ [On p. 42 above, Bōrlī has been identified with Badārī.—Ed.]

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ As the inscription does not aim at giving a grammatically correct Sanskrit text, it is not desirable to correct all inaccuracies

⁵ Read ओकेलहणराज्ये

⁶ Read ओराज्ये.

⁷ Read कारणीय

⁸ Probably अत्र was intended

XV —LĀLRĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233

This inscription was found amidst the scattered ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāī, 5 miles south-east of Bāli. It contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space of 10½" broad by 1' 2½" high. Up to line 8, the inscription is intact, and of the two lines following only a letter or two are gone. But of ll 11-18, the whole of the proper right half is destroyed. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *ḍ* is here throughout denoted by the curious sign which has been noted above, and which contains a loop on the left side. The whole of the record up to line 16 appears to have been in prose, and the last two lines, occupied by a well-known imprecatory verse. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, it is worthy of note that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that the sign for *i* is used both for *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the word *urahāri* and the expression *Gūjara[tri]-hāra[la]* occurring in l 8, and *javā*, in l 9, may be noticed. *Urahāri* appears to me to be the name of an *araghaṣa* or a well with a wheel to raise water up. In fact, in Gōdvād I found many such wells given strange names. *Gūjara[tri]*, I think, is the same as *Gurjaratrā*. *Hāraka*, as suggested above in No III, denotes a certain kind of measure, and *jata*, of course, stands for *yava* or barley corn.

The record is dated Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Jyāishtha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Kēlhanadēva, ruling at Nādūla. It then tells us that the *rājaputra* Lākhanapālha and the *rājaputra* Abhayapāla, proprietors (*bhōktrī*) of Sinānava, and sons of Kīrtipāla, doubtless younger brother of Kēlhaṇa and donor of the Nādōl plates (above, Vol. IX p 68 ff.) made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahābaladēvi in the presence of the village *pañcha* (*pañcha-lūla*) for celebrating the festival of the god Śaṁtinātha. The grant consisted of barley corn measuring one *hāraka* as used in (the country of) Gūjaratrī, from the *araghaṣa* or machine-well called *Urahāri*¹ and belonging to the village of Bhadiyāuva. The names of those who were witnesses to this benefaction are lost.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, Sinānava, which is also called Samnānaka in No XVI, is doubtless Sōnānā, mentioned in the last epigraph. Bhadiyāuva also occurs in No XVI, and is to be identified with Bādva (Barwa), 5 miles south-west of Lālrāī. Samīpātī, which occurs in l 13, has been shown to be Sēvādī. Gūjaratrī is mentioned also in No XVI, and is the same as Gurjaratrā of the Daulatpurā charter of the imperial Pratihāra Bhōjadēva I, which comprised the modern districts of Parbatsar, Mārōt and Dīdwānā. Nādūla is, of course, Nādōl.

TEXT²

- 1 चो³ ° ॥ संवत् १२३३ जे(ज्ये)ष्ठवदि १३ गुरौ [I*]
- 2 अद्येह [य्री]नडूले महाराजाधिराजय्री(॥)-
- 3 केल्लणदेवरान्ये वत्तमानः⁴ य्रीकी[र्त्ति](॥)-
- 4 पालदेवपु[त्रे]⁵ सिनाणवभोक्तारानपु⁶(॥)-
- 5 [त्र]लाणपा[ल्ल]राजपुत्रभयपाल⁷ रा-

¹ [Perhaps the field or fields irrigated by the machine-well had to supply the barley corn required for the festival.—Ed.]

² From inked impressions

³ Read वत्तमाने.

⁴ Read °भीरु°

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Read °पुत्रे.

⁷ Read °पाले

- 6 स्त्रीश्रीमहिवलदेविसहितैः¹ श्रीशान्ति-
 7 नाथदेवयात्रानिमित्तं भडियाउव[अ]-
 8 रघटउरहारिमध्यात् गूजर[तृ]हार-
 9 ².१ जवा ग्रामपंचकुलसमन्ति³ एतत्
 10 . . दानं⁴ कृतं पुण्याय [।*] साक्षि⁵ अत्र वास्त-
 11 [ह]ण . . .
 12 सी० देवल[वे]०
 13 समीपाटीय-
 14 पाजून ग्राम-
 15 [स]मर्च आदानं
 16 मितस्य २ त . .
 17 हत्वापातकेन लि-
 18 ॥ [११]

XVI—LĀLRĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF LĀKHANAPĀLA AND ABHAYAPĀLA, [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233

This inscription was, like No XV, found amidst the ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāī It consists of 13 lines of writing, covering a space of 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " broad by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high The characters are Nāgarī From the word *tathā* in l 10 onwards, all the lines appear to have been afterwards added and are engraved in smaller characters The peculiar form of the letter *d* noticed above also occurs here The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose As regards orthography, it may be noted that *sha* is used for *lha* three times (ll 1, 2 and 6) In respect of lexicography, the following words deserve to be noticed (1) *sira* in ll 5-6 and 12, which seems to have been used in the sense of, not 'a plough,' but 'a ploughman or cultivator' and (2) *sē* in l 7 which stands for *sēi*, a kind of weight mentioned in my remarks on No X

The record is dated on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaisākha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and speaks of the princes (*rājaputra*) Lākhanapāla and Abhayapāla as the proprietors (*bhōktri*) of Samnānaka (cf No. XV) It then states that Bhivadā, Āsadhara, and other cultivators granted for their spiritual merit, four *sēis* of barley-corn from (the field called) *Khādīsira* to the god Śāntinātha in connection with the festival of the Gūjaras The postscript (ll 10-13) records that Āsadhara, Sirōiya and other cultivators granted for the spiritual merit of Vilha, one *harōthu* (*hāraha* ?) of barley-corn from the machine-well of Bhadiyāna (Bādva)

TEXT⁶

- 1 संवत् १२३३ वैशाखसुदि ३(?)
 2 'संनाणकभोक्ता राजपुत्रलाखण-

¹ Read 'यलदेवी'

² Read 'हारक.'

³ Read 'समर्च.'

⁴ Supply सहा° before दानं.

⁵ Read साक्षी

⁶ From inked impressions

⁷ Read 'भीकारौ.'

- 3 पालराजपुत्रअभयपाल¹ तस्मिन्-
 4 न् राज्ये वर्त्तमाने चा० सोवडा प-
 5 डिदेह[व]सी सू० आसघरं सम[स्त]-
 6 मीरमहि² ग्वाडिमोरजवमघ्या-
 7 त् जवा³ से ४ गूजरोजावानिमित्तं
 8 [अ]शान्तिनाथदेवस्य दत्ता⁴ पूर्याय⁵ [।⁶]
 9 यः कोपि लुप्यते⁷ स पापोन⁸ क्षिय-
 10 ते ॥ म[ग]ल⁹ भवतू¹⁰ ॥ तथा भडियाउच्च-
 11 अ[र]हदे ग्रामधरमीरोदयसम[स्त]-
 12 मीरण जवा¹¹ ह[र]ी¹² १ गूजरतृयाचहि¹³
 13 वीन्ह[स्य] पुण्याय¹⁴ ॥१

XVII.—SĀNDERĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1236

This inscription, like No XIII, was found at Sānderāv, and is incised on a pillar in the *sabhamandapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra. The record contains 10 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 3½" broad by 8" high. The first 4 lines are well preserved and can be easily read, the remainder being too weather-worn to be deciphered with perfect confidence. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only point that requires notice is the doubling of a consonant following an *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the words *drāḍā*, l 8, and *sīrā*, l 9. The latter occurs also in the Mount Ābū inscription No II (above, Vol VIII p 220, l 9), where the sense of 'care, supervision' has been assigned to it by Prof Lüders¹³.

The first line of the inscription is an independent record in itself, and speaks of a column having been presented by Rālhā and Pālhā, sons of Thāmthā, in memory of their mother. The second line contains the date, Wednesday, the 2nd of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1236, and the inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Kēlhanadēva of Nadūla. Then we are told that his own house was placed by Rālhāka, son of Thāmthā, together with his brother Pālhā and his sons Sōdhā, Śubhamkara and others at the disposal of Śrī-Pārśvanātha, the god of Shāmdēraka (Sānderāv) in the *bhukti* or personal property of the queen Jālhanadēvi. Four *drāḍas* were to be given to the god annually by people residing in Rālhā's house. Lines 9-10 are apparently connected with line 1 and inform us that the pillar was restored for the spiritual benefit of Dhāramatī on Saturday, the 12th of the bright half of Jyāsthā in the [Vikrama] year 1266. Dhāramatī is called *mātrī* and was probably the mother of Rālhā and Pālhā.

¹ Read °पालौ

⁴ Read ज(य)वा

⁷ Read लीपयति

¹⁰ Read भवतु

² Read °आसघरे

⁴ Read दत्ता

⁸ Read पापेन,

¹¹ Read ज(य)वा

³ Read °सहिते.

⁵ Read पूर्याय

⁹ Read मगल

¹³ I do not understand for what °वाचहि is intended. Does it stand for याचाये ?

¹⁴ [See also above, Vol VIII p 205, note 2—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

- 1 ॥ [थां]यासुतराल्हापाल्हा[भ्यां] माठप[द]श्रीनिमि[त्ति] [स्तं]भको² प्रदत्तः³
 2 [सं]वत् १२३६ का[र्त्ति]कवदि [२] बुधे अ[द्ये]ह श्रीनडूले महारा[जा*]धिराजश्री-
 3 केल्लणदेवकल्याणविजयरान्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने [राज्ञी] श्रीजाल्लणदेवि-
 4 भुको⁴ 'श्रीष[डेर]कदेवश्रीपार्श्वनाथप्रतापतः याथासुतराल्हाके[न] भा(भ्रा)तृ-
 5 पाल्हापुत्रसोढासुभकररा[म]देवधरणि[यवो]हीप्रवर्द्धमा[न]लक्ष्मी-
 6 धरसहजिगस[ह]देव[सहियग]का^(१)[रा]सांधीरणहरिचद्रवरदेवादि-
 7 भिः युतेन म — — परमश्रेयोर्थे⁶ विदितनिजगृह[हं] प्रदत्तः⁷ ॥ राल्हाश(स)-
 8 [क्त]मानुषै⁸ वसन्निः व[र्षे] प्रति द्राण्ला ४ प्रदेया⁹ [१*] शेषजनानां वस-
 9 तां साधुभिः गोष्ठिकैः¹⁰ सारा कार्या ॥ सवत् १२६६ वर्षे द्ये-
 10 ¹¹[ष्ट]सुदि १३ शनौ सो[यं]¹² मातृधारमति¹³ पुनः स्तंभको उधृ[त]¹⁴ [१*]

XVIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1239.

This inscription was found at Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State. It is incised on two lintels, one above the other and standing upon pillars near the north end of the principal cloister of an old mosque, now used as a *tōphkhānā*. The mosque is evidently constructed of materials supplied by demolishing old temples, and these two lintels appear to have been brought from an old Jaina shrine, as will be seen from the contents. Portions of these lintels have been cut off on their proper right in order to suit their new surroundings. The inscription on the upper lintel consists of 3 lines, and covers a space of 8' 2½" broad by 4" high, while the lower one is composed of 4 lines, and extends over a space of 8' 5" broad by 5" high. But though the inscriptions are thus engraved on two different stones, they really form one record. The portion extant is in a perfect state of preservation. The letters are here and there filled with mortar, but that does not prevent any one deciphering the record. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *sh* is incised at least twice instead of *lh*, as in later Rājputānā inscriptions. The sign for *b* occurs, and differs from *v* only by a minute dot in the loop of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are numbered, and are seven in all. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards

¹ From the original stone

² Read स्तंभको

³ Read प्रदत्त

⁴ Read 'सुक्ती'. The akshara की may also be read क्ये°. Between the aksharas सु and की there is a small circle

⁵ [The reading may also be पडेके —Ed.]

⁶ These six letters are doubtful [Perhaps परायणार्थे is meant —Ed.]

⁷ Read प्रदत्त

⁸ Read सत्कमानुषै.

⁹ Read प्रदेया.

¹⁰ Read गोष्ठिकै

¹¹ Read व्यैष्ट°

¹² [The reading here may be सोढामातृ —Ed.]

¹³ Some such word as त्र्येयर्थ has probably to be supplied after °धारमति°

¹⁴ Read स्तंभको उधृत

lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word (1) *krama*, l 1, which is used in the rather rare sense of 'a foot,' and (2) *tashara*, l 2, which seems to have been employed in the sense of 'banditti' or 'unsettled tribes'

The record opens with an invocation (v. 1) to Nābhēya, i.e. Rishabhanātha, the first Tirthankara. It then refers itself in prose to the reign of the *Mahārāja* Samarasimhadēva, son of the *Mahārāja* Kirtipūladēva. The latter, we are told, was a son of the *Mahārāja* Ālhana, who belonged to the lineage of the *Mahārāja* Anahula, "the moon in the sky (i.e. the family) of Chāhumāna". It further speaks of the Rājput (*rājaputra*) Jōjala as *rājya-chintaka*, i.e. apparently a person looking after the administration of the kingdom. By the way we are informed that he held in scorn the multitude of the unsettled tribes (*tashara*) of the whole district of Pīlvāhikā. Then follow two verses, the first of which bestows conventional praise on Samarasimba and the second states that Jōjala was his maternal uncle. Pīlvāhikā is probably Pīlvā in the Parbatsar District of the Jodhpur State on the frontiers of the Kishangadh State, and the *tasharas* are perhaps the Bāvris, who still abound there. Then follows a prose passage (ll 4-5) which says that 'this *mandapa*,' referring, of course, to the *mandapa* where the inscription was originally engraved and which had been dedicated to the first Tirthankara, as appears from the invocatory and also the last verse, was caused to be made by the devout *Śrāvaka* Seth Yaśōvīra, son of Seth Yaśōdīva, of the Śrīmāla family. He had been joined in this work by all the members of the *gūshthi* and apparently also by his brothers Yaśōrāja and Jagadhara. Yaśōvīra is spoken of as waiting upon Pūrnabhadrasūri, pupil of Chamdrasūri, the foremost of the Chamdragachchha. The date of the erection of the *mandapa* was Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaisākha of the [Vikrama] year 1238. Three verses (4-6) are afterwards incised in praise of the *mandapa*, and verse 7 expresses a wish for its permanence. Then we are told that the inscription was a composition of Pūrnabhadrasūri, and the record closes with a benediction in favour of the *sangha* or Jaina community.

TEXT 1

- 1 . . . [i] — — त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मीविपुलकुलगृहं धर्महृत्पालवालं⁽¹⁾ श्रीमन्ना-
मेयनायक्रमकमलयुग मंगलं वस्तनोतु । मन्ये मगल्यमालाप्रणतभवभृतां
सिद्धिसौधप्रवेशे यस्य स्कधप्रदेशे विलसति गवलश्यामला कुंतलाली ॥१
श्रीचाहुमानकुलावरमृगांक्षीमहाराजअणहिलान्वयोद्भवश्रीमहाराजआल्लणसुत
- 2 र्यावलीदुर्ललितदलितरिपुवलश्रीमहाराजकीर्त्ति-
पालदेवहृदयानदिनदनमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोप-
जीविनि निजप्रौढिमातिरेकतिरस्कृतसकलपील्लाहिकामंडलत[स्क]रव्यतिकरे⁽¹⁾
राज्यचितके जोजलराजपुत्रे इत्येवं^२ काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [1*]
- 3 [f]रपुकुलकमलेदुः पुण्यलावण्यपात्र नयविनयनिधानं
धाम सौंदर्यलक्ष्म्याः । धरणितरणनारीलोचनानंदकारी जयति समरसिंह-
क्षमापतिः सिंहवृत्तिः ॥२ तथा ॥ औत्पत्तिकीप्रमुखबुद्धिचतुष्टयेन निर्णीतभूप-
भवनीचितकार्यवृत्तिः । यन्मातुलः समभवत् किल जोजलान्नी

¹ From the original stone

² Restore साक्षात्रैलीक^०.

³ Read पुत्र इत्येव.

- 4 — — — 'खडितदुरतविपक्षलक्षः' ॥३ श्रीचद्रगच्छसुखमंडनसुविहितयतिति-
लकसुगुरुश्रीचद्रसूरिचरणनलिनयुगलदुर्ललितराजहंसश्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरिचरणकमल-
परिचरणचतुरस्रधुकरेण समस्तगोष्ठिकसमुदायसमन्वितेन श्रीश्रीमालवंशविभूषणश्रे-
ष्ठियशोदेवसुतेन सदाज्ञाकारिनिज-
- 5 — ^१तृयशोराजजगधरविधोयमाननिखिलमनोरथेन ^३श्रेष्ठियशोवीरपरमश्रावकेण स-
वत् १२३८ वैशाखसुदि ५ गुरौ सकलत्रिलोकीतलाभोगभ्रमणपरिश्रा[त]-
कमलाविलासिनीविश्रामविलासमंदिर अय मंडपो निर्मापित' ॥ तथा हि ॥
नानादेशसमागतैर्नवनवैः स्त्रीपुंसवर्गैर्मु[हु]र्यस्यै-
- 6 — — — वावलोकनपरैर्नो वृत्तिरासाद्यते । स्मारं स्मारमयो यदीयरचना-
वैचित्र्यविस्फूर्जितं तैः स्वस्थानगतैरपि प्रतिदिनं सोत्कण्ठमावर्ण्यते ॥४ वि[श्रं]-
भरावरवधूतिलकं किमेतल्लीलारविदमथ कि दुहितुः पयोधेः । दत्त सुरैरमृत-
कुंडमिदं किमत्र यस्यावलोकनविधौ विविधा विकल्पाः ॥५ गर्त्तापूरेण पातालं
- 7 . . . [ण]^४ महीतल । तुंगत्वेन नभो येन व्यानशे भुवनत्रयं ॥६ किं च ॥
स्फूर्जद्भोमसरः समीनमकर कन्यालिकुभा[कु]लं मेघाढ्य सकुलीरसिंहमिथुन प्रो-
द्यद्वृषालकृतं । ताराकैरवमिदुधामसलिल सद्राजहंसास्यद यावत्तावदिहादिना-
यभवने नंद्यादसौ मंडपः ॥७ कतिरियं श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरीणा ॥ भद्रमस्तु
श्रीसंधाय ॥

XIX — JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1242

The inscription is incised on a lintel in the second storey over the *mihāb* of the mosque referred to in No XVIII. It consists of 6 lines of writing, and covers a space of 2' 8½" broad by 5½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to notice (1) that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*, and (2) that *n* is doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*.

The record contains four different statements, but all pertaining to one and the same temple. The first part speaks of a certain temple as having been built and consigned in the [Vikrama] year 1221 to the care of Dēvāchārya for the dissemination of the true Jaina law (*sad-vidhā*). The temple was known as Kuvara-vihāra and contained the principal image (*mūla-bimba*) of Pārśvanātha. The temple, we are told, had been constructed by the *Mahīrājādhrāja* Chaulakya Kumārapāla, the devout worshipper of the Arhats (*param-ārhatā*), the lord of the Gūrjara country, after being enlightened by *prabhu* Hēmasūri, upon the fort of Kāmchana-giri belonging to Jābālipura, i.e. Jālōr. It will thus be seen that it was called Kuvara-vihāra after the Sōlankī king Kumārapāla who built it. The second part says that it was rebuilt in V E 1242 by the *bhamdārī* Yaśōvīra, son of the *bhamdārī* Pāsū, in accordance with the orders of the *Mahīrāja* Samarasimhadēva, the ornament of the Chāhamāna family and lord of "this

¹ Some such word as दीर्घः might be supplied here

² Read श्रेष्ठि

³ Restore °भातु°

⁴ Restore वित्तारये

country," i.e. apparently southern Mārwar. The third part informs us that on the 11th of the bright half of Jyāistha in the [Vikrama] year 1256, the work of installation was done, according to the behests of the royal family, by Pūrṇadēvāchārya, pupil of Dēvāchārya, in the case of the *tūraṇa*, etc. of (the image of) the god Pārśvanātha and also of the hoisting of the flag on the golden flag-staff on the original spire. The fourth or last part states that in V E 1268, on the day of the lamps festival (*dīp-otsava*), the ceremony of placing a golden cupola on the newly made central hall, intended for dramatic performances was carried out by Ratna-chamdrāchārya pupil of Pūrṇadēvasūri.

TEXT¹

- 1 'ओ ॥ मवत् १२२१ श्रीजावालिपुरीयकाचर्न [ग]रिगढस्योपरि^३ प्रभुश्रीहेमसूत्रि-
वोधितगूर्जरधराधीश्वरपरमार्जितचौहक्य(॥)^४
- 2 महारा[ज]ाधिराजश्री[कु]मारपालदेवकार्ति श्रीपा[र्श्व]नाथमत्स्य[ल]विवमहितश्रीकु-
वरविहाराभिधाने^५ जैनचैले(१) रुद्धिधिप्रव[र्त्त]नाय 'हृहृहृच्छीयवा-
- 3 दीदृश्रीदेवाचार्याणा पजे 'आचंद्रार्क' ससर्पिते ॥ म० १२४२ वर्षे एतद्देसा(शा)धिप-
चाहमानकुलतिलकमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवादेशेन भा० पादुपुत्र भा० यशो-
- 4 वीरेण स[सु]द्रुते । श्रीमहाजकुलादेशेन श्रीदेचार्यशिश्वैः^६ श्रीपूर्णदेवाचार्य (१)
म० १२५६ वर्षे ज्येष्ठस० ११ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवे तोरणादीना प्रतिष्ठा-
कार्यं कृते । मूलशिश्व-
- 5 रे व^७ वनकमयध्वजादडच्च ध्वजारोपणप्रतिष्ठाया कृताया ॥ म० १२६८ वर्षे
दीपोत्सवदिने अभिनदनिश्चप्रेक्षामध्यमड्ये^{१०} श्रीपूर्णदेवसूरिशिश्वैः श्रीराम-^{११}
- 6 चद्राचार्य सुवर्णमयकलमारोपणप्रतिष्ठा^{१२} कृता ॥ सुभ^{१३} भवतु ॥ छ ॥

XX—BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASIMHADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1306

This inscription was found in the walled enclosure of the temple of Nilakantha-Mahadēva, about a mile from the city of Bhinmāl, in the Jaswantpurā District of the Jodhpur State. It seems to have escaped the notice of the late Sir James Campbell when he visited the place, and has not, so far as I know, yet been published. It contains 25 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 4" broad by 1' 9½" high. The inscription is somewhat weather-worn, and its proper right side is a little mutilated. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been lost, and, with the help of the other Bhinmāl inscriptions which have been published, nearly the whole of the record can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. It is worthy of note that in lines 12 and 19 occurs the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, and in l. 16 the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$, which are both denoted, according to the *r̥h̥* system, the first by two and the second by one vertical stroke. Of these, the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$ occurs along with an integer, whereas the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ stands by itself, and hence the two strokes denoting $\frac{1}{2}$ are preceded by a zero, represented by a small circle. Excepting the

¹ From the original stone

² Read 'जावालि'

³ Read 'गुरु'

Read 'देवाचार्य'

¹¹ Read 'राम'

² Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read 'प्र-विधित'

⁵ Read 'विव'

⁶ The *śamdhā* is omitted here, such omissions need not be further noticed

⁷ Read 'च'

¹⁰ Read 'निष्पन्न'

¹² Read 'चार्य' सुवर्णमयकलगा

¹³ Read 'सुभ'

verse in lines 1-3, the record is in prose. The language is Sanskrit, interspersed with solecisms and provincialisms. With regard to orthography, it is sufficient to say that a consonant is but occasionally doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* and that in l 17 *divasa* is used instead of *divasa*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed (1) *gōdhūma pakva*, l 11, which seems, I think, to mean a crop of wheat ready for being reaped, (2) *muga* in l 11 and 19, obviously the well-known *mūṅ* pulse, (3) *chōshā*, i.e. *chōkhā*, l 11 and 19, a *dēśī* word meaning 'rice', (4) *vyāsa*, l 12 and 22, a Brāhmana, who recites the Purāṇas in public, (5) *nrvāpa*, l 12 and 19, a dole, and (6) *amga-bhōga*, unguents to be applied to the body immediately after bathing. Again, abbreviated forms of some words are used. Thus, *dra* stands for *dramma*, *ka* for *kalaśa*, *mā* for *mānā*, *pā* for *pāyalā* or *pāyalī*, and *sē* for *sēī*. For the table of weights still observed in Gōdvād, see my remarks on No. X. *Kalaśa* is of course a measure of capacity.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Sūrya, and then follows a verse in praise of the same deity. The date is afterwards given, which is the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1306. The *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Udayasimhadēva was the king and the *pañcha* consisting of the *mahāmāta* Gajasimha and others appointed by him was exercising local authority at Śrīmāla (Bhīmāl). The object of the inscription is to record two benefactions. One was made by two brothers, the name of the first of whom is gone but that of the second is Mahanasiha. They were both sons of the *thakura* Udayasiha, and were Māthura Kāyasthas by caste. Forty *dramma* coins were deposited in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin, which was the name of the Sūrya divinity of Bhīmāl, as is proved by other inscriptions and the *Śrīmālapurāṇa*. Out of it were to be defrayed the expenses of the *divasa-bali* and so forth on the 14th of the dark half during the *yātrā* festival of Āśvina. As regards the fixed allowance of provisions for the *bali*, there was to be wheat 2 *sēī*, and boiled ghee 8 *kalaśas*. For *navvēdya* or offering to the god, *mūṅ* pulse 1 *mānā*, rice (*chōkhā*) 2 *pāyalīs*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalaśa* were to be taken. The *vyāsa* and the *abōtī* were to be given each a dole of 1 *dramma*. For the *amgabhōga* or application of unguents, aloe-wood, camphor and saffron were to be used each worth 2 *drammas*. Flowers were to be bought worth 2 *drammas*, and betel-leaves and betel-nut each worth 1 *dramma*. As regards the bevy of courtezans, each was to be paid 1 *dramma*. All this arrangement was to be carried out every year.

The second benefaction was made on the same day for his spiritual merit by one Tathāka, who deposited 15 *drammas* in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin. Out of it, the expenses of the *bali* on the 5th of the dark half of Māgha were to be borne. The allowance fixed for the *bali* was wheat $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sēī* and boiled ghee (P) *kalaśa*. The *navvēdya* was to consist of *mūṅ* pulse 3 *pāyalīs*, rice 2 *pāyalīs*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalaśa*. The dole for the *abōtī* was 1 *dramma*. As to the *amgabhōga* or unguents, the ingredients were to be each worth 1 *dramma*. The *vyāsas*, *abōtīs*, *sēīs*, and members of the *gōshthī* are then conjured to look after this arrangement. The *praśasti* was written by Dhruva Nāgula, son of Bāhada. This Nāgula is no doubt the same as Nāgula, father of Dēdāka, who wrote some of the other published Bhīmāl inscriptions.

TEXT ¹

- 1 . . . नमः [स्]र्या[य] ॥ यस्योदयास्तसमये सुरमुकु[ट][नि-
- 2 धृष्टचर*]एकमलोपि । कुरुतेजलिं त्रिनेत्रं स जयति[त]
- 3 [धाम्ना नि*][धिः] सूर्यः² ॥ सवतु(त्) १३०६(१)वर्षे अश्विन³वदि १४ अद्य-
- 4 [ह श्रीश्री*]माले महाराजाधिराजश्री[उद]यसिंहदेवकल्या-

¹ From the original stone

² The *Laghu Jātaka* of Varāhamihira commences with this verse

³ Read अश्विन

- 5 [एविज*]यराज्ये तन्नियुक्तमहं० [गजसीहप्र]भृतिप[चकु]लप्र-
 6 [तिपत्तौ*] माधुरान्वय[क]ायस्वजातीयठकु[रउद]यसीहपु[त्र]
 7 — — — मोह [तथा] भा(भ्रा)वृ० सहणसीहाभ्या [श्री]भान[वे] योह
 8 — — [ज*][ग]त्स्वामिदेवीयभाडागारे [चेपित] द्र४० चत्वारि[श]-
 9 — — [1] अश्विने¹ या[त्र]या² अश्विनवदि १४ दिने दिवसव-
 10 [लि*]— —मालयो देवेन स्वकीयभाडागारात् कारापनी(कारणी)या [1*] व-
 11 [लिनि*]वधे गोधूम शेर पक्के घृत क८ नैवेद्ये सुग मा१ [च]ी-
 12 [पा*] पार घृत क०॥ तथा व्यासनिर्वाप १ अवीटीनिर्वाप १ तथा [अ]ग-
 13 भोगे अगुरुकर्पूर[कुं]कुमप्रत्यं द्र२ तथा पुष्पप्रत्य द्र १ तथा पत्र
 14 पुगप्रत्य द्र १ तथा प्रमदाकुलप्रत्यं द्र १ एतत् सर्वं प्रतिवर्ष [दि]-
 15 वेन कारापनीयं³ । तथा दिने तथाकेन श्रीजगत्स्वामिदेवीय-
 16 भांडागारे आत्मन⁴ [अ]यार्य⁵ चेपित⁶ द्र १५ पंचादश द्रमा⁷ । [म]-
 17 [हा]मासे माघवदि ५ दिने दिवसवली⁸ देवेन स्वकीयभां[डा*]-
 18 गारात् कारापनीया¹⁰ । वलिनिबंधे गोधूम से १। पक्के घृत क.
 19 [नै]वद्ये¹¹ सुग पा ३ चोपा पार घृत क० ॥ तथा अवीटीनिर्वाप १ [त*]
 20 [था] अगभोगप्रत्यं द्र१ एतत् सर्वं द्वौ वली [पाल ए]कासत्क-
 21 — भांडागारात् देवेन वर्ष वर्ष प्रति आचद्रार्ककालं याव[त्का]-
 22 [रा]पनीय¹² । व्यासअवीटीश्रेष्ठिगोष्ठिकतथासमस्तप्रमदा[कु*]-¹³
 23 [लि]न वर्त्तापनीयं¹⁴ । वरिपथा केनापि न करणीया । लिखितं*]
 24 ¹⁵— ०वाहडसुत० ध्रुव० नागुलेन हीनाक्षरमधिकाक्ष[र*]
 25 ¹⁶[प्र*]म्वाणमिति ॥

XXI—SANCHÖR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1345

The stone on which the subjoined inscription is engraved was found at Sanchör, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur State. It was lying loose in the prison-room attached to the local *kachēri*.

The inscription contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1, 2¼" high. Though a few letters are weather-worn, and some are here and there mutilated,

¹ Read अश्विने

² Read पुष्प^०

³ Read कारणीय

⁴ Read आत्मन

⁵ Read अयार्य

⁶ Read चेपिता

⁷ Read द्रमा

⁸ [What is preserved of the first letter of this line looks like य — Ed]

⁹ Read दिवसवलि [I think the reading is दिवस^० — Ed]

¹⁰ Read कारणीय

¹¹ Read नैवेद्ये

¹² Read कारणीय

¹³ Read श्रेष्ठिगोष्ठिक^०

¹⁴ Read वर्त्तनीय [The reading may also be च दापनीय — Ed]

¹⁵ Supply ध्रुव

¹⁶ Read प्रमाण^०

nearly the whole of the inscription can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of a consonant following an *r*, and (2) the use of the form *sāmvata*¹ for *sāmanta*². As to lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *sthitaka* in ll 5, 7, 8 and 11, and (2) *sēlahāthā* or *sēlahasta* together with their abbreviated forms in ll 10, 12, 13 and 15. The first word seems to have been used in the sense of "a grant in perpetuity," and occurs in other inscriptions also, e.g. the Cintra *prasaṣṭi* of Sārangadēva,³ verses 53, 60, 61 and 66. The meaning of *sēlahasta* is not certain. And I know of only two records, viz. the Bhinnmāl inscriptions Nos XII and XV² where the word occurs. In the first of these, line 12 has *Śrīkaraniya-pañchakula-sēlahatha-Dābhīnarapālam cha*. Here it is worthy of note that *sēlahatha* occupies a position between *pañchakula*, i.e. the modern *pañcha* and *Dābhīnarapāla*, i.e. a king of the Dābhī race. And it seems tempting, therefore, to suppose that *sēlahasta* was an officer of high rank, higher at any rate than the village *śrīkarana*, which was held by one of the *pañchakula*. Again, the expression *sēlahath-ābhāvyā* occurs in both the Bhinnmāl inscriptions just referred to. It must be taken to mean "the income collected by a *sēlahatha*." Probably he was connected with the revenue department. Some of the abbreviations are worth noticing. Thus in l 8 we have *Viśa*⁴ *dra*, which, I think, stands for *Viśalaprīya-draṇṇa*, a kind of coin, mentioned in Bhinnmāl Inscription No XVI, ll 23-24. Again, in l 12 *ka* is used in connection with *muga*, i.e. *Phaseolus mungo*. Here *ka* cannot be taken to denote *karṣa*, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ *karṣas* of *muga* would be a ridiculously small quantity, but *kalasa* which had till lately been employed for measuring corn.

The inscription commences by specifying the date, viz. Monday, the 14th of the bright half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1345. The *Mahārājakula* Sāmvatasimhadēva was the king, and at the holy place (*mahāsthāna*) of Satyapura (Sānchōr), the *pañcha*, consisting of the *malamta* Hirā and others appointed by him, was exercising local authority. The epigraph then records a grant in perpetuity of 8 *Viśalaprīya draṇṇas* by the Mēharas⁵ Prabhā, Padama and Āsapāla. All the Mēharas are requested to see to the continuance of this grant. According to this endowment, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kalasas* of *mūga* were to be given annually, and the *sēlahasta* was requested to look after this matter. The *sēlahasta* is also desired to supervise personally the *yātrā* festival of the god Vāṇēśvara. Then follow, in token of approval, the sign-manuals of at least four Mēharas, of whom three were the donors named above and the fourth was the *sēlahasta* Pātala.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 श्री⁵ संवत् १३४५ वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि १४ सोमे
- 2 अद्येह श्रीमत्पुत्रमहास्य[नि] महा[रा]जकुल-
- 3 श्रीसाम्बतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नि-
- 4 युक्त [म]हो. क्षीराप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ [i*] एवं
- 5 काले प्रवर्तमाने ति[स्थ]तकश्चत्तराणि प्रयच्छति [य*]-
- 6 था । मे. प्र[भ]ा मे. पदम मे. [आ]सपाले[न] (॥)
- 7 द्यागुआरहाहुनकस्य वर्षे प्रति स्थितके क-

¹ Above Vol I p 280 ff

² *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I pt I, pp 490 and 495

³ For the tribe Mēharas or Mēr, see *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 360

⁴ From the original stone

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ The meaning of this is not apparent to me

- 8 [त] वीस० द्र ८ अष्ट [द्रुमा][:]* स्थितके कृता¹ । एतत् [स्थि]-
 9 तं वर्षानुवर्षे² मेहरै³ पालनीयं । केनापि न
 10 लोपनीयं ॥ अन्यत⁴ यः [कोपि से]ल[हाया]⁵ अस्य
 11 'था[न]के भवि [!]* सांप्रतं सैल० सीधुराकेन स्थित[के]
 12 कृत⁷ वर्ष प्रति मुग क १॥ सेलह[स्ते]न पालनीयः ।
 13 सेलहस्तेन उपविश्य देवश्रीवाएस्व(श्च)रे यात्रा का[रा]-
 14 पनीया⁸ ॥ अस्य विधि⁹ मे० प्र[भ]ाम[तं] । मे० पदमम[तं] ।]
 15 मे० आसपालमतं ॥ सेल० पातलमत
 16 जासतं । मे० आम्बडमतं ।

XXII—JUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1352

This inscription was found at Junā or Junā Bādmēr, as the full name goes, in the Mallānī District, Jōdhpur State, about 12 miles south-west of Bādmēr, the principal town. It is engraved on a pillar in the porch of a dilapidated Jaina temple and contains 10 lines of writing which cover a space of 11½" broad by 7¼" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting the benedictory verse at the end. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the employment of the sign of *v* for both *v* and *b*, and (2) the use of the number 2 after *Śrī* in l 3 to mark the repetition. As regards rare or unusual words, those that deserve to be noted are *pālā* and *Bhīmapriya vi(m)sōpaka* in l 7. *Pālā* and *vimsōpaka* have been already explained. *Bhīmapriya* appears to have been the name of a kind of *vimsōpaka* coin. Attention may also be drawn to the word *lāga* in l 8, which means a cess, as previously explained (No XI above).

The record opens with the date, the 4th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1352. On the aforesaid day, during the victorious reign of the *Mahārājakula Śrī-Sāmanta-simhadēva*, the *mahanta* Chirāsēla, Vēlāula, the *bhamdāri* Migala, and others appointed by the king to draw up documents, made a religious grant at Bāhadamēru to the gods Viṅṇa-mardana-Kshētrapāla and Chāumdarāja, in the temple of Ādinātha. The grant consisted of a *pālā* from every incoming or outgoing caravan exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks. In default of this payment in kind, ten *Bhīmapriya vimsōpakas* were to be charged. The grant was to be distributed equally between the two gods. In l 8 is recorded the approval of this cess (*lāga*) by the *mahājanas* or local bankers.

Bāhadamēru is, of course, Bādmēr, not the place now known by that name which is comparatively a modern city, but Junā Bādmēr, the old Bādmēr where the inscription was found.

TEXT 10

- 1 ओ¹¹ ॥ सवत् १३५२ वैशाखसुदि ४ श्रीवाहडमेरौ¹² सहारा-
 2 [ज]कुलश्रीसामतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्निधु-

¹ Read कृता

⁴ Read अन्यतो

⁷ Read कृतो.

¹⁰ From the original stone

² Read वर्षानुवर्ष

⁵ Read सेलहायोऽस्य

⁸ Read कारणीया

¹¹ Expressed apparently by two symbols

³ Read मेहरै

⁶ Read स्थानके भविष्यति.

⁹ Read विधि

¹² Read 'वाहड'.

- 3 [क्त]श्रीकरणे [मं०] चीरासेलवेलाउल भा० ि[म]ग[नप्रभृत]यो
 4 ध[र्मा]चराणि प्रयच्छति¹ यथा । श्रीआदिना[य]मध्ये संति-
 5 हमानश्रीवि[भ्र]मर्दनचैत्रपालश्रीचउंडराजदेवयो[ः]
 6 उभयमाश्रीयसमायातसार्यउट्ट १० वृष २० उभयदपि ऊर्ध्व²
 7 सार्य प्रति द्वयोर्देवयो. पाइला [१*] पत्ते [भीम]प्रिय दशविशोपक [१०]
 8 अर्द्धोर्द्धेन³ अर्द्धीतव्याः । असौ⁴ लागो महाजनेन मनित⁵ ॥ यद्योक्त [१*]
 9 'वहुभि[र्व]सुधा युक्ता⁶ राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भू०
 10 मी तस्य⁷ तस्य तदा फल ॥१॥ छ ॥

XXIII—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1353

The inscription is engraved on a pillar in the *tōplānā* at Jālōr in the main or western cloister near the south end. It consists of 27 lines of writing and covers a space of 4½" broad by 1' 8' high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *sa* is used to denote *śh*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of *v* for *b* and (2) the doubling of *n* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *Suvarṇa-gīra*, l. 3. In respect of lexicography, attention may be drawn to the expression *nīrā-nikshēpa haṭṭa*, in ll. 22-23, the meaning of which is uncertain, and to the word *bhāṭāla*, in l. 24, which seems to have been used in the sense of *bhādā* or rent. The following sense of the phrase *nīrā-nikshēpa-haṭṭa* may, however, be suggested as probable. *Haṭṭa* is, of course, a bazar. *Nīrā* is probably the same as *nīr*, which, in Mārwar at any rate, seems to mean an export in contradistinction with *paṭār* which signifies an import. The expression might, therefore, mean a place in, or a portion of, the bazar for storing goods to be exported.

The record opens with the date, viz. Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaisākha of the [Vikrama] year 1353. It then speaks of the *Mahārājakula Sāma(n)tasimha* as reigning at Suvarṇagiri and Kāṇhadadēva as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet and bearing the burden of administration (*rājya-dhurā*)"¹⁰ Suvarṇagiri is the same as Kāñchanagiri of No. XIX, and is the name of the hill on which the fort of Jālōr stands. Kāṇhadadēva, as we shall see further on, was a son of Sāmantasimha. The object of the inscription is to state that a certain Narapati made, for the spiritual welfare of his wife Nāyakadēvi, the grant of a bazar building or warehouse for storing goods to be exported. Out of the rent accruing therefrom was to be offered the *pañcāmī-bali* every year in the temple of the god Pārśvanātha by the members of the *gōsthī*. Narapati, in making this donation, had been joined by the members of his family and

¹ Read प्रयच्छन्ति

² Read °सार्गीय°

³ Read ऊर्ध्व

⁴ Read अर्द्धोर्द्धेन

⁵ [On the impression the reading seems to be श्रीसी — Ed.]

⁶ Read मानित

⁷ Read बहु°

⁸ Read मुक्ता

⁹ Read भूमिलस्य

¹⁰ This shows that Kāṇhadadēva was the *yuvārāja* or heir-apparent and had been given an actual share in the administration of the kingdom. This is quite clear from a short inscription found at Chōhtan, 30 miles south west of Bādmēr, the transcript of which is as follows —

- 1 श्री स १३५५ वर्षे फागुण
- 2 [व]दि ११ [अ]द्यैह महाराज-
- 3 कुल[श्री]सामन्तसिधदेव-
- 4 राजश्रीकान्हडदेवराज्ये

by a certain Gunadhara, who is called a *samghapati* and was a resident of Suvarnagiri itself. A list of the members of his family is also given, as well as a genealogy of them. The father of Narapati was the *soni* Mahanasiha, who was a son of the *thakura* Jasa, who again was a son of the *thakura* Ambada. Mahanasiha had two wives, named Mālhami and Tihunā. From the first he had the sons Ratanasiha, Nākhi, Mālhami and Gajasiha, who are called *sonis* and from the second, Narapati, Jayatā and Vijayapāla, who are also called *sonis*. Narapati had two wives named Nāyakadēvi and Jālanadēvi. His sons from the former only are mentioned, viz. Lakhamidhara, Bhuvanapāla, and Suhadapāla. This and the mention of the spiritual benefit (*śrēyas*) of Nāyakadēvi as the object of the record perhaps show that, at the time of the donation, the latter was dead and the second wife had but recently been married and that he had no children from her. Of the members of his family, Narapati thus appears to have been joined, in making the gift, by his second wife and his sons from the first wife.

It is worthy of note that Narapati himself, his brothers and his father are called *sonis*. *Soni* cannot possibly mean a goldsmith here, as both the grandfather and the great-grandfather of Narapati are styled *thakura*. Now, *Soni* is a well-known clan amongst the three Bania classes of Mārwar, viz. *Ōsvāl*, *Sarāvgī*, and *Mahēsari*. The last may be left out of account, because they are not Jainas. *Sarāvgis*, though they are Jainas, are, however, not found in the southern parts of Mārwar. Narapati and others were consequently, in all likelihood, *Ōsvāl Sonis*. Of the *Mahēsari Sonis* it is stated that their *nakh* or original tribe was *Sōngarā*. What is true of the *Mahēsari Sonis* is, in all probability, true of other *Sonis* also. It is a well-known fact that many Rājput tribes, for avoiding Muhammadan oppression and so forth, became Jainas, and merged themselves into the Bania classes. *Sōngarā* appears to be the name of one of such tribes. It is the name of a celebrated clan of the *Chōhāns*, and is commonly but correctly derived from *Sōngar*, i.e. Suvarnagiri, the hill of the Jālōr fort itself. Narapati's inscription was doubtless engraved in some temple on this fort, though the pillar, on which it is incised, seems to have been taken away to serve as material for the construction of the mosque, now called *tōphānā*, in the city of Jālōr. When Narapati, his father, and brothers are called *Sonis*, what is meant is that they were *Ōsvāl Sonis*, but that they were perhaps originally *Sōngarās*, and that amongst them Mahanasiha first became a Jaina, as he is called a *Soni* and his father and grandfather, *thakuras*.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री^३ ०॥ [स]वत् १२५२ [वर्षे]
- 2 वै[शा]खवदि ५ [सोमे] श्री-
- 3 सुवर्णगिरौ^३ अद्यह महा-
- 4 राजकुलश्रीसामतसिंह^४-
- 5 कल्याणविजयरान्दे^५ त-
- 6 त्पादपद्मोपजीविनि (॥)
- 7 [रा]जश्रीकान्हडदेवरा-
- 8 ज्यधुरा[सु]दहमाने इहै-
- 9 व वास्तव्यसघपतिगुणध-
- 10 रठकुरआंवडपुत्रवकुर^६-

¹ From the original stone^२ Expressed by a symbol^३ The *samdhā* is here omitted, such omissions need not be further noticed^४ Read "सामत".^५ Read "विजय".^६ Read "ठकुर".

- 11 जसपु[त्र]मोनीसङ्गमोह-
- 12 भार्यामान्हणिपुत्र[मोनी]रत-
- 13 न[त्ति]हणाखोमान्हणगजसोह-
- 14 तिहुणापुत्र[सो]नीनरपतिज-
- 15 यताविजयपाल[न]रपतिभा-
- 16 र्यानायकदेवि'पुत्रलखमोह-
- 17 रभुवणपाल[सु]हडपालद्वि-
- 18 तीय[भ]ार्याजाल्हणदेवि(वी)ह-
- 19 त्यादिकुटवसहिते[न]² भा-
- 20 र्यानायकदेवि[त्रे]योर्थे¹
- 21 देव्योपार्यनायचैत्ये पच-
- 22 मोवल्लिनिमित्त⁴ जिया[नि]जे-
- 23 प[ह]ट्टमेक नरपतिना दत्त⁵
- 24 तत् भाटकेन⁶ देव्योपार्य-⁷
- 25 नायगोष्टि[के] प्रतिव[पे]⁷
- 26 आचाट्टाक⁸ पचमोवलि:⁹
- 27 कार्या¹⁰ ॥ [रुभ] भव[तु] ॥ छ[॥]

XXIV—KÔT-SÔLANKIYĀ INSCRIPTION OF VANAVĪRA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1394

This inscription was found at Kôt-Sôlankiyā, about 15 miles north-east of Dūsūrī. It is engraved on a pillar of a Jaina temple now in ruins. I edit the inscription from two excellent estampages, kindly supplied to me by Munshi Devī Prasad, Munsiff of Jōdhpur.

The record contains 8 lines of writing, which cover a space of 11" broad by 5½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose except one verse in ll 7-8 at the end. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*, in *ā-chamdrārkkham*, l 6.

The inscription is dated Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1394 elapsed, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Vanaviradēva*. It then states that at Āsalapura, the *rāuta* Mūlarāja, of the family of the *rāuta* Mālhana, grandson of the *rāuta* Sōma and son of the *rāuta* Bāmbī and his wife Jākhadevi, granted, for the spiritual merit of his parents, Dhikuyau together with a *vādī* or orchard, on the occasion of hoisting the flag of the temple of Pārsvanāthadēva, in the presence of the *rāuta* Bālā, Lumbhā and Nimvā.

¹ Read °देवी°

⁴ Read °निमित्त

⁷ Read °गोष्टिके and °वर्ष

¹⁰ Read कार्जे

² Read °कुटुब°

⁵ Read दत्त

⁸ Read आचन्द्राक

³ Read °देवी°

⁶ Read नहाटकेन.

⁹ Read °वलि

Dhikuyau seems to be the name of a machine-well. Āśaṅga occurs also in another inscription at Kōt-Solankiyā, and appears to have been the old name of that place.

TEXT 1

- 1 ' श्री' स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमकालातोत्सवतः' १[३]८४ व[र्षे] चै]त्रशुद्धि १३
शुक्ले
2 श्रीआसलपुरे(1) महाराजाधिराजश्रीवर्णवीरदेवराज्ये [1*] राउत-
3 माल्हणान्वये राउतसोमपुत्रराउतवावीभार्याजाखलदेवि-
4 पुत्रेण राउतमूलराजेन [श्री]पार्श्वनाथदेवस्य ध्वजारोपणमयं
5 राउतवालाराउतहा[या]कुमरलूभानीवासमत्त मातृपित्रोः पु-
6 स्तार्थं द्विकुयड वा[ड]ीसहित. प्रदत्तः । आरुद्रार्द्धे यावद्विय व्य-
7 वस्या प्रमाणः ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा शुका राजभिः सगरादिभिः । य-
8 स्य यस्य यदा भूमी(1) तस्य तस्य तदा फल ॥? शुभ भवतु ॥ श्री ॥

XXV—NĀPLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RAṆVĪRADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 143

This inscription was found at Nādlaī, and is, like No VIII, engraved on a pillar in the temple of Nēminātha called Jādvaī, situated on a hillock to the south-east of the village. It contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 8' broad by 1' 2' high. The characters are Nagari. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. It is worthy of note that each line begins with two vertical strokes. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that consonants following *r* are as a rule doubled and that the final *d* is twice represented as if it were *da*, *Śrīmadā*°, 1 7, for *Śrīmad*° and " *mu* *ch* 1 3 5, 1 " *mu* *ga* *d* "

The record commences by specifying the date, which is Friday the 14th of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1443 elapsed. It speaks of the Rāja Panavīradēva, son of the Mahārājādhirāja Vanavīra of the Chāhamāna lineage as then reigning. It then records the rebuilding of the structure (*prāsāda*) of Śrī-Nēmiśvara, the ornament of the Yādava race by Vinayachandrasūri, the occupant of the *patta* or pontifical seat (i.e. the successor) of Dharmachandrasūri. The latter, we are told, belonged to the line of Māratungasūri, the sun in the sky of the Brihadgachchha.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 श्री॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसम-
2 यातीत स [१]४४३ वर्षे कार्त्तिक-
3 कवदि १४ शुक्ले श्रीनङ्गलार्द्र-

¹ From estampages kindly supplied by Monsieur De Villard of Geneva.

² Above the commencement of this line, the first eight columns to the right of the vertical line are blank.

¹ Expressed by a symbol

* Read 'समस्त'

Re 1 માલધિન,

6 Read 'चंद्रार्क'

7 Read प्रमाउ

⁶ Ibid. १३६-३७, ३९-४०.

* [In both of these cases as well as in the case of the त्रि or त्रिडात्रि (116, 117) the 'o' is on a stroke at the bottom of the letter which may be meant for the त्रि, अत्रि - लट्]

¹⁰ From the original stone

¹¹ Expressed by two symbols

- 4 नगरे चाहुमानान्वयमहा-
- 5 राजाधिराजश्रीवर्णवीरदे-
- 6 वसुतराजश्री[र]णवीरदेववि-
- 7 जयराज्ये ¹अ[नस्थ]स्वच्छश्रीमद-
- 8 बृहद्[च्छ]नभस्तलदिनकरी-
- 9 पमश्रीमानतुगस्त्रिवंशोद्भव]-²
- 10 श्रीधर्मचंद्रस्त्रिपट्टलक्ष्मीश-
- 11 वर्णोत्पलायमानैः³ श्रीविन-
- 12 यचंद्रस्त्रिभिरत्पगुणमाणि⁴-
- 13 क्यरत्नाकरस्य यदुवशशृंगा-
- 14 रहारस्य श्रीनिमोश्चरस्य निरा-
- 15 कृतजगदविषादः⁵ प्रासाद⁶ स-
- 16 मुद्घे⁷ आचद्रार्कं नदतात⁸ ॥श्री॥⁹

XXVI AND XXVII—SĀNCHŌR STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF PRATĀPASIMHA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1444

These inscriptions are engraved on two pillars, which now form part of the stables attached to the *kachēri* at Sānchōr. Doubtless they originally belonged, as will be seen in the sequel, to an ancient temple, not a trace of which now remains. The first record contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1' 9¼" high, and the second 17 lines of writing which cover a space of 10" broad by 1' ¾" high. The latter is in good preservation, but the former has about the middle of it a few letters here and there mutilated. The two together really form one record. This is evident from the fact that the last verse which occurs at the end of the first part is numbered 3, and the verse with which the second part opens is marked 4, instead of 1 as it would have been if the latter had really been intended to be a separate record. We shall, therefore, speak of the whole as one inscription. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the initial words *Om namah Śivāya*, the inscription is in verse up to l 32, and the rest in prose. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note that a consonant is but twice doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and that *y* is substituted for *r* once in *Yyēshta(tha)*¹, l 33. In respect of lexicography, the following words may be noticed (1) *grāsa*, l 10, and (2) *pālā*, l 11. *Grāsa* here seems to be used in the sense of "gift," and not in its usual sense noted above in my remarks on No V. *Pālā* has already been explained (above No X).

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Śiva, and then, curiously enough, is cited a verse which forms the well-known benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. This is followed by a verse (2) which invokes the protection of Nilakantha for the then reigning Chāhamāna prince Pratāpasimha, and of Pārvatī for his queen Kāmalladēvī, daughter of Subhata. In the

¹ Read अवत्य^o and श्रीमद्भृ^o

² Read श्रीमद्भृग^o. [The necessity for this correction is not apparent —Ed.]

³ Read श्रवणीत्पलाय^o.

⁴ Read रनत्प^o

⁵ Read जगदविषाद

⁶ Read प्रासाद

⁷ Read समुद्घे

⁸ Read नदतात्

⁹ [There seem to be two more indistinct *akṣharas* at the end of the line —Ed.]

next verse we are told that in the family of Lakshmanasimha, the best of Chāhamānas and king of Nadūla, which had many branches, there was one Sālha, son of Sōbhita. Verse 4 informs us that he liberated the people of Śrīmāla (Bhīnmāl) from the Turushkas (Muhammadans). The verse following states that his son was Vikramasimha. The eldest son of the latter was Samgrāmasimha, who had at least one elder brother, viz Bhīma (v 6). The son of Samgrāmasimha was Pratāpasimha, reigning at Satyapura (Sānchōr). We are then introduced to a different family, the family to which Pratāpasimha's queen belonged. And the verses descriptive of her family are separately numbered. Of these, verse 1 says that there was one Virasiha of Karpūradhārā, that his son was a king named Mākada, and that the son of the latter was Vairisālya. The son of Vairisālya was Suhadaśālya and his daughter was Kāmaladēvi, who was the wife of Pratāpasimha, and it was she who renovated the temple of Vāṇēśvara together with the *linga* inside (vv 2-3). The second part begins with a verse, which says that the fruit accruing from restoring is eight-fold that of merely building a temple, well or tank. This is followed by the date, viz Friday, the 8th of the dark fortnight of Jyāishtha of the [Vikrama] year 1444. On this date we are again told in prose that Bāi Kāmaladēvi, the crowned queen of Pātā (i.e. Pratāpasimha), the ornament of the Chāhūāna dynasty, and daughter of Suhadasāla (Subhata or Suhadaśālya), the ornament of the Ūmata family, rebuilt the dilapidated temple of the god Vāṇēśvara. We are further informed that, for the daily offering to the god, a gift was made of (1) a field, and (2) two *pālās* on every maund of each commodity from the customs house. The grant was approved of by *sē*^o (i.e. *sēlahasta*) Vadrādā, a Paramāra, Mam^o Chaiadā, and *sē*^o Sāmala, a Pratihāra. The *āchārya* in connection with this matter was Rāma, a *vyāsa* of the Satyapura *jñātī*. The composer of the *prasasti* was *vyā*^o Nārāyanadēva. The person who wrote it out was *vyā*^o Kānhāka, and the person who engraved it was the *sūtradhāra* Mādhava.

It is worthy of note that Suhadaśālya, father of Kāmaladēvi, is called an ornament of the Ūmata family. Ūmat is still the name of a *sākhā* or subdivision of the Paramāras, and we have still two tracts of land named after them, one Umatawādā in Mālwa and the other Umtātī round about Bhīnmāl. As Bhīnmāl is not far from Sānchōr where Pratāpasimha was reigning, it is more reasonable to suppose that his father-in-law was a chief of Umtātī than of Umatawādā. Karpūradhārā, which had been held by the great-grandfather of Suhadaśālya, must be located somewhere near this Umtātī. Next, Sāmala, one of the persons who approved of the grant to the god Vāṇēśvara, is in the inscription called a Pratihāra. Pratihāra must here be taken, I think, to be not a Padihār but a Padihāriyā, as only Padihāriyās are found in the southernmost parts of Mārwar, i.e. round about Bhīnmāl and Sānchōr. Satyapura *jñātī*, to which the *āchārya* Rāma belonged, is obviously what is now known as Sānchōrā, a caste of Brāhmanas, who abound in the districts of Mallāni and Sānchōr.

TEXT¹

XXVI

- 1 ॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ या सृष्टिः सष्टुराद्या पि[ह]-
- 2 ८² विधिहुत या हविर्या च होत्री ये द्वे काल विध-
- 3 —[]³ श्रुतिविषयगुणा⁴ या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वं । याम[।]-
- 4 हुः सर्वबीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणव-
- 5 तः प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रसन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिर-

¹ From the original stone² Read विधत्त² Read वदति⁴ Read श्रुति^o

- 6 षाभिरीशः ।[१*]१ श्रीनीलकण्ठोऽवतु चाहमानप्रता-
 7 पसिहं रिपुदंतिसिंहं । गिरीन्द्रपुत्री सुभटस्य पु-
 8 त्रीं कामलदेवीं ससुतां [पु]नातु ।[१*][२] नडूलभूमीप-
 9 तिचाहमानशिखामणेर्ल[क्ष्म]णसिंहनाम्नः ॥१॥
 10 अनेकधाविस्तृ[त]वंश[वृद्धेः] कुले बभौ सोभि-
 11 तसूनुसाल्ह ।[१*]३ यो जात[वांत]द्विमावदाने^१ (१)
 12 दाना[ह]सूना यशसो — — । तुरष्कवदीह-
 13 तवि[श्र]लोकान् श्रीमाल[त]ी मोचयति स्म धीर-
 14 ॥४ — — [लजो]^२ विक्रमसिंह आसीन्नाम शु[तिं]-
 15 — उ उ — उ भोगी । यः श्रीयशोविक्रम[रागभो]-
 16 गैरस्मारय[ङ्गुपतिवि]क्रमार्कं ।[१*]५ तदंग[जः शूरवरो]-
 17 तिदानि^३ भी[मा]ग्रजन्मा कुल[कैरवेन्दुः] । स-
 18 ग्रामसिद्धोऽ[भव]दुग्रवैरि[सं]ग्राम[निराजकु]^४-
 19 [लै]कनेता ।[१*]६ [त]नन्दनो नदति सुप्रता[प]ः प्र-
 20 तापसिहः[प]रचक्रमर्ही । यस्मिन्पुत्रे सत्यपुरी-
 21 [य]लोका लोकाय न स्वः स्पृहयत्यशोकाः । [७]
 22 कर्पूरधाराधरवीर[सीह](१)सूनुस्तुरगोद्रकहे-
 23 [म]वर्षी । आसीन्नृपो भाकडनामधेयस्तद्वद-
 24 नोऽभूद्भुवि वैरिशल्य ।[१]१ तस्यात्म[ज]ः सुहृड-
 25 शल्य इति प्रसिद्धः शुद्धः समर्द्धितजनोऽधिक-
 26 देशभोक्ता । देवद्विजातिबहुभक्तिपरः परो-
 27 पतापी मृधे नृपतिनीतिविचक्षणोऽस्ति ॥२ त-
 28 स्यात्माजा सच्चरिता प्रतापसिहप्रिया कामल-
 29 देविनाम्नी । प्रासादमेन विधिव[त्स्व]लिगं वाण-
 30 श्वर जीर्णकमुद्धार ॥३

XXVII.

- 31 ॥ प्रासादकूपसरसां यत्फलं नवनिर्मि-
 32 तौ । ततोष्टगुणमाप्नोति जीर्णोद्दारे पुनः
 33 कृते ।[१*]४ स्वस्ति सवत् १४४४ [व]र्षे व्येष्ट^५वदि-
 34 भृगौ चाह्मणकुलतिलकराजश्रीपाता-

^१ Read जातवास्तद्विवासा°^२ I am not certain of this reading^३ Restore तस्यात्मजी^४ Read उद्येष्ट°^५ Read °दानी

- 35 पट्टराज्ञी 'कमटवशभूषणराजश्रीसुहृड-
 36 सलसुता बाईकामलदेविनाम्नी भगवती
 37 वायेश्वरस्य प्रासादस्य जीर्णोद्धारं करो-
 38 ति स्म । अयं प्रासादः कामलदेवीसंतानेन स-
 39 ह आचद्राक्षं मदतु ॥ तस्य देवस्य नित्यं पु[जा]-
 40 नेवेद्यार्थं कृतो यासः(1) एकक्षेत्र ॥०॥
 41 मडपिकायां वस्तु(?)मणं प्रति पाइलार् षडा स-
 42 वैः पालनीय । से० परमारवद्रडामतं । मं०
 43 चरडामतं । से० प्रतीहारसामलम[तं] । श्रीसत्य-
 44 पुरन्नातीय व्या श्रीरामोऽत्राचार्यः । [व्य]।
 45 नारायणदेवः प्रशस्तिकर्त्ता । व्या० कान्हा-
 46 की लेखकः । सूत्रधारमाधवस्य कृतिः [1*]
 47 चेम कल्याणं भवतु । शुभं भवतु ॥श्रीः॥

HISTORY OF THE MĀRWĀR CHĀHAMĀNAS

All records—epigraphic and bardic—agree in looking upon Lakshmana as the founder of the Marwar branch of the Chāhamānas. The Nādōl plates of Kirtipāla³ inform us that in the town of Śākambharī, i.e. Sāmbhar in the Jodhpur State, there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna lineage, king Vākpatirāja, and his son was Lakshmana, who was king at Naddūla (Nādōl). This Vākpatirāja was, in all likelihood, the Chāhamāna king of that name mentioned as the grandfather of Vīrabharāja, for whom we have an inscription dated V E 1030 in a temple on the Harsha hill in the Śekhāvātī province of the Jaipur State⁴. No record of Lakshmana has as yet come to light. But on the Sūraj-pōl at Nādōl is an inscription of the time of Kēlhaspa, dated V E 1223, which incidentally mentions the name Lākhaṇa and the date V E. 1039 for him⁵. The latter thus appears to have made some conquests for himself in Gōdvād and established himself at Nādōl where his memory is still preserved. The Sūraj-pōl just alluded to is said to have been erected by him. The fort of Nādōl also bears his name, and he is supposed to have constructed it. In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,⁶ Colonel Tod says "I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nādōl, one dated S 1024, the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Patun, and levied tribute from the prince of Cheetore." But it is by no means clear how far Tod's statement as to the contents of these inscriptions is to be trusted.

Lakshmana's son was Śōbhita, also called Sōbhita and Sōhīya. He is represented in the Sūndhā hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of Himādrībhaṇa, i.e. Ābū⁷. From him sprang Balirāja, who is represented in the same inscription to have defeated an army of Muñjarāja. The latter must be the same as the Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amōgha-

¹ From here the rules of *samāhā* have been neglected

² Read °कर्त्ता

³ Above, Vol IX p 63

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. II p 119 ff.

⁵ *Director General's Annual* for 1907 S, Part II p 228.

⁶ Vol I p 232, note (S. K. Lahiri & Co's edition, 1894).

⁷ Above, Vol IX p 71.

varsha of Mālava, for whom we have dates ranging from A D 974 to 993. The invasion of Muñjarāja here referred to is in all probability the same as that mentioned in the Hāthundi inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes¹. Therein Dhavala is said to have checked the further progress of Muñjarāja, when he attacked Mēdapāṭa (Mewār) and destroyed its capital called Āghāta². Balrāja was succeeded by Mahēndra also called Mahīndu, son of Vighrahapāla, who was the paternal uncle of Balrāja. As was first pointed out by Prof Kielhorn, this Mahēndra is no doubt the same as his namesake, referred to in v 11 of the Hāthundi inscription. It speaks of Dhavala as having protected Mahēndra when he was being harassed by the army of Durlabharāja. This Durlabharāja can be no other than the Chaulukya king Durlabharāja, the brother and successor of Vighraharāja of the Harsha inscription³. Mahēndra's son was Āsvapāla⁴. His son was Ahila, who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, defeated the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva I. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle, Anahilla,⁵ who was a son of Mahēndra. He, too, is spoken of as having vanquished Bhīmadēva I, seized Śākambhari, slain Sādha, a general (*dand-ādhisā*) of the Mālava king Bhōja, and defeated a Turushka, i.e. a Muhammadan king⁶. After him came to the throne his son Bālaprasāda. He compelled Bhīmadēva I to liberate from prison a king named Kṛṣṇadēva. As shown by Professor Kielhorn, the last king is the Paramāra Kṛṣṇarāja, son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Dēvarāja, for whom we have two inscriptions at Bhūmāl dated in A D 1060 and 1067. It can hardly be doubted that he must have been a brother of the Paramāra prince, Pūrnapāla, who was a son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Mahipāla, and for whom we have the dates A D 1042 and 1045⁷. Both the dates and the names of the father agree with one another. Kṛṣṇarāja must, therefore, be taken to be a younger brother and successor of Pūrnapāla. The discrepancy in the names of their grandfathers—that of Kṛṣṇarāja's being Dēvarāja and that of Pūrnapāla's being Mahipāla—is not of any serious importance, as we have several instances of one and the same prince bearing more than one name, not only of identical, but also of different import.

Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother Jindurāja also known as Jindarāja or Jēndrarāja⁸. He gained a victory at Sandēra, which, as I have already said, is Sāndērāv in the Bālī District, Gōdvād division, Jōdhpur State (No IV above). There is an inscription in the temple of Kāmēśvara-Mahādēva at Āuwā in the Sōjat District. It is dated Saturday, the 15th of the dark fortnight (*amāvāsyā*) of Āśvayuja (i.e. Āśvina) in [Vikrama-] Samvat 1132, and refers itself to the reign of Jindrapāla,⁹ son of Anahilla. Jindrapāla is the same as our Jindurāja,

¹ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXII pt. I p. 311 ff., also see above, Vol. X p. 18.

² Āghāta is the same as Ād or Āhad now represented by the present Udaipur station. A well known sept of the Ghlōts called Āhadiy is named after it. The place is described by Tod in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I p. 745.

³ The author of the *Divyāstrayākōśa* says that, along with his brother Nāgarāja, he attended the *svayamvara* of Durlabhadēvi, sister of Mahēndra, king of Nādōl in Mārwar. The princess chose Durlabha, and Mahēndra gave his younger sister Lalshmi to Durlabha's brother, Nāgarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV p. 113). The hostilities between Durlabha and Mahēndra thus ended in matrimonial alliance, as was often the case in Rājputānā in later times. [See also above, Vol. X p. 18. The Durlabharāja and Vighraharāja of the Harsha inscription were Chāha mūnās—not Chaulukyas—Ed.]

⁴ The Śiva temple of Āśakṣvara or Āśvapālēśvara at Nādōl (No. IX above) was apparently called after him.

⁵ The Śiva temple of Anahillēśvara at Nādōl (No. IX above) seems to have been built during his reign and called after him.

⁶ This must refer to the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni. The *Tauārīkh-i Firishtāh*, according to Tod, refers to his fight with the king of Nādōl (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I p. 656 and note).

⁷ [For this date of Pūrnapāla see the *Director General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II p. 226—Ed.]

⁸ In No. IX a Śiva temple called Jēndrarājēśvara is mentioned. It was built apparently during the reign of Jēndrarāja and called after him.

⁹ The name engraved appears, however, to be Khundrajīla and not Jindrapāla. It is again curious that no titles whatever are added to the names of Jindrapāla and Anahilla. The probabilities, however, are that these names are of the Chāhanava kings referred to in the text.

and V E 1132 (A D 1075) is the earliest hitherto known date for a Mārwar Chāhamāna king derived from a contemporary record

His son and successor was Prithvipāla, who defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Karna, i.e. the Chaulukya king Karna-Trailōkyamalla, son of Bhīmadēva I, a contemporary of Ahīla, Anahīla and Bālaprasāda. Like many of his predecessors, he too seems to have erected a temple to Śiva at Nādōl and called the deity Prithvipālēśvara after himself. He was succeeded by his brother Yōjaka, also known as Jōjala, or Jōjalla. He is mentioned as having by force occupied Anahillapura (Anhilvādā). Nos I and II give for him the date V E 1147, i.e. A D 1090, which contain his mandate for the observance of festivals in connection with the gods Lakshmanasvāmin and others at Nādōl. Jōjala seems to have dedicated a temple to Śiva at Nādōl, and named the latter Jōjalēśvara after himself. After him came to the throne his brother Āśvārāja, also called Aśvarāja and Āśvāka. Three inscriptions of his time (Nos III-V) have so far been discovered, with dates ranging from A D 1110 to 1143. Of these, two were found at Sēvādī in the temple of Mahāvīra and the third at Bālī in the temple of Bōlā or Bahuguna mātā. The last speaks of him as subsisting on the lotus-like feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayasiha. We have already seen that up to the time of Jōjala, brother of Aśvarāja, the Mārwar Chāhamānas were constantly at war with the Chaulukyas. They were consequently till then not subordinate to the Chaulukyas, but owed fealty to some other supreme power. And it was Jayasimha, son of Karna, who appears for the first time to have subjugated Gōdvād and made the Mārwar Chāhamānas his tributaries. Of the two Sēvādī inscriptions the earlier is dated in A D 1110 and the later in A D 1115. The former refers to the reign of Aśvarāja and speaks of his son Katukarāja as *yūarāja* or lieutenant. It mentions a grant made by Katukarāja, but as he is not mentioned as king and as Sēvādī (Sēvādī) is stated to have been in his *bhukti*, i.e. the district assigned to him for maintenance, it seems that even in A D 1115 he was not reigning as a ruler, but was merely, as *yūarāja*, holding the province round about Sēvādī. But, from No VI, it is evident that he did reign as king at Nādōla. He is there called *mahārājādhirāja* Katudēva, and his son, Jayatasiha, is mentioned as *yūarāja*. The date of this inscription is Samvat 31, which, as stated above, must be taken to be Simha Samvat. It thus becomes equivalent to V E 1200, i.e. A D 1145,—exactly the year in which the Bālī inscription of his father Aśvārāja is dated. Aśvarāja must, therefore, be supposed to have died and his son Katukarāja to have succeeded him in the same year, viz. A D 1143. But I have as yet found only one inscription of his reign. For no less than seven inscriptions have been found for the reign of Jayasimha, ranging from A D 1132 to 1145 which refer themselves to the reign of one Jayasimha. These overlap the period which other inscriptions give for the reigns of both the father and the son. In point of rank and dignity as determined by his titles, Rājapāla appears to be in no way inferior to either Aśvarāja or Katukarāja, and in No VII he is spoken of as belonging to the Chāhamāna lineage¹. It is thus inexplicable how he reigned at the same place and synchronously with the father and son. Perhaps the following explanation may be offered for what it is worth. Instances are not wanting of fiction taking place between a feudatory chieftain and his overlord, and consequently of the former being ousted by the latter, for some time at least, from the province held by him. Such a thing might perhaps have taken place here. Aśvarāja or Katukarāja might have for some time lost the favour of their paramount sovereign and for

¹ During the excavations at Māndōr, 6 miles north of Jōdhpur, a few fragments of an inscription stone were found, which show that Prithvipāla, the eldest brother of Aśvarāja, had a son named Ratnapāl. Ratnapāla's son was Rājapāla, and Rājapāla's son was Sahajapāla, who apparently was reigning at Māndōr and to whose reign the inscription referred itself. There can hardly be a doubt as to the Rājapāla of Nos VII—XI being this Rājapāla, grandson of Prithvipāla.

that reason been replaced by Rāyapāla, one of their relatives. From No VII it seems that this Rāyapāla had a queen named Mānaladēvi, and at least two sons, named Rudrapāla and Amritapāla by her. Under him was the *rāuta* Rājādēva, son of the *rāuta* Ūdharapa of the Guhila family. He was a *ṭhakur* of Nadūladāgikā, which, as stated above, was the Sanskritised form of Nādālī. In an inscription found at Nādōl, a certain *rānaka* Bhūnana is mentioned as belonging to the Karnāta country and as a contemporary of Rāyapāla. This prince cannot be identified, but appears to have come to Nādōl to pay a friendly visit to the Chāhamāna king.

From V E 1203 (A D 1146) to 1218 (A D 1161) not a single inscription has been traced in Gōdvād of the Chāhamāna princes of Nādōl, but we have found instead no less than four records of a person who is variously called Vajjaka, Vaijā, Vajalladēva and Vayajaladēva. He is spoken of as a *dandanāyaka* or general of Kumārapāla and as reigning at Nādōl, i.e. exactly in the capital town of the Chāhamānas described above. This change of rule over Gōdvād may perhaps be explained as follows. We know from Gujarāt accounts that Kumārapāla invaded the Sāmbhar territory and defeated Arnōrāja.¹ This event is alluded to in a Chitōrgadh inscription of Kumārapāla dated V E 1207,² and is spoken of as having taken place shortly before this date. Rāyapāla perhaps sided with Arnōrāja and brought about Kumārapāla's indignation. And Kumārapāla might have deprived him of his territory. At Pāli in the temple of Sōmēśvara there is a much abraded inscription of the reign of this Chaulukya sovereign with the date V E. 1209. An epigraph in a dilapidated temple at Bhātund in the Bāli District is dated V E. 1210, refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and mentions his *dandanāyaka* Vajjaka as being in charge of the district of Nadūla (Nādōl). The temple of Mahāvira at Sēvādī contains a record dated in Samvat 1213, which speaks of *daṁḍa*³ (i.e. *dandanāyaka*) Vaijā as ruling at Nadūla. Another Jaina temple at Ghānērāv in the Dīsūri District has an inscription dated the same year as the last and referring itself to the reign of the *dandanāyaka* Vajalladēva. On a lintel of the *sabhāmandapa* of the temple of Bōlā or Bahugana *mātā* at Bāli is engraved an epigraph which specifies the date Samvat 1216, makes mention of the paramount sovereign Kumārapāla and speaks of *daṁḍa*⁴ Vayajaladēva as exercising local authority at Naddrūla (Nādōl). It will thus be seen that from about V E 1209 to 1216 Kumārapāla deprived Rāyapāla, or some other Chāhamāna prince of his ancestral dominions, and stationed Vajjaldēva as *dandanāyaka* over that province. But, though Kumārapāla wrested Gōdvād from the Chāhamāna ruler of Nādōl, he was well-disposed towards Ālanadēva or Ālhanadēva, son of Aśvarāja and younger brother of Katukarāja. For, an inscription in a Śiva temple at Kirādū-Mallāni (No XII above) tells us that Ālhanadēva was then in possession of Kirātākūpa (Kirādū), Lātarhada (Rāddhadā) and Śivā (Sheo) and that he obtained these places through the favour of his overlord (*prabhu*) Kumārapāla.⁵

When exactly Ālhanadēva came into possession of his paternal dominions is not known, but certain it is that the Nādōl province came under his sway some year between V E 1216 (A D. 1159) the last date of Vajjaldēva in Gōdvād that we know of⁶ and V.E. 1218 (A D. 1161) the date of Ālhan's Nādōl copper-plate grant which is the earliest of his inscriptions in Gōdvād. Ālhan is called Āhlādana in the Sūndhā hill inscription. He is there spoken of as having assisted the Gūrjara king every now and then. The Gūrjara king at this time was Kumārapāla, and as help was constantly given to him, it explains why Ālhanadēva stood high in his favour and was restored to his ancestral territory. Ālhanadēva is also mentioned in the Sūndhā hill inscription as having built a temple of Śiva at Naddūla and as having put down disturbances

¹ Above, Vol I p 295

² *Ibid* Vol II p 422

³ No 133 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol V, above

⁴ [The *mahāmandalēśvara* Vajjaldēva of the Chāhuyāna family is mentioned with the date Vikrama-Samvat 1231, corresponding to A D 1175, in a copper plate grant of the Chaulukya king Ajayapāla (*Ind. Ant* Vol XVIII p 81) —Ed.]

in the mountainous part of Surāshtra. The latter event is alluded to in the Nādōl copper-plate inscription of Kirtipāla noted above. The *Prabandhachintāmani* speaks of Kumārapāla as having sent his general Udayana against Sausara, king of Surāshtra, with whom he was at war. In this fight Kumārapāla's army was defeated, and Udayana was mortally wounded. In the end, however, Samara (Sausara), as the *Kumārapālacharita* says, was defeated and his son placed on the throne. It was probably Ālhana who proved instrumental in securing this victory for Kumārapāla. Ālhana seems to have suffered for his allegiance to the Chaulukya dynasty at the hands of Vigraharāja, son of Arnōrāja of the imperial Chāhamāna family. For the latter, as the Bijōhā inscription¹ informs us, made Naddūla (Nādōl) a *nadvata*, i.e. a bed of reeds and Jābālipura (Jālōr) *jālāpura*, i.e. a city of flames. Ālhana is there said to have married Annallādēvi, daughter of Sahula of the Rāshtrauda² family. Ālhana had three sons by her, viz. Kēlhana, Gajasimha and Kirtipāla. Ālhana appears to have given a share in the administration of his kingdom to his first two sons. For, in No XII, the sign-manual of Ālhanādēva is followed up by the approval of both his sons, Kēlhanādēva and Gajasimha. Even the villages round about Nādōl, made over to Kirtipāla for his maintenance in the Nādōl plate, were granted to him not by his father Ālhana alone, but also by Kēlhana, his brother. It is curious that Gajasimha is not mentioned in this connection. He must doubtless have been alive at this time, otherwise his name would not have been specified in this inscription in 1143. Probably Kēlhana's name alone is here mentioned because he was the *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent, as is quite clear from 116 of the record.

Of Kēlhana no less than six inscriptions were found by me with dates ranging from V.E. 1221 to 1236. Ālhanādēva thus died in some year between V.E. 1218 and 1221. Kēlhana appears to have remained tributary to Kumārapāla, for No XIV refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and speaks of Kēlhana as ruler of Nādōlya (Nādōl). This record is dated in Samvat 1228, which is, in fact, the latest authentic date we have for the Chaulukya sovereign, who, according to Gujārat chronicles, died a year later. The Sūndhā hill inscription represents Kēlhana to have routed a Turushka king and erected a golden *tōraṇa*, "like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sōmāsa." His brother Kirtipāla also is spoken of in the same inscription as having vanquished a Turushka army at Kāsahrada. Both these descriptions must refer to one and the same event, for about this time only one

¹ No 154 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol V, above.

² Rāshtrauda, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is the same as Rāshtrakūṭa. There were two Rāshtrakūṭa families reigning in Rāvoutānā. Munshi Devī Prasad, in his Hindi work entitled "Antiquarian Discoveries in Rājputānā" tells us that at Dhanōpa, 16 miles north of Shāhpurī, two inscription stones had been found as early as A.D. 1873, which gave an account of a Rāshtrakūṭa family ruling there. Four names had therein been traced, viz. those of Bhallila, his son Dantivarmā, and his sons Buddharāja and Gōvinda. One of the inscriptions was dated Samvat 1063 *Fosāga vadi 5 Saurē* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol XL p. 175). Another inscription was found at Hāthundi near Bijāpur in the Bāli District which describes a new Rāshtrakūṭa family. This has been referred to above. A part of this inscription was published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol LXVII, part 1, pp. 309-314, and the complete text has recently been edited by Pandit Ram Karra of Jodhpur (above, Vol X, pp. 17 ff). This contains three dates, the last of which is V.E. 1053 (A.D. 991), and pertains to the reign of the Pāsātrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikundi (Hāthundi). It is reasonable to suppose that the Rāshtrakūṭa family, to which Annallādēvi belonged, was the one reigning at Hāthundi in Gōdvād, and not the other one reigning so far north as Shāhpurī. We have already seen that it was a king of this Hāthundi Rāshtrakūṭa family, viz. Dhavala, who helped no less than two princes of the Marwār Chāhamāna dynasty. The two families were thus reigning close to, and were also allied to, each other. But this matter is placed beyond all doubt by No XIII, which records a grant of Ānalādēvi, unquestionably the same as Annallādēvi, who is called mother queen (*mātri-rājāṇī*) of Kēlhana. This inscription also records a benefaction by certain Rāshtrakūṭa princes. The mention of Rāshtrakūṭa in the same epigraph with that of Ānalādēvi or Annallādēvi, who was of the Rāshtrauda dynasty shows that Rāshtrauda is the same as Rāshtrakūṭa and that these Rāshtrakūṭas were not far from Sāndrāva where No XIII was found. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable to suppose that these Rāshtraudas or Rāshtrakūṭas, of whom Sahula, father of Ānalādēvi, was one, reigned at Hāthundi, or Hastikundi as it is called in inscriptions.

³ Above, Vol IX p. 69.

Muhammadian invasion took place. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh* tells us that in A H 574, i.e. A.D. 1178, Muhammad Ghōrī "marched to Oocha and Moultan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The prince Bhīmadēva (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevy), advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter."¹ Now, at Kīrādū there is, in the temple of Sōmēśvara, a mutilated inscription, which is dated in Samvat 1235 and refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II. It makes mention also of his feudatory chieftain Madanabrahmadēva and his subordinate Tējapāla. We are further told that the image of Sōmēśvara, which was in the temple, had been broken to pieces by the Turushkas, but a new one was caused to be made and installed by Tējapāla's wife, whose name is unfortunately lost. It will be seen that the image must have been broken by Muhammad Ghōrī. For, the date of his expedition is A.D. 1178 or V.E. 1234-35, and the date of the Kīrādū inscription, as we have observed, is Samvat 1235. There is thus a correspondence of dates. Secondly, as stated in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh*, the route of Muhammad Ghōrī lay through the sandy desert. This means that on his way to Gujarāt he passed through the Mallānī District of the Jodhpur State, which is nothing but a *thal* or desert. And, as Kīrātakupa or Kīrādū was in ancient days a place of great importance in that region, it is natural to suppose that the Muhammadian emperor captured the town and destroyed the image in the principal temple there. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh* further says that Bhīmadēva II defeated the Muhammadian army with great slaughter. Kēlhana, being a feudatory of the Chaulukya family, must have gone to the help of Bhīmadēva and must have been accompanied also by his brother Kīrtipāl. And, as is very often the case with tributary princes, who take the credit of winning a battle fought by their overlord whom they have but assisted, both Kēlhana and Kīrtipāl are represented to have vanquished the Turushkas at Kāsahrada. Now three Kāsahradas are mentioned in inscriptions, and there are at least three places which may be modern equivalents of them. Thus there is a place called Kāsindra-Pālādī near Ahmedābād, and this may represent the Kāsahrada of the Kapadvanj grant of the Rāshtrakūta prince Krishna II and the Kasahrada of the Baroda grant of Dhruva II. There is again in the Sirohi State a village, at the foot of Mount Ābū, of the name of Kāyadrām, which is also known as Kāsadrām. With this must be identified the Kāsahrada of the inscriptions in Tējapāla's temple at Dilvādī on Mount Ābū. There is yet a third place named Kāsandrā on the road from Dhōlkā to Fāltībānā. This must be the Kāsahrada of Arisimha's *Sukritasamkīrtana*. Which one of these is the Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill inscription depends upon the route taken by Muhammad Ghōrī after leaving Kīrādū. In the *Tāj-ul-Ma-Āsir* it is stated that when Qutub-ud-Din left Ajmēr to direct an attack on Anhilvādī the Hindus 'had collected under their leaders Rāi Karan and Dārābars in greater numbers "at the foot of Mount Ābū and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musalmāns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultān Muhammad Sam Ghōrī had been wounded, and it was considered a bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander."² From this it is evident that Muhammad Ghōrī sustained a reverse at the foot of Mount Ābū, and Karan and Dārābars mentioned here can be no other than Kēlhana and Dhārāvarsha. The Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill inscription 'where Kēlhana and Kīrtipāl defeated a Turushka army' must, therefore, be identified with Kāyadrām (Kāsadrām). The Sūndhā hill inscription describes Kēlhana as having also defeated the southern king Bhūlīma, who, as recognised by Professor Kielhorn, is the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhīllama. There are at least two inscriptions, which belong to the reign of this last king and which bear the date A.D. 1189. This date, it is expressly stated

¹ Beggs' *Firishtah*, Vol. I p. 170

² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II p. 230

was the third year of his reign. From this it is concluded that Bhullama came to the throne in A D 1187. The last date we have for Kēlhana is V E 1219 = A D 1192, supplied by an inscription found at Pālādī in the Sirohi State. Kēlhana and Bhullama were thus contemporaries, and the Bhullama of the Sūndhī hill inscription can only be this Bhullama. One of Kēlhana's queens is named Mahābaladēvi (No XV). The name of another, viz Jāthanadēvi, is given in No XVII.

Kēlhana was succeeded by his son Jayatasīha, for whom two inscriptions have been found, —one at Bhinnmāl and the other at Sādadi. The first is dated V E 1239 and calls him *maha-rājaputra*, indicative of his position as heir-apparent¹. The second gives the date V E 1251 and styles him *rajārājāditya*². This shows that he became king after the death of Kēlhana. About three years after this date, i.e. in A D 1197, we hear of the invasion of Qutub-ud-Dīn Ī-bak in Marwar. The *Tarikh-i-Firistih* has the following: "Kootb ood-Deen having recovered from his wounds pursued the besieging army to Nohwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadole". Baly, of course refers to Pali, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State, and Nadole is obviously Nadol. The *Taju-l-Ma-Asir* says that "when he reached the lofty forts of Pali and Nandul, he found them abandoned and the multitude of the soldiers for the people had fled at the approach of the Muslims"³. This means that Nadol and the surrounding district were for some time at least lost to the Chāhamāna family called Nādōhya. An inscription found at Achalēsvara on Mount Ābū says that Jaitrasimha of the Guhila dynasty destroyed Nadōla and defeated a Turushka army. From epigraphic and other records it appears that Jaitrasimha reigned from about V E 1270 to 1309. He thus comes quite close to the date when Qutub ud-Din conquered eastern Māwar. Jaitrasimha, therefore, seems to have destroyed Nadol when it was in the possession of the Muhammadans, and the Turushka army defeated by him must have been headed, if not actually by Qutub ud-Din, at any rate by his governor at Nadol⁴. From V E 1265 to 1283 Gōdvād was held by a prince named Dhāmdhaladēva, son of Visadhavaladēva⁵. He was no doubt, as an inscription at Nānā tells us a Chhāthama, i.e. I think, a Chāhamāna, but probably not of Kēlhana's lineage. From the same inscription it seems that in V E 1283 he was tributary to Bhiṣva(Bhima)dēva, son of Ajayā(ya)pala, i.e. the Chaulukya sovereign Bhīmadēva II. Kēlhana had, as we have seen above, a brother named Kṛtipala, who was the originator of the Sōnigiri branch of the Chāhamānas. From his Nadol copper-plate inscription we learn that twelve villages, such as Nadlā and others in Gōdvād had been assigned to him for maintenance by his father Ālanadēva, and he must have continued to enjoy the revenues of these villages during his brother's regime also. His defeat of the Turushka army at Kushiāda has already been alluded to. In addition to it he is represented in the Sūndhī hill inscription to have conquered a Kīratakūpa chief named Āsala. Kīratakūpa is undoubtedly Kīradū, and Āsala was perhaps the successor of Madanabrahma mentioned above. It is also

¹ *History of Gujrat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Pt I p 474.

² This inscription is in the temple of Jāgēsvara, Dīsuri District, Jodhpur State. It is engraved on one of its pillars, which, no doubt, originally belonged to some temple at Nadol.

³ Briggs' *Isisṭih*, Vol I p 196.

⁴ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol II pp 229-30.

⁵ *Bharanagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p 93, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol IV Pt I p 48.

⁶ From verse 16 of the Chitrā inscription (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, Vol XVI p 143 ff) it appears that Nāgrahada or Nāgdā, the ancient capital of the Guhilots, was destroyed by a Muhammadan army, when Pamaraja son of Yogēsvara, who was appointed a *talāra* of Nāgdā by King Padmasimha, fell in the battle. This event must have happened in the reign of Jaitrasimha, for we are distinctly told in the *Hamīra-mada mardana* that the Turushka army burnt the whole of Mēvār, which was then held by Jayatala, alias Jaitrasimha (Professor S. R. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1901-05 and 1905-06, pp 20 and 22). The subsequent defeat of the Turushka army by Jaitrasimha is also mentioned. It was at this time perhaps that Nadol was seized by him.

⁷ Two inscriptions of this prince have been found, one at Nānā and the other at Belār, both in the Bālī District, Jodhpur State (*Proc. Rep. Archaeol. Surv. Ind., West Circle*, for 1908, pp 49-50).

said about him that, although he was the lord of the Naddūla (Nādōl) kingdom, he established himself at Jābālpura, i.e. Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the southern part of Māiwār. According to Mūtā Nēnsī, he wrested it from the Paramāras. Certain it is that Jālōr was in the possession of the Paramāras till A.D. 1117, as an unpublished inscription found there shows¹. One of the inscription slabs of Kumbhākarna originally found at the temple of Māmādēva at Kumalgadh² informs us that the Guhilōt prince Kumārasimha expelled Kitū, who had occupied his country. In all the Sōugarā chronicles Kirtipāla is called Kitū, and Kumārasimha was only two generations prior to the Guhilōt chief Jaitrasimha for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 1213-1252. Kumārasimha can thus very well be a contemporary of the Chāhamāna Kirtipāla, who must, therefore, be supposed to have carried an expedition of conquest in the Guhilōt territory.

Kirtipāla had at least three sons and one daughter. Of the three sons, one was Samarasimha who succeeded him, and the other two were Lākhanapālha (or -pāla) and Abhayapāla mentioned in No. XV as the *jāgudīrs* of Sinānava or Samnānaka, which, I think, has to be identified with Sōnānā. Sōnānā, it will be remembered, was one of the villages granted to Kirtipāla by Ālhanadēva, and Kirtipāla further seems to have made it over during his brother's régime to two of his sons. The name of his daughter was Rūdaladēvī, who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, built two temples to Śiva at Jābālpura (Jālōr).

After Kirtipāla, his son Samarasimha, as stated above, became king. Two inscriptions of this prince have been found at Jālōr (Nos. XVIII and XIX). One of these is dated in V.E. 1239 and the other V.E. 1242. The Sūndhā hill inscription says that he built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala. In the second of the Jālōr epigraphs just alluded to, the following words occur: *sri-Jābālpuriya-Kānchanagiri-gadhasy-ōpari*, etc. From this it is plain that Kānchanagiri or Kanakāchala was the name of the hill, on which the fort of Jālōr is situated. When Kirtipāla carved out a kingdom for himself, he established his capital at Jālōr, whose fortifications were commenced by him. But as he did not live long after it, this work had to be carried out by his son Samarasimha. The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of him as having weighed himself against gold and having afterwards founded the city of Samarapura, which has not yet been identified. A copper-plate charter of the Chaulukya sovereign Bhīmadēva II, dated V.E. 1263, makes mention of his queen Līlādēvī, who is spoken of as *Chāhu³ rāna Samarasīhasutā³*, i.e. the daughter of the Chōhān *rānā* Samarasimha. Professor Kielhorn was the first to identify him with the Mārwār Chāhamāna king of that name.

The Sūndhā hill inscription represents his son Udayasimha to have succeeded Samarasimha. But Udayasimha was not his eldest son, because a Mount Ābū inscription speaks of Mānavasimha, who is called a son of Samarasimha and the elder brother of Udayasimha⁴. Up to the time of Samarasimha, the power of the Sōugarā family had been confined to the Jālōr District and the territory intervening between it and Kirādū. And it was Udayasimha who greatly extended these dominions, which now included the districts originally held by the Naddōliya branch. For, in the Sūndhā hill inscription, amongst the places held by him, Naddōla (Nādōl) is distinctly mentioned. The other places named are Jāvālpura, Māndavyapura, Vāgghatamēru, Sūrāchanda, Rātabāda, Khēda, Rāmasamya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura and Satyapura. Almost all these places have been identified by Professor Kielhorn. Jāvālpura is Jālōr, Māndavyapura Mandōr, 6 miles north of Jodhpur, Vāgghatamēru is Bādmēr, not

¹ This inscription stone is in the *tōphānā* at Jālōr and is put up upside down. This inscription will shortly be published by me.

² These slabs have now been deposited in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 195, pl. II, l. 1.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX p. 80.

however the place which at present goes by the name, but Junā Bādmēr or simply Junā, as it is also called, about 12 miles south-west of the modern Bādmēr.¹ Sūrāchamda is, of course, Surāchand in the Sanchori District. Rātahrada has its name still surviving in Rāddhadā, by which the district round about Nagai-Gudhā in Mallani is still popularly known.² Khēda is obviously the place of the same name in Mallani, the ancient capital of that province. Rāmasanya is Rāmsen, Śrīmālā Bhīmāl, and Ratnapura Ratanpur, all in the Jaswantpura District. And lastly, Satyapura is Sānchor. The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of Udayasimha as having put an end to Sindhurāja and as not having been conquered by the Gūjara kings. Sindhurāja may either be a ruler of Sindh, as Professor Kielhorn takes it, or an individual prince of that name. In the case of the latter supposition, he may be identified with the prince of that name, whose son Śankha was defeated near Cambay by Vastupāla during the Vāghēlā king Lavanaprasāda's reign. Udayasimha is also described in a general way as having curbed the pride of the Turushka. This must simply be taken to mean that he had come into hostilities with the Muhammadans, and not necessarily that he obtained any decisive victories over them. The *Tauārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* refers to it as follows: "Soon after this event, Oodyo Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwar, having refused to make the usual payments, the king was induced to march and reduce him to obedience."³ The king here alluded to is Shams-ud-Din Altamash, and Oodyo-Sa of Jalwar is unquestionably Udayasimha of Jālōr. The same event is described in greater detail in the *Tājū-l Ma-Āsir* as follows: "After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jalewar (Jālōr) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shams-ud-din accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the state, such as Ruknu-d-din Hamza, Izzu-d-din Bakhtiyar Nasiru-d-din Mardān Shāh, Nasiru-d-din 'Alī and Badru-d-din Shamsatigin," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror on the forehead of an elephant." "The king took his way towards Jālewar by the aid of God," "and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design."

"Udī Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror." When the place was invested by Shams-ud-din, Udī Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour. The Sultan granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rājā presented respectfully a hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service. "The Sultān then returned to Dehli."

³ This event came to pass between A.D. 1210 and 1216.

We have seen above that Udayasimha is spoken of in the Sūndhā hill inscription as not having been defeated by the Gūjara kings. This no doubt refers to the fact mentioned in the *Kirtikaumudī* that four kings from Mār wāi conspired to advance against Lavanaprasāda while from the south the Yādava sovereign Simghana was marching against him. The *Kirtikaumudī* further says that the Vāghēlā prince succeeded in driving back the Mār wāi chiefs, of whom Udayasimha must undoubtedly have been one. A few years later, Lavanaprasāda's son, Vira-

¹ [On page 59 above, Bāhadamōru is identified with this Bādmēr.—Ed.]

² See page 44 above.

³ Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol I p 207.

⁴ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol II p 238.

dhavala, had been placed in almost the same predicament, as we learn from the *Hammīra-madamardana*, when Simhīna again marched against him on one side, the Turushka called Mīlachhikāra on another, and Dēvapāla, king of Mālwa, on the third. The kings of Marudēśa were on the point of joining the Turushka army, when Viradhavala at once marched and won them over to his side. The names of these kings are Sōmasimha, Udayasimha, and Dhārāvarsha¹. Of these, Udayasimha is doubtless the Chāhamāna chief of Jālōi.

A manuscript of Rāmachandra's *Nubhayabhlīmavyāyoga* has the following

*Samvat 1306 varshē Bhādravā-vadī 6 Ravāv=ady-ēha Śrī-mahārājakula-Śrī-Udayasimha-dēva-kalyāna-vijaya-rāgyē*²

It will be perceived at a glance that the Udayasimha here referred to is the Chāhamāna prince Udayasimha, for whom we have inscriptions with dates ranging from V E. 1262 to 1306. Similarly, at the end of his work entitled *Vivēkhavilāsa*, Jinadatta tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of Dhanapāla of the Vāyada family, who was looked upon as son by Dēvapāla, the treasury minister of Udayasimha of the Chāhvāna dynasty and the lord of Jāvalipura³. It can hardly be doubted that the prince here alluded to is the Chāhamāna Udayasimha of Jābālpura (Jālōi).

Udayasimha's queen was Prahlādanadēvī, who bore to him two sons, Chāchigadēva and Chāmundaarāja. From Bhīmāl Inscription No XIII, we learn that Udayasimha had one more son at least, viz Vāhadasiha⁴. From other accounts it appears that he had also a daughter. For, it is stated by Rājasēkhara in his *Prabandhachaturīṃsatī* and by Harshaganī in *Vastupālacharitra* that the Vāghēla king Viradhavala had two sons, viz Virama and Visala. The cause of the latter was espoused by Vastupāla, and the former had to flee for refuge to his father-in-law Udayasimha, chief of Jābālī, but was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Vastupāla⁵.

Udayasimha was succeeded by his son Chāchigadēva. In the Sūndhā hill inscription he is described as "destroying the roaring Gūrjara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking Patuka, depriving Sanga of his colour, and a thunderbolt to the mountain, viz the furious Nahara". Virama, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, is doubtless the son of Viradhavala just mentioned. Perhaps he was assassinated by Chāchiga at the instigation of Vastupāla during his father Udayasimha's reign. Śalya may be, as suggested by the learned doctor, the prince of the same name mentioned in verse 19 of the Dabhōī inscription as an enemy of Lavanaprasāda⁶. Patuka is perhaps a *dēśī* form of the Sanskritised name Pratāpa. The only Pratāpa, who, I think, can be a contemporary of Chāchiga, is his cousin, who was the son of Manavasimha, the eldest brother of Udayasimha. Sanga is perhaps Sangana, a ruler of Vantālī near Junāgadh, who was a brother-in-law of Viradhavala and was slain by him⁷.

Of the reign of Chāchigadēva five inscriptions have been found. The earliest is engraved in the temple of *mātā* on the Sūndhā hill in the Jaswantpurā District. It is dated in the akshaya-tṛtīyā of the month of Vaisākha of the [Vikrama] year 1310. The second is dated

¹ Prof S R Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, p 16 ff, Dhārāvarsha and Sōmasimha were, of course, Paramara kings and were father and son. Sōmasimha was, in all likelihood, the *gutarāja* at that time and had some share in the administration.

² Dr Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App p 81.

³ Dr Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p 156.

⁴ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Pt I p 482, here Chāmunda rāja is also referred to.

⁵ *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 190, Dr Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p 156.

⁶ Above Vol I, page 23.

⁷ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I, Pt I p 200.

V E 1326 It was found by me at Sēvādi, but was originally lying at Karādā in Mewār, doubtless Karahādā mentioned therein. No less than three of his records have been discovered at Bhīmāl, with the dates V E. 1328, 1333 and 1334 In the last inscription are mentioned his brothers Vāhadasiha and Chāmundaarāja, the last of whom has, as we have already seen, been referred to in the Sāndhā hill inscription

From an inscription originally found at Budhatrā but now deposited at the Ajmēr museum it appears that Chāchigadēva or Chācha, as he is there called, had a queen named Lakshmīdēvi from whom he had a daughter called Rūpādēvi¹ The latest date we have for Chāchigadēva is V E 1334, and after it we find inscriptions of a king who is named Sāmamtasimha, Sāmvasimha or Sāmyantasimha with dates ranging from V E 1339 to 1353 Unfortunately no epigraph has been found which tells us how he was related to his predecessor Chāchigadēva But all the bardic chronicles that I have seen in Mārwar are unanimous in saying that Sāmamtasimha was a son of Chāchigadēva He was thus a brother of Rūpādēvi, to whose reign her inscription belongs The last of Sāmamtasimha's records dated V E 1353 is interesting (No. XXIII) It expressly refers itself to the conjoint reign of Sāmamtasimhadēva and Kānhadadēva The same thing is done in another inscription found at Chōhtan and noted in connection with No XXIII Bardic chronicles tell us that the latter was a son of the former Kānhadadēva must, therefore, have been *yutarāja* or heir-apparent since V.E 1353, the date of the latter inscription No inscription has as yet come to light of this prince when he was on the throne But he is twice referred to in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh* While speaking of the conquests, in A D 1304, of Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, a chieftain of Alā-ud-Dīn, it says "Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwar, panic-struck at the rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered that place without opposition"² I am informed by Munshi Devī Prasad that for "Nehr Dew" the published Persian text of the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh* has Gātar Dev, which, with a slight change of diacritical marks, can be read Kānir Dēv. Kānir Dev of Jalwar can be no other than Kānhadadēva, son of Sāmamtasimha of Jalor For about four years he remained a feudatory of Alā-ud-Dīn The account of his death and the capture of Jalor are given in the same work as follows 'It is related that the Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dew (Kānir Dev), as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly One day the king was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindoostan dared to oppose his arms, on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, "I will suffer death, if I do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any attempt of the king's troops to take the fort of Jalwar" The king directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwar, and the more to show his contempt for Nehr Dew, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called Gool Behisht "the Rose of Heaven" She evinced great bravery and nearly succeeded in taking the fort, but she fell sick and died The siege was then conducted by her son Shaheen. Nehr Dew quitted the fort and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen, with his own hand, and the Mahomedans retreated four days successively towards Dehly Alla-ood-Deen, vexed at this repulse, sent strong reinforcements under Kumal-ood-Deen, a general of distinction, who succeeded at last in taking Jalwar by storm, and made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison, putting Nehr Dew and his family to the sword, and plundering all his treasures The news of this event created great joy at the capital"³ The exact date of this event is not specified in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh*, but the latter implies that it must have come to pass shortly before A D 1309

According to the chronicle of Mūtā Nēnsī, which is looked upon as of the highest authority throughout Mārwar, Chāchigadē had three sons, viz Sāmvasī Rāval, Chāhadadē, and Chamdra Sāmvasī's son was Kānhadadē, who was the lord of Jalor and was also

¹ Above, Vol IV p 313² Briggs' *Firishtāh*, Vol I p 362³ *Ibid* p 370

styled the tenth Salagarāma (Śāligāma) and Gugulinātha. He and his son Virama died three days after fighting with the Pātasāha (i.e. Alā-ud-Dīn), who then captured Jālōr. This event happened in V E 1368. Jinaprabhasūri, author of the *Tīrthakalpa*, tells us that the temple of Mahāvīra at Satyapura (Sāñchōr) was polluted by Alā-ud-Dīn's army and the image carried off in V E 1367. As Sāñchōr is not far off from Jālōr, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the army, which captured Jālōr, polluted the temple of Sāñchōr also. And as the sack of this Jaina śānā occurred in the lifetime of Jinaprabhasūri, the date given by him must be accepted as correct. Between this and the date of the capture of Jālōr given by Mūtā Nēnsī, the difference is but one year, which is of no consequence, for, as we learn from the *Tawārīkh-i-Fīrīshṭāh*, the siege of Jālōr lasted for a long time, and it is possible that, while the siege continued, a detachment of the army proceeded to Sāñchōr for pillaging the temple whose fame must have spread all over southern Māwār. The date 1368 V E = 1311 A D may thus be taken to be the year when the fort of Jālōr fell into the hands of Alā-ud-Dīn.

Mūtā Nēnsī says that, when Jālōr was on the point of being taken, Kānhadadēva managed to send off his brother Mālādēva from the fort in order that the Sōngarā family might not be completely destroyed. Mālādēva continued to live a migratory life for some time, but soon succeeded in winning the favour of the Muhammadan emperor, who was pleased to assign to him the fort of Chitōr which remained in his possession for seven years. After describing the flight of the Guhilōt prince Ratnasīmha from Delhi, the *Tawārīkh-i-Fīrīshṭāh* says as follows: "At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizī Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew (sister's son) of the Raja. The Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."¹ Abū'l Fazal, in his *Ain-i-Akbarī*, gives the same account, but mentions Mālādēva as the name of the Hindu prince. Mālādēva is mentioned by Tod also in connection with the fall of Chitōrgadh, with regard to which he says that Alā-ud-Dīn 'delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalor, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals.'² Mūtā Nēnsī tells us that Mālādēva had three sons, viz. Jēsō, Kitapāla and Vanavīra. Of Jēsō we know absolutely nothing. As regards Kitapāla, he may perhaps be the same as the Chāhumāna Śrī-Kituka, whom together with Alā-ud-Dīn, Rānā Bhuvanasīmha is represented to have conquered in the Rānpur inscription.³ Vanavīra, the third son of Mālādēva is no doubt the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Vanavīradēva of the Kōt-Sōlankiyā inscription (No XXIV), dated V E 1394 (A D 1338). Both Mālādēva and Vanavīra are referred to by Tod while speaking about the marriage of the widowed daughter of the former with Rānā Hammīra. Tod has also described how, with the help of his wife and a scribe whom he had obtained as part of the dower, Hammīra succeeded in making himself master of his ancestral fort, Chitōr. He further says that "Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeeran, Ruttunpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity. . . . Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewār." It is impossible to say how far this account, based solely on bardic chronicles, is true. It is indeed curious how Gōdvād, which comprises Kōt-Sōlankiyā where Vanavīra's inscription was found, is not mentioned amongst the provinces assigned to him by Hammīra. It is also

¹ Briggs' *Fīrīshṭāh*, Vol II p 363

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 248. I do not know what authority is forthcoming in support of Tod's statement that Maldeo (Mālādēva) was the Chief of Jhalore (Jālōr), though this is by no means impossible.

³ *Bhavnagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p 114

inexplicable how the Kōt-Solankiyā inscription referred itself to the reign of Vanavīradēva alone, if the latter was subordinate to Hammira

Mūtā Nēnsī's chronicle informs us that Vanavīra's son was Ranavīra or Ranadhīra Of the latter an inscription (No XXV), has been found at Nādlāi in the temple of Jādvājī on a hillock close by It specifies the date V E 1443 (A D 1387), and speaks of Ranavīradēva, son of Vanavīradēva of the Chāhamāna lineage as then reigning According to Mūtā Nēnsī, Ranavīra had two sons, viz Kēlana and Rājadhara. The latter is represented to have been killed in V E 1432 while fighting with Rāva Ranamalla The same event appears to be alluded to in the following words of Tod about this prince, whom he calls Rimmul "With the forces of Mewar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the Viceroy of Ajmer, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chōhāns, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Mewar"¹

Here closes my account of the Sōnigarā dynasty Sōnigarā is a *sākhā* or division of the Chōhāns, and derives its name from Sōngar, i.e. Suvarnagiri, by which the fort hill of Jālōr was known We have seen above that Kīrtipāla, son of Ālhana, established himself at Jālōr And consequently all the Sōnigarās trace their descent from Kīrtipāla, who is known by the abbreviated form Kitū in their records The descendants of Chōhān kings who preceded Kīrtipāla are called Nādōhyās, very few of whom are now found in Mārwar They are now settled, I am told, in the Pālanpur Agency at such places as Thirād and others A third *sākhā* of the Mārwar Chāhamānas was the Dēvdā, to which the present prince of Sirohi belongs It sprang from Mānavasimha, alias Mahanasimha, the eldest son of Samarasimha and the grandson of Kīrtipāla All the Chāhamāna inscriptions found on and round about Ābū belong to this dynasty There is yet a fourth sub-division of the Mārwar Chōhāns, which is known as Sānchōrā They were unquestionably connected with Sānchōr, in which district they are still found in large numbers And it cannot be seriously doubted that Nos XXVI and XXVII are records of this dynasty They are dated in V E 1444 and belong to the reign of Chāhūāna Pratāpasimha, also called Pātā A history of five generations is here given, and we are even told that they belonged to the family of Lakshmanasimha, king of Nadūla But beyond saying that it was one of the branches sprung from Lakshmana, we are not informed how exactly they were connected with the Sōnigarā *sākhā* and whence they branched off Mūtā Nēnsī, however, gives the following genealogy of the Sānchōrā Chōhāns (1) Rāva Lākhaṇa, (2) Bahi, (3) Sōhī, (4) Mahanda Rāva, (5) Anahala, (6) Jinda Rāva, (7) Āsa Rāva, (8) Mānaka-Rāva, (9) Ālhana, (10) Vijaisī, who captured Sānchōr, (11) his son Padama-si, (12) his son Sōbhrama, (13) his son Sālō, (14) his son Vikāma-si, and (15) his son Pātō It will be seen from this account that it was Vijaisī, who first made himself master of Sānchōr And amongst the names that follow his may be recognised those given in Nos XXVI and XXVII Thus Sōbhrama, Sālō, Vikāma-si and Pātō of Mūtā Nēnsī's list are Sōbhita, Sālha, Vikramasimha, and Pratāpasimha. The order of succession also is correct except for the omission of the name of Samgrāmasimha, father of Pratāpasimha Mūtā Nēnsī's account again agrees with the inscription in deriving the descent of these princes from Lakshmana, but further gives the additional information that the founder of the Sānchōrā branch of the Chōhāns as such was Vijaisī, apparently son of Ālhana There appears to be a little confusion in the order of succession between Lakshmana and Vijaisī as given by Mūtā Nēnsī, but there is no difficulty in recognising Ālhana to be the name of that Chōhān prince, who was father of Kēlhana and Kīrtipāla Just as his son Kīrtipāla seized Jālōr, established himself there, and became the founder of a Chōhān branch called Sōnigarā, so another son, named Vijaya-si, appears to have captured Sānchōr, where he reigned and originated the Sānchōrā line

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol II p 15

No 5 —PALITANA PLATES OF DHARASENA II., [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 252.

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALF)

These plates are one of seven sets of copper-plates which were discovered some 40 years ago in an underground chamber at Palitānā in Kāthiāvār, and which now belong to the State of Palitānā. Like the plates of Simhāditya (No 2 above), they were first described by the late Mr A M T Jackson, I C S, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXXIX p 130, No V, and I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-impressions, prepared by Dr Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rāj Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr W C. Tudor Owen, I C S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the original plates.

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to Mr Venkayya, 11½ inches in breadth and 7½ inches in height. Each plate bears 18 lines of writing on its inner side. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second, but it is impossible to say whether the existing seal belongs to this or to one of the other five Maṅtraka grants discovered along with it.¹

The writing on the plates is well preserved, and the alphabet is of the usual Valabhī type. The letter *ē* occurs in *ēta* (l 29) and *Ēkalika* (l 24). The sign of *jihāmūliya* is employed once (l 21). The date (l 36) is expressed in numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit prose, two verses from the *Mahābhārata* are quoted near the end (l 35 f). The rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded, especially in the grant portion, and the whole inscription teems with orthographical mistakes of every description. The *anusvāra* is replaced by guttural *n* in *sinha* (twice in l 7), *i* by *yi* in *yua* (l 5), the vowel *ri* by *ru* in *pitru* (l 23) and by *ri* in *kṛita* (ll 3, 36), etc. The doubling of *chh* after short vowels or the preposition *ā* is disregarded throughout (ll 3, 29, 33, 34 (twice), 35), and *tīa* is replaced by *tva* in *tatva* (l 8) and *svatva* (for *sattva*, l 12). The following Prākṛit forms deserve to be noted — *panṭi* for *panṭi* (l 4), *Māhēsara* for *Māhēsvara* (l 16), *isadhika* for *imsatyadhika* (l 26), *trisadhika* for *trimsadadhika* (l 27), *dvātrisa* for *dvātrimsat* (l 26), *varisha* for *vaisha* (l 35), *darisayitā* for *darśayitā* (l 20), *prāpiya* (l 28) or *pāpiya* (ll 24, 26) for *prāpiya*, and *sapariyyā* for *saparyyā* (l 11).

The inscription records a grant of land by the Maṅtraka king Dharasēna II of Valabhī and is dated on the very same *tithi* of the same year as four other grants of the same king.² The panegyric introduction is practically identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II. The only point worth mentioning is that the name of his grandfather is spelt *Dharapada* (l 11), while his remaining grants read either *Dharapatta* or *Dharapadda*.³

The grant portion runs as follows —

(Line 1) From Valabhī,—

(L 21) the fervent worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the glorious *Mahārāja* Dharasēna (II), being in good health, commands all (*officials*), (*i.e.*) *āyuktakas*, *viṃyuktakas*, *drāṅghikas*, *mahattaras*, irregular and regular soldiers, *dhruvādhikaranikas*, *dāṇḍapāśikas*, *chōrōd-dharaṇikas*, *rājasthānīyas*, *kumārāmātyas*, etc and others according as they are concerned —

(L 23) “Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain rewards in this (*world*) and in the next, I have granted —

(L 24) “180 *pādāvartas*,⁴ (*held by*) *Chara* (?), on the north-eastern boundary of the village

¹ See Mr Jackson's remarks, *loc cit*, bottom of page

² Nos 469-472 of Prof Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*

³ *Gupta Inscr* plate xxiv l 10, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 72, plate, l 11

⁴ On this term see *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 305, note 21, and above, Vol III p 323, note 3

Nātyōtaka belonging to¹ the [Bamvū]vānaka district (*sthālī*),² and in the west of the field of Dāraka in the village Ēkalika, and in the north of the field of Āditya, 120 *pādāvartas*, and the Nimba pond (*vāpī*) containing³ 32 *pādāvartas*, in the east of the road on the north-western boundary (of *Nātyōtaka*), 130 *pādāvartas*, held by⁴ Gōksha, on both banks of the (river) Vatsa-vahaka⁵ and within the upper part of the Khandabhēdaka tank (*tatāka*) on the south-western boundary of Dē[va]rakṣhitapātaka belonging to the Nimbakūpa district (*sthālī*), 100 *pādāvartas*, held by Dhārmika, on the northern boundary of the village Chitrakasthalya belonging to the Kadambapadra district (*sthālī*), and the Avatara pond (*vāpī*), held by Kōdhaka, on the eastern boundary of the ground⁶ of Kadambapadra, —

(L 29) “this (land), with the *udranga*, with the *uparikara*, with the *vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hiranyādēya*, with (the right to) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhīdra*, to the two Brāhmanas Rōgha and Śyēna of the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina (school) and of the Kṛusika *gōtra*, for the performance of the rites of the five great sacrifices, (*vis*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaisvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth shall exist, to be enjoyed by (his) sons, grandsons, and (further) descendants, with libations of water, as a *brahmadēya*”

Then there follow the usual admonitions, and two verses of Vyāsa The last line runs —

“(This is) the signature of Myself, the *Mahārāja Śrī Dnaraśēna* (This edict was) written by the *sandhu-grahādhhīrita* Skandabhata The *dū[taka]* (was) Chirbira The year 252, the 15th (tithi) of the dark (fortnight) of Vaiśākha”

The date has to be referred to the Gupta-Valabhī era of A D 319, and the specified month places the record in A D 571 The *dūtaka*, Chirbira, is mentioned in five other grants of Dharasēna II⁷ The writer, Skandabhata, served both Dharasēna II⁸ and his father and predecessor Guhasēna⁹ I am unable to identify the geographical names mentioned in the grant

TEXT¹⁰

First Plate

- 1 [अी]¹¹ स्वस्त¹² [॥*] वलभीत[*] प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणा ¹³मैत्रकाणामतुलवलस-
पत्रमण्डल[१]भोगस(स)सक्तसप्रह[१*]रशतलव्यप्रता-
- 2 प[.*] [प्र]तापोपनतदानम[१*]नार्जवोपार्जिता[नु*]रागोनुरक्तमैलभृतमित्रश्रीणी-
वलावास(॥)रान्यश्री[.*]¹⁴ परममाहेश्वर

¹ The gerundive *prāpya* (spelt *prāpiya* or *prāpiya* in this grant) is synonymous with *antargata*, it occurs again in II 26 and 28 Compare above, Vol III p 323, note 2

² The same term is found in other Valabhī grants See *Ind Ant* Vol V p 212, text line 23, Vol. VI p 12, text l 5, Vol XIV p 330, text l 23, Vol XV p 187 f, *Bhāvnagar Inscr* p 37, text l 6

³ For *parisara*, ‘extent or area of a pond,’ see *Gupta Inscr* p 166, text l 25, above, Vol IV p 80, text l 55, *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 239, text l 6, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol VII p 299, text l 20 f

⁴ For *pratyaya*, ‘holding,’ see *Gupta Inscr* p 170, note 5, above, Vol IV p 80, text ll 55 and 61, *Ind Ant* Vol V p 205, text l 16, and Vol XIV p 330, text ll 23 25, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol VII p 299, text ll 17 and 19

⁵ Compare *Pūñchhalūpikā vaha*, above, Vol IV p 80, text ll 55 and 59

⁶ For *svatāla* see *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 15, text l 11, Vol IX p 239, text l 4, Vol XIV p 330, text l 25; Vol XV p 187, note 9

⁷ *Gupta Inscr* p 167, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 70, Vol VIII p 303, Vol XV p 188, *Bhāvnagar Inscr* p 37

⁸ *Gupta Inscr* p 167, *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 12, Vol VII pp 70 and 73, Vol VIII p 303, Vol XV p 188, *Bhāvnagar Inscr* p 37

⁹ *Ind Ant* Vol IV p 175, and Vol V p 207

¹⁰ From ink impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya

¹² Read स्वस्ति

¹³ Read मैत्रकाणाम्

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁴ Read ॐ श्री

- 3 श्रीसेनापतिभटार्कस्तस्य¹ सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुणावनतपवित्रिक्रितशिरा[.*]² शिरावनत-
शत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविकु-³
- 4 रितपदन्खपन्तिदिधितिदीनानाथक्रिपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभव[.*]⁴ पर[म*]माहेश्वरः
श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानु-
- 5 जस्त[त्*]पादाभिप्रणामप्रस्ततस्ततरविमलमौलिमणिर्म(ग)न्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानध-
र्मा⁵ धर्मराज यिव⁶ वि[हि]तविन-
- 6 यव्यवस्थापइतरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभगैकस्वामिना⁷ परमस्वामिना स्वयसुपहितराज्या-
भिषकमहा⁸ विश्राणनाव-
- 7 पूतराजश्री[.*] परममाहेश्वर⁹ महाराजश्रीद्रोणसिद्ध[.*] सिद्ध¹⁰ इव तस्यानुज[.*]
स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघ-
- 8 टानीकानामकविजयि¹¹ शरणेपिणा¹² शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्वाना¹³ कल्प-
तररिव¹⁴ सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिना¹⁵ यथाभि-
- 9 लपितकामफलोपभोगद[.*] परमभागवत[.*] श्रीमहाराजध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुजस्त-
स्वरणार[वि]न्दप्रणतिप्रविधता-¹⁶
- 10 शेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्वचरितोदकचालित(ग)सकलकलिकलकः प्रसभनिर्जिताराति-
पक्षप्रथितमहिमां¹⁷ पर-
- 11 मादित्यभक्त[.*] श्रीमहाराजधरपडस्तस्य[ग*]त्वजस्तत्पाद(ग)सपरित्याघातपुण्योद-
य[.*]¹⁸ शैशवा[त्*] प्रभृत्¹⁹ खड्गद्वितिय-²⁰
- 12 बाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस्वत्वनिक्वः²¹ तत्प्रभाव(ग)प्रणताराति-
चूड[ग]रत्नप्रभासस-
- 13 क्तसव्यपादनखरश्मिसंहति[.*] सकलस्मृतिप्रणितमार्गसम्यत्परिपालनप्रजाहृदय-
र[ञ्ज]नादन्वर्त्यराजशब्दो²² [रू]-
- 14 पकान्तिस्थिर्यगाम्भिर्य(ग)बुद्धिसम्पद्भिः[.*]²³ स्मरशश[ग*]हृ[ग*]र्द्विराजोदधिचिदशगुरु-
धनेशान(ग)तिशयान[.*]²⁴ शरणगताभय-
- 15 प्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्त[ग*]शेषस्वकार्यफल[.*]²⁵ प्र[ग*]त्यन[ग*]धिकार्थप्रदा-
नानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिहृद-

¹ Read °सेनापति°² Read °पवित्रीकृत°.³ Read शिरो° and °विष्णु°⁴ Read °पादमखपङ्क्तिदीधितिर्दीनानाथकृपण°⁵ Read °प्रशस्ततर°⁶ Read इव⁷ Read °पडति° and °लामीगैक°.⁸ Read °भिषेक°.⁹ Read °श्री°.¹⁰ Read °सिद्ध सिद्ध°.¹¹ Read °नामेकविजयी°¹² Read °शरणे°.¹³ Read °तत्त्वाना°¹⁴ Read °तररिव°.¹⁵ Read °ना°.¹⁶ Read °विधिता°¹⁷ Read °मा°.¹⁸ Read °सपर्या°¹⁹ Read °प्रभृति°.²⁰ Read °द्वितीय°.²¹ Read °सस्व°²² Read °स्मृतिप्रणीत° and °सम्यक्परि°.²³ Read °स्थिर्यगाम्भीर्य°²⁴ Read °शशाङ्गादि°²⁵ The द of वृणवद° was corrected by the engraver from व

4

11

[illegible]

- 16 य[:*] पादचारिव¹ सकलभूवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोद[:*]² परममादेशर[:*]³
श्रीमह[र*]राजगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्या-
17 दन[ख]मयूखसन्त[र]ननिव्रितजाङ्गविजलोघविचालिताशेषकल्पः⁴ प्रणयिशतसहस्रो-
पजी-
18 व्य(:)भोगसम्प[द*][रू]पलोभा[दि]वाश्रीत[:*]⁵ सरसम[र*]भिगामिकैर्गुणै⁶ सहज-
शक्तिशीलाविशेषविमापिताखिलधनु[र्द्धर][*]⁷

Second Plate

- 19 प्रथम[न]रपतिस[मतिष्ठ]ष्ट[र]नामनुपालयता⁸ धर्मदायाना[म*]पकर्ता प्रजीपघ[र*]-
तकारिणां(न)सु[प]-⁹
20 भवान[र] दरिशयिता¹⁰ श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मिपरिचोभ-
दक्षविक्रम[:*]¹¹ क्रमो[प]-
21 संप्र[र]प्तविमलपार्थिवश्री[:*] परममादेश्वर[:*] श्रीमहाराजधरसेन(॥)कुशली
सर्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तकद्रागिक-
22 महत्तरचाटभटभुवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशकचोरोद्धरणिकराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्यादी-
(नां)नन्याश्च¹² य[था]-
23 सबद्धमानका[न*]¹³ समान्नापयत्यस्तु व[:*] संविदित¹⁴ यथा मया म[र*]-
तापिपुण्याप्यायना[या*]त्मनश्चैहिक[र]मुष्मिकफ-¹⁵
24 ल[र*]वातये ॥ [वंदू]वानकस्थलिप्र[र*]पीये¹⁶ नाट्योत्कृष्टग्रामे पूर्वोत्तरसिन्धु¹⁷ तथा
एकलिकग्रामे च [द]रकसत्कचेत्वाद्-
25 परत[:*] [च]रिपादावर्त्तशत अशीत्यधिक¹⁸ तथा आदित्यक्षेत्राचोत्तरत[:*]¹⁹ ॥
तथा(द)परोत्तरसीन्धि²⁰ पथा²¹ पूर्वत[:*] पादावर्त्तशत²²
26 विशधिकं²³ द्वात्रिंशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा²⁴ निम्बवापी [र*] तथा निम्बकुपस्थलिप्र[र*]-
पीये²⁵ दे[व*]रचितपाटके अवरदक्षिणसीन्धि²⁶
27 वत्सवहकस्योभयतटेपु²⁷ खण्डभेदकतटाकाग्रोदरे च पादावर्त्तशतं त्रिशधिकं²⁸ गोक्ष-
प्रत्यय [र*] तथा कदम्बप-

¹ Read °चारिव² Read °सताननिर्भसमाङ्गवौकलौघ°³ Read °मिच्छा° and °विष्मापिता°⁴ Read °दशैयिता⁵ Read °सबद्धमान°⁶ Read °स्थलीप्राप्ते⁷ Read °क्षेत्राक्षीसरत-⁸ Read °शत.⁹ Read °कूपस्थलीप्राप्ते.¹⁰ Read °त्रिशदधिक.¹¹ Read °भुवन°¹² Read °वाग्रित¹³ Read °नामनुपालयिता¹⁴ Read °लक्ष्मीपरिभोग°¹⁵ Read °त¹⁶ Read °पूर्वोत्तरसीन्धि¹⁷ Read °रीसर°¹⁸ Read °विशदधिक¹⁹ Read °अपरदक्षिण°²⁰ Read °देश्वर.²¹ Read °कैर्गुणै²² Read °कारिणासुप°.²³ Read °पाशिक°.²⁴ Read °पिष्ट°²⁵ Read °शतमशीत्यधिक²⁶ Read °पथ²⁷ Read °द्वात्रिंशत्पादा°.²⁸ Read °तटयो.

- 28 द्रस्थलिप्रापिये¹ चित्रकस्थल्यग्रामे उत्तरसीम्नि पादावर्त्तशतं धार्मिकप्रत्ययं
[I*] तथा कदम्बपद्रस्तले पूर्वसीम्नि कोषकप्रत्यया [अवतर]-
- 29 वापी [I*] एत[त्*] सोदङ्गं सोपरिकर² सव[I*]तभूतधान्यहि[र*]खादेयं
सोत्पद्यम[I*]नवेष्टिकं समस्तराजकिय[I*]न[I*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणियं³ भूमि-
छिद्रन्याये[न]⁴
- 30 (न) वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनकौशिकसगोत्र[र*]ह्यणरोघश्येनाभ्या बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा-
ग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायाज्ञिकान[I*]
- 31 क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्काण[व]सिरिद्धितिस्थितिसमकालिनं⁵ पुत्रपौत्रा-
न्वयभोग्य उ[द्र*]कातिस[र्गे]ण ब्र-
- 32 ह्यदेय निस्सिष्ट⁶ [I*] यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भूजत[:*]
क्षिपत[:*] कर्षिपयत[:*]⁷ प्रदिश(य)तो वा न कैश्चि[त्*] प्रति-
षेधे वर्त्तित[व्य]-
- 33 मागामिभद्रनिपतिभिश्चास्वद्वशजैरनित्यानैश्वर्यान्वस्थिरं⁸ म[I*]नुष्य सामा-
न्यञ्च भुमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य[:*]⁹
- 34 परिपालयतव्यश्च¹⁰ [I*] यश्चैनमाच्छिन्द्य[I*]दाक्षियम[I*]नं(र)¹¹ वानुमोदेत
स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै[:*]¹² सोपपातकै[:*] सयुक्त[:*]¹³ स्यादित्युक्त¹⁴
च भगवता वैदव्या-¹⁵
- 35 सेन व्य[I*]से[न ॥*] षष्टिवरिषसहस्राणि¹⁶ स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भुमिद[:*]¹⁷ [I*]
आच्छेत्¹⁸ चानुमन्त[I*] च तान्येव नरेकै¹⁹ वसे[त्*] । [१*] बहु-
भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[. I*] यस्य यस्य यदा भु-
- 36 मि[त]स्य²⁰ तस्य तदा [फ]लमिति ॥ [२*] स्वहस्ती मम महाराज-
[श्री]धरसेनस्य ॥ लिखित सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतस्कन्दभट्टेन²¹ ॥ दू²²
चिर्ब्विर[. *] ॥ स २०० ५० २ वैश[र*]ख व १० ५ [॥*]

¹ Read °स्वलीप्राप्ये⁴ Read भूमिच्छिद्र°⁷ Read भूजत कृषत कर्षयत⁹ Read भूमि°, गच्छ°, and °स्मदायो°¹² Read °भिर्महा°¹⁵ Read वेद°¹⁸ Read आच्छेत्ता²¹ Read °धिकृत°² Read °कर⁶ Read °सिरिद्धिति° and °कालीन⁸ Read °नृपतिभिश्चास्वद्वशजैरनित्यानैश्वर्यान्वस्थिर¹⁰ Read °पालयित°¹³ Read सयुक्त°¹⁶ Read °वर्ष°¹⁹ Read नरेकै°³ Read °राजकीया° and °प्रक्षेपणीय⁵ Read निस्सृष्ट¹¹ Read °माच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य°¹⁴ Read °क्त¹⁷ Read भूमि°²⁰ Read भूमिस्तस्य,²² This is an abbreviation of दूतक Compare Gupta Inscr p 167, note 8, Ind Ant. Vol. VII, p 70, text line 18, and Vol. VIII, p 303, note 12, Bharnagar Inscr p 37, text l 18

POSTSCRIPT.

I avail myself of this opportunity for correcting certain mistakes which I have committed in two former articles on Valabhi grants

1 In Vol III p 323, l 11, read "Harīyānaka, which belongs to Akshasāraka, (a subdivision) of the Hastavaprāharani" On *prāpiya* (for *prāpya*) see now above, p 81, note 1

2 When reading with me the Nōgawū plates (Vol VIII No 20), Mr T K Laddu justly observed that *uchyamāna* cannot mean 'said,' but means 'being said, about to be mentioned' Consequently, the expressions *uchyamāna-bhuktāu* and *uchyamāna-vishayē* (Vol VIII p 189) are intended for *Navagrāmaka-bhuk'tāu* and *Chandraputrala-vishayē* Likewise, on p 193, text lines 38 f and 40, *uchyamāna-chātūrvidyā-sāmānya* stands for *Navagrāmaka-chātūrvidyā-sāmānya*, and on p 198, text line 13, the same term represents *Chandraputraka-chātūrvidyā-sāmānya* In the Index to Vol VIII the two districts *Navagrāmaka-bhukti* and *Chandraputraka-vishaya* have to be entered accordingly

No 6—JANKHAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIRASENA

By F. E. PARGITER, M A, ICS (RETD)

This inscription was found by Mr. R. Burn in the village of Jānkhat in the Tirwa tahsil of the Farukhabad District, United Provinces, and he gave a brief notice of it in the *Jour. R. As Soc.*, 1900, p 553 It is engraved on the back of a carved stone, which was among the collection of carved stones called the *Gawān dēu* or "village gods" Mr Marshall sent Dr Fleet an ink-impression and an estampage of it, together with a photograph of the collection of village gods, which shows the stone amid a quantity of carved stones and fragments of all kinds, and at Dr Fleet's request I have edited the record¹ The front of the stone appears to present in bold relief the head and open mouth of some animal

Above the inscription are three emblems occupying a triangular space $2\frac{1}{4}$ " high and 3" wide The middle and highest emblem represents a tree, and on each side is that of a "chaitya."—The inscription occupies a space $7\frac{1}{4}$ " high and $4\frac{1}{4}$ " wide, and is arranged in seven lines there seem to be some traces of an eighth line, but the tops of the letters do not always maintain a level The letters are in good preservation except at the beginning of the lines The first letter is partially obliterated in each of the first four lines The last three lines have suffered most, for the first letter in each has disappeared, the final letter is blurred, and most unfortunately the middle letters have gone entirely From the appearance of this middle portion of the lower half of the inscription Mr. Burn inferred that it had been used to sharpen chisels on This defacement extends also into the fourth line where one or two letters have been obliterated The only lines therefore that are fairly complete are the first three—The characters are Brāhmī, well made and clearly cut, most of which are about $\frac{1}{2}$ " high I will consider their form when discussing the age of the inscription here I need only say that they include the numeral symbols for 3, 4 and 10, and that the short superscript *ṛ* is made to do duty for the long vowel—The language may be either mixed dialect or Prākṛit, perhaps rather the latter We have the genitive singular in *sa* twice, and the genitive plural in *nam* The genitive plural *gishmānam* is peculiar, we should expect the genitive singular The same genitive plural, however, is found in the form *gimhāna* in inscriptions at Nāsik, above, Vol VIII, p 60, line 1, and p 73, line 12, and we have also *hēma(m)tāna*, p 94, line 1, where, again, we should expect the genitive singular These genitives were perhaps devised on the analogy of the quite correct *vasāna* = *varshānām*, ibid, p 73, line 12

¹ I have to thank him for various corrections and emendations

The inscription has suffered so much damage that we can form no opinion as to what its purport was after the opening part of it. Its interest lies in the point that it is a lithic record of a king, the Svāmīn Virasēna, who may be identified with practical certainty with a king Virasēna of whom we have coins. Professor Rapson has described and figured one of the coins in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 115, and notes there certain symbols on it which have some general resemblance (but nothing specific except the tree) with the symbols on this stone. And Mr V. Smith has described fourteen of them, and figured two, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 197, and conjectures there (p. 191 f.) from the provenance of them that Virasēna was a king in the Gangetic Doab about A.D. 300.

The record is dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Virasēna,¹ and on the eighth day in the fourth fortnight of the hot season. As no year of an era is given and the date of Virasēna is not known, we can only fix on palæographic grounds the period to which the record may be referred; and the following remarks are offered towards elucidating this point. The letters that occur clearly are *k, g, t, n, p, m, y, r, v, sh* and *s*, and they may be compared with the Brāhmī forms in Tables II and III in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*. The facts to be ascertained must be, not what are the earliest records with which letters found in this inscription tally, for particular forms, such for instance as those of *k* and *n*, persisted with little or no modification for several centuries, but rather what was the period when any later or new forms found in this inscription came into use.² The forms of certain of these letters, namely, *m, y, v*, and *sh* do not occur in Table II and are first found in Table III; hence these letters deserve most notice and attention may be confined to Table III. The form of *m* resembles most those in columns VI and VIII of that table, that of *y* those in columns I, II, IX and XIII, that of *v* those in columns I and VIII, and that of *sh* the form in column XIV. The forms of *y* and *v* are therefore found in inscriptions varying in date from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., that of *m* in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., and that of *sh* not until the second century A.D. The most significant therefore of these letters is *sh*, and its form shews that the inscription cannot be earlier than the 2nd century A.D. There are two other features which point to a somewhat later period. First, the mark for the long vowel *ā*, in the letters portrayed in Table III, is formed by a short horizontal bar drawn to the right from the head of a consonant, but here the bar always shows a slight curve upwards—a tendency that became more pronounced in one form of this vowel in the later Gupta alphabet. Secondly, the heads of the letters in this inscription are slightly, yet quite distinctly, wedge-shaped, and this feature also became well developed in the Gupta alphabet. It would therefore appear that this record should be assigned to a time later than the second century, that is, to the 3rd century A.D., and very possibly to the latter part of it, and this agrees with Mr V. Smith's conjecture regarding Virasēna's age, mentioned above.

TEXT.

- 1 Svāmīsa³ Virasēnasa
- 2 samvatsarē 10 3 gishmā-
- 3 nam pākshē⁴ 4 divasē⁵ 8

¹ Mr Burn read the year rightly, as 13, in his account mentioned above. Mr V. Smith read it as 113, but the character before that for 10 is clearly *rē*, the last syllable of *samvatsarē*.

² [This principle, however, must be applied with caution. Any particular record may easily give the first available instances of types found in it, and so may carry them back to earlier times than had been previously established for them.—J. F. F.]

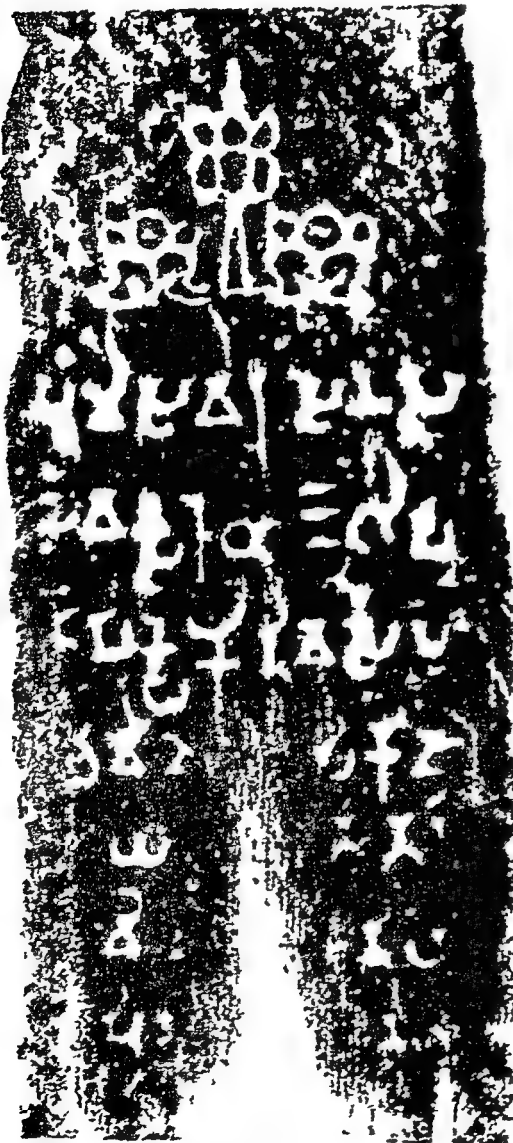
³ Read *svāmīsa*. There is a dot above the *sva*, which looks like an *anusvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

⁴ Read *pākshē*.

⁵ There is a dot above the *sē*, which looks like an *anusvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

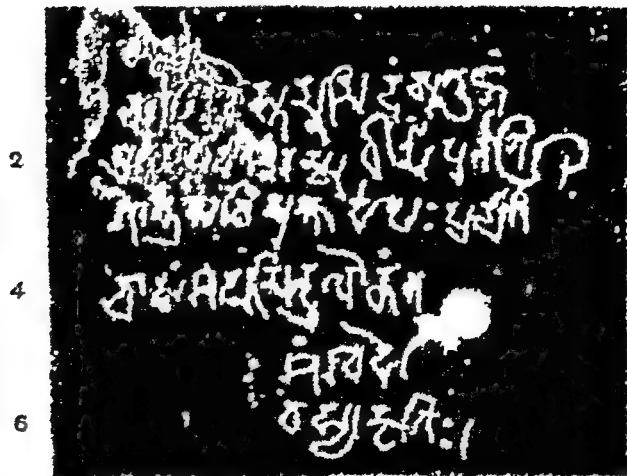
Jankhat Brahmi inscription and Kosam pillar inscriptions

Jankhat inscription of Virasena



SCALE ONE-HALF

Kosam pillar inscription —A



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

Kosam pillar inscription —B



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

4	1	mi	mē	[y]ikā	[vā]-
5		ya	tata	.
6	..	vi	.	.	.	n[ā]ya	
7	..	epru[sa]	.	..		ni[ma]	

TRANSLATION.

In the year 10 (and) 3 of Svāmin Vīrasēna, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season,² on the day 8

No 7—TWO RECORDS ON THE PILLAR AT KOSAM

BI F E PARCITER, M A , I C S. (RETD)

The two following inscriptions were noticed by General Sir A Cunningham in his description of the pillar at Kosam in his Archaeological Survey of India, Vol I, p 310. Impressions of them were sent me by Dr Fleet which he received from Dr Konow, and at his request I have written this paper on them

A.—A verse of the 7th or 8th century, A D

This is described by General Cunningham thus —“The next inscription in point of time consists of six lines in characters of the 6th or 7th century. As this record is placed on the lower part of the shaft, from 3 to 4 feet beneath the present ground level, and as the lines are perpendicular to the sides of the shaft, I infer that at the time when it was inscribed, the pillar was still standing upright in its original position, and that the surrounding buildings were still in perfect order. This inference is fully borne out by Hwen Thsang's account, etc.”

It is written in the Gupta character of the latter part of the 7th century. The letters are large and somewhat irregularly formed, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. The language is Sanskrit, and the composition is a verse in the *upēndravajrā* metre written in four lines with the author's name added in the fifth and sixth lines. But the engraver has marred the appearance of the verse by the manner in which he has inscribed it. The first line contains the first *pāda* of the verse, but in consequence of his making the first 8 *aksharas* of the second line somewhat small and close he got into it not only the second *pāda* but also the first 3 *aksharas* of the third *pāda*. The third line then contains the remainder of the third *pāda* and the first 3 *aksharas* of the fourth *pāda*, and the fourth line, receiving only the remaining 8 *aksharas* of that *pāda*, looks not only incomplete but also erroneous in beginning with the word *cha*. Consequently also the metre appears faulty and the meaning is obscured. When properly adjusted the *pādas* read aright and the metre is correct. The end of the second line is ornamented with a peculiar scroll, in which the symbol for the vowel *i* in the final *ti* has been continued in a line which bends around beneath the letter *t*, ascends on its right and finishes in a right-handed curve further to the right. The incorrect structure of the lines suggests an explanation of this scroll. The portion of the scroll along the right side of the letter *t* is an upright line. The first half of the verse ends with *su-dhīryam*, but the engraver, thinking that it ended with

¹ This *akshara*, judging from what remains of it and from the space which it occupies, would seem to be a double consonant, of which *kh*, *ch* or *v* is the second member. It may perhaps be *sva* or *svā*.

² The fourth fortnight of the hot season would be the last fortnight of it, if we should reckon six seasons in the year, and would be (for the time of our record) about the first half of June. With the year of three seasons this fortnight would be about the first half of April.

the second line, put the usual bar there, and the mistake was rectified by turning the bar into a meaningless scroll, continuing its lower portion backward beneath the *t* into the vowel *i* and its upper portion forward in the curve to the right. There was not sufficient room to insert the single bar after *su-dhīryam*, but the double bar at the close of the verse occurs correctly at the end of the fourth line.

The letters are of the Gupta character and resemble most closely those of the Aplead inscription of about A.D. 675, portrayed by Bühler in his *Indische Palæographie*, Table IV, cols. XVIII and XIX (especially the former), with a tendency in some cases towards the shapes in the Multāi inscription of A.D. 708-9, and of the Dighwā-Dubauli inscription of A.D. 761-2, cols. XX and XXI in that Table, such as the *dh* (l. 2). At the same time some of the letters have the earlier forms found in the Kāhām inscription of A.D. 459, col. V in that Table, such as *i* and *bh* (l. 1), *v* (l. 3), *ś* (ll. 4 and 5) and *h* (l. 6), though *k* also appears in its form in col. XVIII in the fourth line. The *n* has a peculiar shape, an upright line with a horizontal bar attached to its left side, as in *punāti* (l. 2), and *Indra* (l. 4), thus approximating to its modern form. The inscription may therefore be assigned to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, A.D.

Cunningham inferred from Hsien Tsang's account of this spot that this pillar was standing erect at that traveller's visit there during the early part of the 7th century in Harsha's reign, and the manner in which he says this verse is engraved (quoted above) shows that the pillar was also erect when it was engraved, which appears to have been at the end of that century or the beginning of the 8th century. He says the pillar is a Buddhist structure, and the earliest inscription which it bears is an incomplete record which he ascribes to the 4th or 5th century.¹ Buddhism must have retained its possession of this spot during Harsha's reign, for Mr. V. Smith says "Harsha himself distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family, Śiva, the Sun and Buddha, . . . But, in his later years, the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place in his affections, and the eloquence of the Chinese Master of the Law induced him to prefer the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna sect to the more primitive Hīnayāna doctrine of the Sammitiya school with which he had been familiar previously."² The question arises whether this verse half a century or more later is a Buddhist or brāhmanical inscription. I am not sure whether the reference to Indra's world could be a Buddhist beatitude. It seems more like a brāhmanic benediction, and this is supported by the facts that the verse is in Sanskrit and that the author's name is Śaṅkha-dēva, which might be a synonym for Viṣṇu. If then this verse be a brāhmanical inscription, may we infer that it marks the time when Brāhmanism ousted Buddhism from this spot?

TEXT

- 1 Ōm³ Ya [ikshat]ē stambham=īdam su-tungam
- 2 [grah-ārucau] pāti⁴ naras=su-dhīrmam⁵ punāti
- 3 gōttram sa vimukta-pāpah⁶ prayāti
- 4 ch-āsamśayam=Indra-lōkam ||
- 5 Śaṅkha-dē-
- 6 vasya kṛitih |

¹ A. S. I. Vol. I pp. 309-10

² *Early History of India*, p. 291.

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ These two words and the following *na* are so much blurred that they are far from clear, but what remains of the letters viewed according to the requirements of the metre suggests the reading given

⁵ Read *dhīryam*

⁶ The first of these two *p*'s differs considerably from the normal shape, but there can be no doubt that it is a *p* badly formed

TRANSLATION.

The man, who fixes his look on this very tall pillar, preserves great fortitude when the planets are adverse ¹ delivered from sin, he purifies his kindred and proceeds without doubt to Indra's world

The composition of Śankha-dēva

B—An inscription of A.D 1565

This is described as two inscriptions by General Sir A. Cunningham in the following words² — "This [that is, a brief record of Akbar's time] is followed by a short record of a son, or goldsmith, in three lines, below which is a long inscription dated in Samvat 1621, or A.D. 1564, in the early part of Akbar's reign, detailing the genealogy of a whole family of goldsmiths. It is in this inscription that the name *Kōsāmbipura* occurs, the founder of the family, named Anand Rām Das, having died at Kosam." He thus pronounced the first three lines of this record to be one inscription and the remainder a separate inscription, but they appear to me to be one, for the following reasons. First the style of the writing is exactly the same throughout. Secondly, the space between *Srī-Gaṇēśah* in line 1 and *Sambat 1621* in line 4 is merely the size of a single row of letters and is just about the interval that would ordinarily be left between the invocation to a deity and the body of the composition. The remainder of line 1 and lines 2 and 3 have been inserted by curving the writing upwards to the right so as to widen out the space to the right between lines 1 and 4: thus there is just room for the word *mukha* between *bānān* in line 1 and *samaat* in line 4, and as lines 1 and 2 curve away upwards, room is found to insert *dēv Bhairav* beneath *darpan sōninha* and above the end of line 4. The whole inscription looks as if it had been written at first thus—*Srī Gaṇēśah* as the heading and then *Sambat 1621*, etc., to the end, and as if the words *bānān* to *dēv Bhairav* had been added afterwards, the writing being curved upwards so as to make room for these latter words in the manner described above. Thirdly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate inscription, there was no reason to curve the writing, whether it were written before or after lines 4-18, because, if written before, there would have been a clear space and the inscription would naturally have been written compactly in two or three straight lines conformably to its invocation, and if written afterwards, it would have been placed higher (for there is sufficient unused space above) and then written straight similarly. Fourthly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate composition, it contains no personal name but merely refers vaguely to the "city goldsmiths", whereas, if the whole is one inscription, the addition in lines 1-3 would be a natural after-thought as a preface to the subsequent names and in order to record a prayer to Bhairava on behalf of them collectively. No argument can be based on the fact that the prayer to Bhairava follows the invocation to Gaṇēśa, because the invocation and the prayer are in one and the same inscription according to either theory. Lastly, the inscription seems, when read as a whole, to give a better sense than when treated as two separate compositions—a point referred to more particularly at the end of this article.

The inscription is written in characters, well-made and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, which (that is, such of them as occur) have a close resemblance to ordinary Nāgarī. The chief puzzle occurs in the letter *sh*, which, if read as such, produces meaningless words. The key to explain this difficulty lies in the fact that in the modern vernacular of Upper India this letter, when non-initial and uncompound, is very commonly pronounced *kh*, thus, *purush*, 'a man', appears as *purukh*, *rishi*, 'a rishi', as *rikhi* and *rikh*, *tushār*, 'mist, frost', as *tukhār*, and so on. This modification of the letter *sh* appears to have been so generally established, that the character

¹ This is a possible Sanskrit expression, though certainly peculiar. It is not, however, stranger than various compound words found in the Kāvya literature, and the author was limited in his choice of words by the metre.

² A. S. I. Vol. I pp. 310-11.

for it is used here uniformly to express *lh*¹ The proper character for *lh* seems to be that, which is used only once, namely, in the word *Lakṣmī* (=Lakṣmī) in line 7, and which approximates to the form of *lh* in Bengali² Everywhere else *lh* is expressed by the character for *sh*, and this is done whether *lh* represents an original *sh* as in the word *puruḥ* (l 9), or whether it is a genuine *lh* as in the words *mukha* (l 2) and *likhīt* (l 5), or whether it represents an original *ksh* as in the words *Lakṣmanu* (l 5), *khēma* (l 8), and *Lakṣmī* (l 17) When this peculiarity is observed, the inscription becomes intelligible

The inscription is in the vernacular No distinction is made between the sibilants *ś* and *s*, and both are written as *s*, thus, *Mahēśa* appears as *Mahēsa* (l 11) and *Kauśāmbī* as *Kausambi* (l 7), and *Śrī-Gaṇēśah* as *Srī-Gaṇēśah* (l 1) Similarly *sh* when compounded is written *s*, as in *Baisnav* for *Baiṣṇava* (l 6, and 15-18) Nor is any distinction made between cerebral and dental nasals (with one exception), thus, *darpana* appears as *darpan* (l 2), *kripana* as *krapan* (l 8) and *Baiṣṇava* as *Baisnav* The one exception occurs in the invocation *Srī-Gaṇēśah*, and the scribe's knowledge was so faulty that, though he has written the *n* right, he has turned the *s* twice into *s* It seems possible further that he did not distinguish between the other cerebral and dental letters, for *Chamanda* (l 13) looks as if obtained from *Chāmunda*

The character for *v* appears in its ordinary Nāgarī form and also with a dot beneath it The latter form occurs only at the end of words, as in *dēi Bhairav* (l 3) and *Baisnav* (ll 6, and 15-18) In words ending in *ia*, the *v* in the present vernaculars drops its inherent *a* and is commonly pronounced with a vowel sound like *u* or *o*, thus, *dēia* becomes *dēu* or *dēo* The dotted form therefore appears to represent *v* (with that sound), and the undotted form no doubt represents *b*, as seems clear from its use in the name *Kausambi* (l 7), the ancient form of which is always *Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit writings, and also in the word *bānān* (l 1), which is obviously a verb corresponding to the existing verb *banā-nā* (Hindi) and *bānā-itē* (Bengali), 'to make, fabricate,' and in which the initial *b* is so well established that no form with an initial *v* ever appears, so far as I am aware In a similar way final *ya* drops its inherent *a*, and the *y* is then often pronounced as *ē*, and this no doubt explains why the character for *ē* appears instead of *y* in *samaar* (l 4)

As the language is the vernacular and the vernaculars have generally dropped the *a* inherent in the last consonant (if uncompounded) of a word, the presumption is that the words here must be read without the final *a*, and this is corroborated by the words *bānān* (l 1) and *darsān* (l 2) which, as discussed later, cannot have a final *a* The nominative is the same in the plural as in the singular, as in *sōnī* (l 1) and *puruḥ* (l 9), and the plural base for the oblique cases is formed by adding *nha* to the singular base, as in *sōnīnha* (l 2) and somewhat similarly in the pronoun *tēnha* (l 9) The accusative-dative is formed with the suffix *lav* (l 2) and the genitive with *kē* (l 9, 15) The *kē* appears to undergo no modification, for it is the same with the nominative plural *puruḥ* (l 9) and the apparently nominative singular *put* (l 15) *Samaar* (l 4, probably for *samayē*) appears to be the locative singular of *samay* or *samaē* *Bānān* (l 1) apparently = Hindi *banāēn*,³ the 3rd person plural of the aorist tense This verbal base appears with *ā* in Bengali *bānā-itē* The second *darpan* in line 2 should, it seems to me, be *darsān*, that is, *darsān*, because there must be a verb in this sentence and the second *darpan* is meaningless, and *darsān* is so much like *darpan*, that the engraver might easily have confused the two by oversight and so have written *darpan* twice *Darsān* would = Hindi *darsāēn*,³ the 3rd person plural of the imperative, used honorifically for the singular This causal verbal base appears in Hindi *darsā nā* and Bengali *darsā-itē* *Likhīt* (l 5) seemingly = Hindi *likhītē*, the plural of the tense *likhītā*, which though called by some a conditional is very often used as a present tense The pronoun *ya* (l 1) = Hindi *yah*, and *pachhīlē* (l 9) = Hindi *pichhlā*

¹ [Compare Mr Bhandarkar's remarks on pp 50, 52 and 60 above —Ed.]

² It cannot be the character for *ksh*, because Sanskrit *ksh* is modified into *kh* uniformly in this inscription

³ According to the method of transliteration generally adopted in Hindi grammars

The words *sōnarā* (l. 5) and *sōnī* (l. 1, 10—15) deserve notice as they appear to be distinguished. Though the signatories are mentioned collectively as *sōnīs* (l. 1), yet those who sign as *sōnīs* are definitely stated to be the *purukh*, 'men,' that is workmen, of Lakshman *sōnarā* and of four other persons to whose names no description is added. *Sōnarā* therefore seems to be a higher term than *sōnī*, and if *sōnī* designates the workman, *sōnarā* must obviously mean the master or employer, so that, if the former is translated 'goldsmith,' the latter should be rendered 'master goldsmith.' *Sōnyā* in Hindi means 'one who separates gold from ashes, etc., in the mint,' but there appears to be no word in Hindi corresponding to *sōnarā*, unless it be *sōnār* or *sunār*, the ordinary term for a goldsmith.

As regards the personal names, the inscription shows that much the same custom obtained in the sixteenth century as prevails now in using names shortly, familiarly or colloquially. The vowel *u* was often substituted for a final *a*, thus we find *Lakhīmanu* (l. 5), *Nalīgu* (l. 10), *Ratanu* (l. 14) and *Anadu* (l. 16, 18).¹ *Lakhīmanu* would be the colloquial form of *Lakhīman*, that is, *Lakshmana*, and *Ratanu* of some name beginning with *Ratna*, such as *Ratnadatta* or *Ratnachandra*. *Anadu* may be short for *Annada*, and the full name might be *Annada-dās* or *Annada-prasād*. *Birtī* (l. 6) is probably short for some name beginning with *britti*, that is, *vritti*. *Laghu* (l. 8) may = *Raghu*, the letters *r* and *l* being frequently interchanged in the colloquial, and the full name might be *Raghu-nāth*. *Ohamanda* (l. 13) seems to point to some name like *Chāmunda-dās*, and *Chamdila* (l. 15) to *Ohandrēsa* or *Ohandirēsa*. *Dhanē* (l. 15) is no doubt short for *Dhanēsa* or *Dhanēvara*, and *Karam* (l. 16) may be abbreviated from *Karam Chānd* (= *Karma-chandra*). I cannot resolve *Hōril* (l. 12) or *Manā* (l. 17), nor *Nalīgu* or its variants (l. 10), but *Hōrila sinha* is given as a name in Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

As regards the date of this record, Dr Fleet observes as follows — "It is not capable of actual verification, because the inscription does not include the weekday or some other detail necessary to that end. But, with the year taken as the expired year and the month as the *pūrnīmānta* month,— in both respects in accordance with the practice which prevailed generally at that time in the locality to which the record belongs,— the equivalent of the given details, (Vikrama)-samvat 1621, Chaitra vadī 5, is 20 February A D 1565."

It appears from this examination that the purport of the inscription differs from Sir A. Cunningham's surmise. It shews that five leading goldsmiths with thirteen of their employes put up this address to Ganēsa and Śiva-Bhairava for favour to the goldsmiths of Kauśāmbī town. Only three of the leading goldsmiths belonged to that town, and two were strangers apparently. The fact that these two are named first suggests that they were men of more importance than the three residents, and perhaps they were gold-merchants rather than goldsmiths. One of these two was a Vaishnava and so were four of the employes, yet they also joined in this invocation to Ganēsa and Śiva-Bhairava. Surely no ordinary occasion would have caused all these men, that is, the whole local guild of goldsmiths, to join in recording such an inscription on this pillar. At that time, early in 1565, several of Akbar's chief nobles and commanders had revolted against him, hostilities were still going on, and the whole country from Delhi to Allahābād must have been in a lawless condition. Kauśāmbī was presumably a town of no great size or strength then, and its goldsmiths as men of some wealth must have been in danger of extortion or pillage at the hands of the soldiery. In such circumstances was it not natural that they should invoke Ganēsa as the god of wisdom, and pray that Śiva-Bhairava, the terrible god of destruction, would display to them a face calm and bright as a mirror?

Lastly, it is particularly worthy of notice that this record mentions Kōsam as Kausambi, that is, Kauśāmbī, at a period long before the time when archæologists began to identify the place with the Kauśāmbī, Kōsambī, of the Sanskrit and Buddhist books.

¹ [This practice seems to have been prevalent in Rajputana already in the 12th century A D, see Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on p. 38 above.—Ed.]

TEXT.

- 1 Sri-Ganēsah Bānān ya nāgarik sōnī
 2 mukha-darpan darpan¹ sōninha lau
 3 dēv Bhairav
 4 Sambat 1621 samaa² nām Chaitra-badī³
 5 pañchamī⁴ likhitē Lakhimann⁵ sōnarā
 6 Baisnav⁶ Ananda⁷-sut Birtī
 7 Kausambi-purī Lakhimī-dās tathā
 8 Khēma-kripan⁸ Laghu bhāi
 9 tēnha kō purukh pachhilē
 10 Naligu⁹ sōnī
 11 Mahēsa-dās¹⁰ sōnī
 12 Hōril sōnī
 13 Chamanda sōnī
 14 Ratanu sōnī¹¹
 15 Chamdilē sōnī kē put 4 Dhanē Baisnav
 16 Anadu Rām-dās Karam Baisnav
 17 Lakhimī-dās Manū Baisnav
 18 Basanta-Rām¹² Anadu Baisnav

TRANSLATION

Śrī Ganēśa¹ The town goldsmiths make this May the god Bhairava show a mirror-like face to the goldsmiths¹

Samvat 1621, at the time by name¹³ the fifth day of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Chaitra, write — Lakshman the master goldsmith, the Vaishnava Birtī son of Ānanda, Lakshmi-dās of the town of Kausambi,¹⁴ (*and*) of the same town the brothers Khēma-kripan (*and*) Laghu¹⁵

Their men (*write*) afterwards — Naligu the goldsmith, Mahēśa-dās the goldsmith, Hōril the goldsmith, Chamanda the goldsmith, Ratanu the goldsmith, the son of the goldsmith Chamdilē, Anadu Rām-dās, Lakshmi-dās, Basanta-Rām, (*and*) four (*others*), Dhanē Vaishnava, Karam Vaishnava, Manū Vaishnava, Anadu Vaishnava

¹ Read probably *darsān* (for *darsān*), see remarks on the grammar

² Read *samayē* probably

³ That is, Sanskrit *radī*

⁴ Read *pañchamī*

⁵ Or perhaps *Lakhimnu*

⁶ Read *Baisnav*

⁷ Read *Ānanda*^o

⁸ That is, *kripan*

⁹ Or *Nanīgu* or *Nalīgu* or *Nanīyu*

¹⁰ Read *dās*

¹¹ Read *sōnī*

¹² The last letter looks something like *mhēm*, but the extra marks may be due to injury

¹³ Dr Fleet has drawn my attention to the constant occurrence of the expression "*Samvat — varshē*" in inscriptions, which is calculated to suggest that *samaa* is a synonym for *varshē* and should be applied to the preceding "*Sambat 1621*" Such a rendering however presents two difficulties to my mind, first, it would entail treating *nām* as a mere expletive, whereas the insertion of a mere expletive in this laconic inscription (for the preceding words, *bānān* to *bhairav*, were put in afterwards) would be strange, and secondly *samaya* is not ordinarily an equivalent of *varsha*, vernacular *bīras*, (which might well have been used here), but would apply quite correctly to a day, the *pañchamī*

¹⁴ *Kausambi purī* is an adjective formed from *Kausambi pur*

¹⁵ *Tathā* seems to refer to the adjective *Kausambi purī*, otherwise there appears to be no reason for its insertion in 17 It applies obviously to both Khēmakripan and Laghu, and so the word *bhāi* is probably plural agreeing with both, though the meaning would be the same if we translate "*Khēmakripan (and) Laghu (his) brother*"¹⁶

No 8—THREE COPPER-PLATE RECORDS OF SONPUR

By B C MAZUMDAR, B A, B L, M R A S, SAMBALPUR

The three copper plate charters which I now publish were all found in the Feudatory State of Sonpur, attached to the district of Sambalpur. It was in the year 1898 that I deciphered them, as well as another charter which was found at Satalma (called Satallamā in the inscription) in the same district. Mr Slocock, the then Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, who gave me the Satalma charter to get deciphered, took it back from me with the transliteration and translation of its text, and forwarded it to the Museum at Nagpur¹.

In the sequel I shall have to refer to the Satalma plates as well as the copper-plate charters of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak which have been edited by Dr Fleet². For convenience of reference, the subjoined three inscriptions will be denoted by the letters A, B and C, respectively, the Satalma plates by S, and the records published by Dr Fleet by F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, F 5 and F 6.

As regards orthography, there are two points to be noticed before I proceed to deal with the individual inscriptions. The vowel *ri* was pronounced as *ri* and not as *ru*, as it is now done, by the inhabitants of Sambalpur and Orissa, see, e.g. *pravrita* for *pravṛtta* (C, l 15), *riṣaya* for *riṣayah* (C, l 25). A few similar cases have also been noticed in the Satalma³ grant and in the Kudopali plates⁴. *Trihalinga* occurs for *Trikaṅga* (A, l 4, F 1, l 3) and *Riṣikēśa* for *Hṛṣikēśa* (F 1, l 15). There was only one letter current to denote both *v* and *b*. Owing to the fact that *b* is the pronunciation for both of them in Bengal and Orissa, it cannot be said that *v* is used wrongly for *b*, or *vice versa*.

A—Vakratentali charter of Mahābhavagupta I.

These are three plates (of four sides), of which the first and last are written on the inner sides only. They are narrower at the margins than in the middle. The height varies from $4\frac{1}{4}$ " to $4\frac{3}{4}$ " and the breadth from $8\frac{1}{8}$ " to 9". The plates are strung together on a nearly circular ring, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, which is passed through circular holes cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " from the edge. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper which bulges out on either side along the ring for a space of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". In addition to this, a copper pin appears to have been driven through the lump of copper. In the upper portion of this lump is a deep impression, nearly circular, about 2" in diameter. Here is the figure of a goddess in relief, squatting apparently on a lotus, flanked on each side by an elephant with its trunk uplifted. The elephant on the left side is not quite distinct. Close to it is a much defaced legend. I have read it tentatively as *Śrī-Janmējayaḍēva* [*rājasya*?]. Considering that the legends on most of the seals of this family are illegible and have not been deciphered, this reading must be looked upon as a mere conjecture.

The plates belong to the time of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Śrī-Śivaguptadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of Trikaṅga. The grant was issued from the camp of victory pitched at Suvarṇapura. In line 36, the date is given as the third year of the victorious reign of the *P M P Śrī-Janamējayaḍēva*. This is the earliest known record of Mahābhavagupta I as well as of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak, as no inscriptions of his father

¹ These have been published by Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol VIII, pp 138-43.² Above, Vol III, pp 323-59.³ Above, Vol VIII, p. 139.⁴ Above, Vol IV, p. 256.

Mahāśivagupta I have been so far discovered. It records the gift of the village of Vakratentalī belonging to the Lupattarā-Khanda to the *bhattaputra* Jātarūpa, who was a resident of Mērandā and an immigrant from Rādhāpam¹vallikandara. He belonged to the Kaundinya-gōtra and the Chhandōga charaṇa. His *pravaras* were Maṇṭravaruna and Vāsīshtha². Kōi Ghōsha, the writer of these plates, is identical with that of F 1, dated in the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I³, and the engraver, Samgrāma, son of Rayana Ojjhā, is the same as that of S, which belongs to the 8th year of the reign of the same king⁴.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Suvarṇnapura-samāvāsita[h*] śūmatō vijaya-skandhāvārūt para-
- 2 mabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Śivaguptadēva-pād-ānudyā-
- 3 ta-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sō-
- 4 ma-kula-tilaka-Tri(tri)kalingādhīpati-Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēvah kuśali
- 5 Lupattarā-Khandiṇya Vakrat[e]ntalī-grāmē brāhmanān sampūjya tat-pra-
- 6 tinvāsi-kutumbinaś-tad-[v]iśhayiya-yathā-kālādhyāsinah samāhartr-sa-
- 7 nmdhāttri(dhātri)-dāndapāsika-pisuna-vētrik-āvarōdhajana-rājavallabhādīn=anyāmś-cha
- chā-
- 8 ta-bhata-jātiyān samājñāpayati [*] Vīdita[m=a*]stu bhavatām yath-āsmābhīr=ayam
- grā-
- 9 mah sa-nidhīh s-ōpanidhīh sarvva-bādhā-vivarjyitah sa-gartōsharah s-āmra-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 madhukab sa-jalasthalah sarvv-ōparīkar-ādāna-sahitah pratishiddha-chāta-
- 11 bhata-pravēśaś=[cha]tuh⁷=simā-paryantah Kaundinya-gōtrāya M[ai]travaruna-Vīśi-
- 12 shtha-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charanāya Rādhāpamvallikandara-vinurgatāya
- Mērandā-vā-
- 13 stavayāya bhattaputra-Jātarūpa-nāmnē bhattaputra-Śrīvachchha-su(sū)nave saliladhārā-
- 14 purasaram=ā-chandra-tārak-ārka-kshiti-samakāl-ōpabhōgārtham mātā-pitrō-
- 15 r=ātmanaś=cha punya-yaśō-bhīriddhayē vīsumati-samkrāntyām tāmra-śāsanē-
- 16 n=ākarikṛitya pratipādita ity=avagatyā samuchita-bhōga-bhāgākara-hirany-ā-
- 17 dikam=upanayadbhīr=bhavadbhīh sukhēna prativastavyam=ita [*] Bhāvibhīś=cha
- bhūpatibhīr=dda-
- 18 ttr=īyam=asmadiyā dharmma-gauravād=asmad=atu(nu)rōdhāch=cha svadattir=iv=ānupāla-
- nīyā [||*]
- 19 Tathā ch=ōktam dharmma-śāstrē [*] Bahubhīr=vvasudhā dattā rājabhīh Sagar=
- ādibhīh [*] yasya ya-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 sya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Mā bhūd=aphala-śankā vah
- paradatt=ēti
- 21 pārthuvāh [*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ān[āntya]m para-datt-ānupālānē [||*] Śashtim⁸
- varsha-sahasrāni

¹ The akshara *pha* is almost the same as *gā* in II 18, 30 and 33

² See above, Vol IV, p 256

³ Above, Vol III, p 344

⁴ Above, Vol VIII, p 143

⁵ From the original plates

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The akshara *tu* looks like *tta*

⁸ Read *śashtim*

[illegible][illegible]

Mahāśivagupta I have been so far discovered. It records the gift of the village of Vakratantālī belonging to the Lupattarā-Khanda to the *bhattaputra* Jātarūpa, who was a resident of Mērandā and an immigrant from Rādhāpham¹vallikandara. He belonged to the Kaundīnya-gōtra and the Chhandōga charaṇa. His *pravaras* were Maitrāvairuna and Vāsishtha². Kōi Ghōsha, the writer of these plates, is identical with that of F 1, dated in the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I³, and the engraver, Samgrāma, son of Rayana Ojjhā, is the same as that of S, which belongs to the 8th year of the reign of the same king⁴.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Suvarṇnapura-samāvāsita[b*] śrīmatō vijaya-skandhāvārīt para-
- 2 mabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Śivaguptadēva-pād-ānudyā-
- 3 ta-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sō-
- 4 ma-kula-tilaka-Tri(tri)kalīngādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēvah kṣālī
- 5 Lupattarā-Khandīya Vakrat[e]ntālī-grāmō brāhmanān sampūjya tat-pra-
- 6 tinvāsi-kutumbīnaś-tad-[v]ishayīya-yathā-kālādhyāsinah samāhartr-sa-
- 7 nādhartri(dhātri)-dāndapāsika-pisuna-vētrik-āvarōdhajana-rājavallabhādīn-anyāmś cha
- 8 chā-
- 9 ta-bhata-jātiyān samājñāpayati [i*] Vīdita[m=a*]stu bhavatām yath=īsmābhur=ayam
- grā-
- 10 mah sa-nidhīh s-ōpanidhīh sarvva-bādhā-vivarjyitah sa-gartōsharah s-āmra-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 madhukah sa-jalasthalah sarvv-ōpankar-ādāna-sahitah pratinishiddha-chūta-
- 11 bhata-pravēśās=[cha]tuh⁷=simā-paryantah Kaundīnya-gōtrāya M[ai]trāvairuna-Vāsī-
- 12 shtha-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charanāya Rādhāphamvallikandara-vinirgatāya
- Mērandā-vā-
- 13 stavyāya bhattaputra-Jātarūpa-nāmnē bhattaputra-Śrīvachchha-su(sū)nave saliladhārā-
- 14 purahsaram=ā chandra-tārak-ārka-kshiti-samakāl-ōpabhōgāithar mātā-pitrō-
- 15 r=ātmanaś=cha punya-yaśō-bhuvirddhayō vīśumatī-samkrāntyām tāmra-śāsanē-
- 16 n=ākārikṛitya pratipādita ity=avagatya samuchita-bhōga-bhāgakara-hirany-ā-
- 17 dīkam=upanayadbhir=bhavadbhir sukhēna prativastavyam=itu [i*] Bhāvibhīś=cha
- bhūpatibhir=dda-
- 18 ttr=īyam=asmadiyā dharmma-gauravād=asmad=atu(nu)rōdhāch=cha svadattir=iv=ānupāla-
- niyā [||*]
- 19 Tathā ch=ōktam dharmma-śāstrē [i*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhīh Sagar-
- ādibhir [i*] yasya ya-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 sya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Mā bhūd=aphala-sānkā vah
- paradatt=ēti
- 21 pāthivāh [i*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ān[āntya]m para-datt-ānupālānē [||*] Śashthim⁸
- varsha-sahasrāni

¹ The akshara *p̄ha* is almost the same as *yā* in II 18, 30 and 33

² See above, Vol IV, p 256

³ Above, Vol III, p 344

⁴ Above, Vol VIII, p 143

⁵ From the original plates

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The akshara *tu* looks like *ttā*

⁸ Read *śashṭim*

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- 22 svargē mōdati bhūmidah [I*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasōt
[II*] Agnēr=apa-
- 23 tyam prathamam suvarṇnam bhūr=Vvaishnavi Su(Sū)rya-sutās=cha gāvah [I*] yah
kāñchanam gāñ=cha mahiñ=cha
- 24 dadyd=datteis=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkāh [II*] Āsphotayanti pitarah prava-
- 25 lgayanti pitamahāh [I*] bhūmidātā kulē jātah sa nas=trātā bhaviṣhyati [II*]
- 26 Bhūmim yah pratigrhṇā(hnā)ti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati [I*] ubhan tau
punya-karmmanau mya-
- 27 tam svarga-gāminau [II*] Tadāgānām sahasrāni vājap̄ya-satāni cha [I*] gavām
kōti-pradā-
- 28 nēna bhūmi-harttā na śuddhyati [II*] Haratē hārayatē yas=tu manda-buddhis=
tamōvritah [I*] sa baddhō
- 29 Vārunah pāśais=tiryag-yōnam cha gachchhati [II*] Sva-dattām paia-dattām vā
yō harēd¹=vasu-

Third Plate

- 30 ndharām [I*] sa viśhtbāyām kṛmīr=bhūtva pachyate pitribhi[h*] saha [II*] Ādityō
Varuṇō Viśhnur=Bha(Bra)-
- 31 hmā Sōmō Hutāsanaḥ [I*] Śūlapānis=tu bhagavāh² ābhi(abhi)namndanti(nandanti)
bhūmida[m II*] S₂(sā)mānyō=
- 32 yam dharmma-sētur=nripānām kāla(lc) kāla(lc) pālaniyō bhavadbhīh [I*]
sarvvān=ētān=bhāvino bhūpati-
- 33 ndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchate Rāmachandrah [II*] Iti kamala-dalāmbu-bindu-
lōlam(ām) śriyam=a-
- 34 nachintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [I*] sakalam=īdam=u[dā*]hritañ=cha budhvā na
hi pu-
- 35 rushaiḥ parakirtayō vilōpyāh [II*] Paramabbhattāraka-mahārājādhirā-
- 36 ja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Janamējāyadēvasya vijayarājyē samvatsarē tritīyē Śrā-
- 37 vana-māsa³-sitapaksha-pañchamyām yatr=ānkatō Samvat 3 Śrāvana śudi 5
[I*] lkhī-
- 38 tam=īdam śāsanam mahās[ā]ndhivigraha-pratibaddha-kāyastha-Kōi-Ghōshēna Vallā⁴-
Ghōsha-
- 39 sutēna Samgrāmēna⁵ u[t*]kṛitam śāsa[na*]m=iti : Rayana⁶-Ojjhā-sutēna [II*]
Manga[lam*] mahā-śrih ||

B — Nibinnā charter of Mahāsivagupta

These are three plates (of four sides) of which the first and last are engraved on the inner sides only. They measure about $8\frac{1}{4}$ " to $8\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and about $5\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. The engraving is so deep that the empty side of the first and third plates show traces of the working of the chisel. They are strung on a circular ring which is passed through round holes (about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter) cut on the left margin of each plate about 1" from the edge. The ring is $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper, which bulges out on either side along the ring to a space of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The upper portion of the lump of copper is fashioned into a circular seal $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On the seal is cut in relief a squatting figure. Nothing more than this is clear on the seal.

¹ Read *harēta*

² Is it by mistake that *bhagavāh* has been engraved for *bhagavān*? May it be that the form *bhagavā* current in Pāli and Prākṛit was then used in the vernacular too?

³ Read *-māse*

⁴ Read *Vallabha*-(?)

⁵ Read *Sangrāmēna*

⁶ In the Nagpur Museum plates he is called *Rayanā Ojjhā*

The plates are dated during the reign of the *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of Trikalīnga. The grant was issued from Vinitapura. In lines 45-46 the date is given as the 15th year of the victorious reign of the *P M P Śrīmad-Yayātirājadēva*. F 5, which belongs to the same reign, but is 6 years earlier, was also issued from Vinitapura on the bank of the river Mahānadī¹.

The plates record the gift of the village of Nibindū (l 5) or Nibinnū (l 17) in the Kōsala country to the *Dikṣita Pundarikaśarman*, who was a resident of the village of Maramendā in the Kōsala country and an immigrant from Bhataparoli. The donee was the son of Nārāyana-śarman and grandson of Uhlāsa-śarman. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra, had the *pravara*s Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja. The writer of the grant was the *Mahāśhapatalaka Śrī-Uchchhava-Nāga*, son of Allava-Nāga, who was known to the *Mahāsandhivigrahaka Rānaka Śrī-Chārudatta*, and the engraver was Tthakura Panēka.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti [||*] Śrī[ma]tō Vin(ni)tapurāt=⁴Paparabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 2 ramēśvara Mā(Ma)hābhavaguptarājadēva-pādānudyāt(ta)-paramamāhēśvara-para-
- 3 mabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka Trika-
- 4 lingādhipati-Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēvah kuśali Kōsala-dē-
- 5 sa(sa)-pratibaddha-Ganutapāta⁵-mandalē ch=Ōttara-palliya-Nibindū-grāmē
- 6 brā[hma]nān samp[ū]jya [ta]d-vishayiyān yathākālādhyāsinah samā-
- 7 ha[rtri]-sa[m]mdhātri-yuktādhikārika-dandapāsika-chāta-bhata-pisu(śu)-
- 8 na vē[tri]k-āvarōdhajana-rānaka-rājaputra rājūi-rājaval[la]-
- 9 bha(bhā)din sarvān rāja-pādōpaj(ji)vinah samājñāpayati [!]⁶ Vīditam=astu
- 10 bha[va*]tām yath=ās[m*]ābhur=aya[m*] grāmah sa-mdhuh s-ōpanidhuh sa-
- dasā(sā)parādhah
- 11 sarvabādhā-vivarjitah sa[r*]vōparīkarādāna-sah[ta]ś=chatuh-si(sī)mā-pa-
- 12 [r]yantah s-āmra-madhukah sa-gartōsa(sha)rah sa jalasthalah pratishiddha-chāta-
- 13 bhata-pravēśah Bhāradva(dvā)ja-sagotrāya | Āngirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāra-
- 14 dvāja-pravarāya Uhlāsa-śarmanah putrāya | Na(Nā)rāyana-śa[rmma]-

Second Plate, First Side

- 15 na[h*] putrāya | Bhata[pa]rōli⁶-vin(ni)rggata(tā)ya | Kōsaliya-⁷Maramendā-[grā]-
- 16 mē(ma)-vāstavyāya Śrī-⁸Pundarika-sarmanē dikṣitāya | Ganutapāti-
- 17 mandalē Uttara-pallikāyā Nibinnū⁹-grāmah [sahladhārā*]pura[s]saram=ā-chandra-
- tāra-
- 18 k-ā[r]kka-kṣhita-samakē(kā)l-ōpabhōgā[r]tha[m*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puna
- (punya)-
- 19 yas(śo)vriddhayē tāmbra¹⁰ tāmbra-sā(śā)sanēn=ākārikritya pratipādita ity=ava-

¹ Above, Vol. III, p 351² From the original plates³ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Read *Parama*^o⁵ This is what I read. It occurs also in line 16. No such name is retained for any village or pargana in the Sonpur State. Ghantāpāra in the neighbourhood is however suggested.⁶ Where this Bhataparoli is could not be ascertained⁷ The prefix *mara* perhaps distinguishes the village from other places bearing the name Mendā⁸ Read *Pundarika-śarmanē*.⁹ In line 5 the name is spelt *Nibindū*.¹⁰ Cancel this word

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- 20 gamya sam[n]chita-bhōga-bhāgakara-hirany-a(ā)di-pratyayam=upanayadbhir=bhava-
 21 dbhīh sukhāna prativā[s]tavyam=ita [i*] Bhāvibhīś=cha bhūpatibhir=ddanti(tti)r=ī-
 22 yam=as[ma]diyā dha[r]ma-g[au]ravād=asmad=anurōdhāch=[cha] sva-dattir(dattir)=iv=
 ānupa(pā)-
 23 [l]niya¹ | Tathā [ch=ō*]kta[m*] dha[r]mma-sā(śā)strē [i*] Bahubhī[r]=vasudhā
 dattā (l) rājabhīh Saga-
 24 r-ādibhīh | yasya yas[ya] yadā bhūmi=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Mā bhū-
 25 taphala-sankā² vah paradatt-ēti pāṛthivāh | sva-dānīt=phalam=ānantyam
 26 para-datt-ānupālanē | Sa(sha)shthi(shti)-vaisha-sahasrāni svarggē mōdati bhūmi-(l)
 27 dah | ākshī(kshē)ptā ch=ānumantā cha dvāv=ētau naraka-grā(gā)mīnau |
 Agnēr=apatya[m]
 28 pra[tha]ma[m*] suvarnna[m*] bhur(bhūr)=Va(Vai)shnavī Su(sū)rya-sutās=cha gāvah |
 yah kāñchana[m*] gāñ=cha

Second Plate, Second Side

- 29 mahiñ=cha dadyā[t] (l) dattās=[tra]yas=tēna bhavanti lōkē(kāh) | ³Āspō(āsphō)tayanti
 pītara[h*]
 30 pravalga(ya)nti pītāmabāh | bhūmi-dātā kulē jātah sa nas=trē(ā)[t]ā
 31 bhavishyati | Bhūmi[m*] yah pratigrih[n]ātī yas=cha bhu(bhū)mī[m*]
 prayachchhati | ubh[au]
 32 tau punya-karmmānau niyatau(tam) svarga-gāmīnau | Tadāgānā[m*] sabasrē-
 33 na vājapēya-sa(śa)tāni(tēna) cha [l] gavā[m*] kōti-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhya-
 34 ti | Haratē hārayatē yas=t[u] manda-buddhis=tamō-vritah subaddhō Varunai[h*]
 35 pāsai(śai)s=tiryagōnri(gyōnim) sa gachchhati | Suvarnnam=ēka[m*] gām=ēkā[m*]
 bhūmi(mē)-
 36 r=apy=arddham=angula[m*] [i*] haram(n)=na[ra*]kam=āyātī (l) yāvad=āhuta-sa[m*]-
 plavah⁴ |
 37 Sva-[da]ttā[m*] pasāra(para)-dattām=vā yō ⁵harad=vas[u]ndharāh | sa viśthāyā[m]
 krimi-
 38 [r]=bbū[tvā] pītribbīś=saha paśhyatē | Ādityō Varunō Viśva(shnu)[r=Brahmā*]
 Sōmō Hu-
 39 tāsa(śa)nah Su(Śū)lapānīś=cha bhagavā[n=a*]bhīna[nda*]nti bhūmadah(dam) |
 Sāmānyō=
 40 ya[m*] dharmma-sctō[r*]=nripānā[m*] kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhīh [i*] sar[vā]-
 41 n=ētāna(n) bhāvīnah pāṛthivēndrāna(n) bh[ū]yō [bhūyō*] yāchate Rāmabhadrah |⁶

Third Plate

- 42 Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bīnda(udu)-lōlā[m*] śrī(śrī)yam=anuchi[ntya] manushya-jīvi-
 43 tāñ=cha sakalam=īdam=udāhriṇīñ=cha buddhā⁷ na hī purushai[h*] para-kīrtāyō
 44 vilōpyā iti | Paramamāhēśvara-para[ma*]bhatāraka-mahārājādhīrā-
 45 ja-paramēśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Trikalingādhīpati-śrīmad-Yayā-
 46 t[ī]rājādēvasya pādānupravarddhamāna-vijayarājyē pañchadasa(śa)mē
 47 samvatsarē | Marggasī (Mārgasīra)-mūsē (l) sū(śu)klapakshē trayōdas(ś)yān=tīthau
 Samva-

¹ Read °pālaniyā

² Read °bhūd=aphala sankā

³ The akshara α is different from the other initial α which occur in this inscription. It resembles the letter da

⁴ Read =ā bhūta samplavam

⁵ Read harētā vasundharām

⁶ After the mark of punctuation, there is a symbol which may be the vowel i, erased by the engraver himself, as it is written at the beginning of the next line

⁷ Read =udāhriṇīñ=cha buddhā

48 t 15 Mārgga sudi 13 [*] Lakṣi[ta*]m=īdam sā(śā)sana[m*] mahāsāndhi-
 49 vīgrahika-rānaka-Śrī-¹Chārudattasy-āvagatēna mahākṣhapa-
 50 ta[la]ka- Śrī-Uchchhava-Nāgēn-Ālava-Nāga-sutēn=ō(ō)tkirṇna[m*] Tthakura-Panā-
 51 kēn=ēti | Sampadō jalaja-parṇna-jalābhā | jivitta marana-santa-
 52 ti-sa[m*]stha[m*] bhōga-bhū(n)ktar=achirāya vilōkyah (?) kirttayō nripatibhi[r*]=
 nri(nna)
 53 lōpyā iti |

C —The charter of Śatrubhañja

These are three copper-plates (four sides), the first and last of which bear writing on the inner sides only. The third plate is a little smaller than the other two. The height and breadth of the plates vary — the former being smaller about the middle than at the margins and the latter being greater in the middle than at the margins. The first two plates measure 8" in breadth in the middle and about 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " at the margin. Their height varies from 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " in the middle to 5" at the margin. The third plate varies in height from 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " and 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ " to 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth. The plates are strung together on a circular ring 3" in diameter through a hole cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about $\frac{7}{8}$ " from the edge. Between the margin and the proper ring-hole is a second smaller hole on the third plate, the object of which is not apparent. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of an oval seal whose major and minor diameters are 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " respectively. Across the seal is engraved in relief the legend *Śrī-Śa[tru]bham[ja]-dēvasya* in the alphabet employed in the inscription. Above the legend is a crescent enclosing within its arc a round dot which is perhaps intended to represent the Sun. Below the legend is a recumbent bull facing the proper right. A small portion of the seal is broken to the proper right of the bull.

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Śatrubhañjadēva (l 10) or Bhañjabhūpati (l 14), who is described as belonging to the Bhañja race (l 16 f.) and to the Andaja-vamśa (l 16). He was apparently the ruler of Ubhaya-Khūñjali-mandala (l 17). In line 4 reference is made to many kings (named) Śilābhañjadēva.² In their family was king Śatrubhañjadēva. He granted Milupādī-Khandakshētra in the district of Rōyarā-vishaya. The donee was the *bhataputra* Krishna, son of Ākhandala and grandson of Mahōdadhi. He was an immigrant from Ālāpa-grāma, belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and was a student of the Sāmaveda. He is said to have had three *rishis* for his *pravara*, but their names are not given. The whole inscription is so full of mistakes that it is hardly possible to correct them. Even the imprecatory verses are not correctly quoted. There is no doubt that the record was composed by some ignorant person, and I cannot altogether suppress my suspicion about the genuineness of the grant.

Four other inscriptions of the Bhañja family are known, three from Orissa and the fourth from Gumsūr in the Ganjam District. One of them, which has been published by the late Professor Kielhorn,³ furnishes the following pedigree —

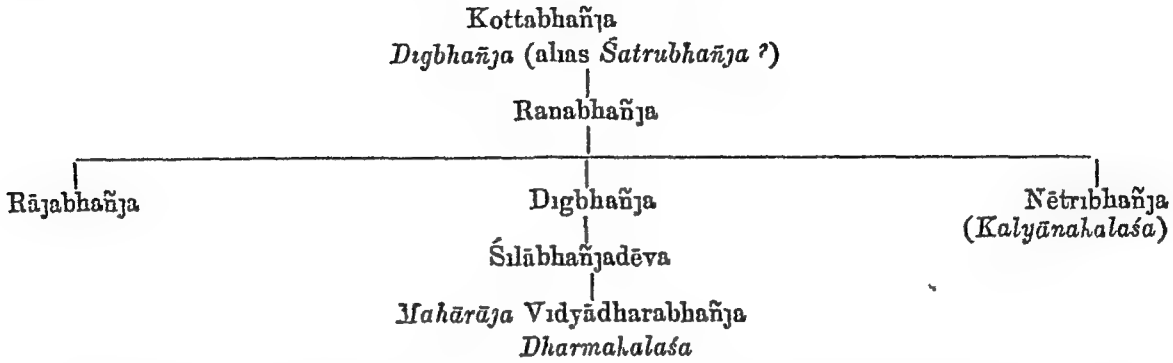
Ranabhañjadēva
 |
 Digbhañjadēva
 |
 Śilābhañjadēva
 |
 Mahārāja Vidyādhara-bhañjadēva
 Dharmakalasa
 (parama-mūhēśvara)

¹ [The reading intended is probably -*Dhārādatta* and what looks like the *u* of *ru* may be due to a mistake of the engraver — Ed.]

² Śilābhañjapāṭi is the name of a village in the Ōdra country, see above Vol. III p. 354.

³ Above, Vc¹ IX p. 27d.

One of the Bāmanghātī plates¹ is dated in Samvat 288 and during the reign of Ranabhañja, son of Digbhañja and grandson of Kottabhañja of the Bhañja family,² while the other belongs to the time of Rājabhañja, son of Ranabhañja, and grandson of Kottabhañja of the Bhañja family.³ In the Gumsūr plates, the donor is Nētribhañja, son of Ranabhañja and grandson of Śatrubhañja. The following tentative genealogy may be derived from these four records —



The subjoined grant is dated during the reign of Śatrubhañja, but I doubt if it has to be assigned to the first king on the foregoing tentative genealogy. I would rather assign it to some successor of Vidyādhara-bhañja on the above table. The emblems on the seal may be taken to show that Śatrubhañja was a Śaiva. But in line 16 of the text he is described as a fervent devotee of the god Vishnu (*parama-vaiṣṇava*). The modern representatives of the Bhañja family are the rulers of the native state of Mōrbhañj in Orissa, which probably owes its name to a king named Mayārabhañja. The indirect reference to this king in the present grant in the epithet *andaja-vamśa-prabhava* is to my mind satisfactory evidence of the donor Śatrubhañja having lived at a comparatively later period. In the two Bāmanghātī plates mention is made of Virabhadra, the founder of the Bhañja family, who is said to have been born in the great *tapovana* at Kōtyāśrama by breaking open a pea-hen's egg.⁴

TEXT⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Samghāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-sambhrānta-kī[m*]kara-kri-
- 2 tānta bhina | gabanāndhakāra-surāsura-gabanādapatra tadabhairavam Hara-va-
- 3 puh bhavatah prapātub || Durvārah vārana-pratīpaksoa-Lakṣmī-hata-grahana śuddha
- 4 Śrī-Śilābhañja-dēva-⁷narāddhipatayō bahavō babhūva bhūri-sahasra sankhā tēshām ku-
- 5 l[ē] sakala-bhū talapāla⁸-manh-mālārchita-pāda-ghrīṣhu khadga-dhārā-hatē-
- 6 na nripati-Śrī-Śilābha[m*]jadēva prakata-pauruṣa-rasmi-chakra-ni-

¹ No 655 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's Northern list

² The queer wording of the inscription makes it doubtful if Digbhañja was a mere surname of Kottabhañja or if Digbhañja denoted a distinct king. In any case the identification of Śatrubhañja and Digbhañja with Kottabhañja is purely tentative.

³ No 656 of the same list

⁴ The Bhañjas of Maurbhanja as well as of Ganjam have the peacock (*mayūra*) as something like a totem. The Bhañja-rājas all say that they had their origin in a peacock.

⁵ From the original plates. The text is hopelessly corrupt and I have made no attempt to correct the numerous mistakes.

⁶ Expressed also by a symbol at the beginning of the line.

⁷ Śilābhañjadēva was apparently the father of the donor.

⁸ From *la* of *sakala* up to *pā* of *°pāla*, there is an erasure in the original.

- 7 ta nisirdāntārihridayōpi ptā nripatayah || Gambhūryēna payōnidhi sthi-
 8 ratvōna ¹prthivyā valēnāmila + ²savitījanano³ — chimāsūmamah tapasō Vri-
 9 haspate(ti)-samah | amāsava jaga nānakṛitya tajī dattāvakīśō vijarājā-
 10 na Śrī-Śatrubha[m*]jadēva itatuladdhih tasmātātējasaih bhuvanan-dānya madamāna-
 mi-
 11 lita sambaddhata nripacha[kra] chaturangabala kshōbha-chalita-ddharāmandala ||
 Gaja-tura-
 12 ga-khura-nidārana-ana-prasara dadvaladvali vitāna chhachhana janyūgana-

Second Plate , First Side

- 13 skaddha (?) -vedikā sēmvarāyatah parinata-jaya-Lakshī-samānam⁴ dita-pairaja-
 14 napadah Śrīmad-Bha[m*]ja-bhūpati purā pa⁵(?)ti pura nūnyah saradamala dhavala-
 kara
 15 jasa-patala-ddhavalita-digavadanō anavarata-pravṛita sammāna dānādita-
 16 sakala-janō Andaja-vamśa-prabhava⁶ parama-Vaiṣṇava matā-pitri-pādānudhyāta Bhamjā-
 17 mala-kula-tīlakah Ubhaya-Khūñjali-mandala-bhaviṣhyad-rāja-rājanākā⁷
 18 śrī ta[ra]nga-kumā[ra]-māra-mānya mahā-sāmata⁸ brāhmaṇa praddhana a-
 19 nyās=cha dandapāsi-chāta-bhāta-vallabha-jātīnā || yathārahama-
 20 nayati bōddhayati samādisayati ch-ānyat || Śivam=asmūkam viditam=a-
 21 stu bhavatām Rōyarā-vishaya-pratibaddha-Mūlupādī-khandakshētra-chatuh-
 smā(simā)-pa-
 22 ryanta-midhi-schōpanidhi-sahitam akshaya-tritīya-yugādi-dinē⁹ Gamgāsamdhya¹⁰
 23 mātā-pitro ātmanah punma-virddhayē salila-ddhārī-purasarēna vidhinā
 24 vidhi viddhānēna saviddhēyah | Tāvra sāsana pratipādītōyah | yāva-vēda-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 25 rtha-vachanēnah Kāsyapa-gōtrāya triyārisaya-pravarāa Sāma-vēdādhyā-
 26 yi Ālāpa-grāma¹¹-vinirggatah bhataputra Krishnō Ākhaudala-suta-Mahōda-
 27 dhi-naptre¹² | Tathā ch-ōktam dharma-śāstrēshu [chhā ?]la-[kri]shthān-mahim dadyā |
 sahajāsasya mē-
 28 dmi yāva surya-kritām lōkām tāva-svargamahiyatē || Āsph[ō]tayatī pr-
 29 tarah pravalgantī pitāmahā bhūmi-dātī-kulē jātī sa mē trātā bhaishyati
 30 Bahubhur=vasudhā datam rājāna Sagarādibhi yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
 31 tasya tasya tadā [pha]la || Mā pārthiva kadāchit¹³ brahmasva¹⁴ ma-

¹ The syllables *prthivyā* are engraved over an erasure

² This cross is incised below the line between the *aksharas* *la* and *sa*

³ The *akshara* *ja* seems to have been erased by the engraver himself

⁴ There is a *visarga* after the *akshara* *nam*

⁵ This letter looks also like *rdhrī*

⁶ *Andaja* means 'born of an egg (*anda*)' of a peacock

⁷ The *aksharas* from *nja* of *khūñjali* up to *mā* of the second *māra* in the next line are engraved over an erasure. The *akshara* *srī* at the beginning of the next line has perhaps to be cancelled

⁸ It is not easy to ascertain to whom the epithet *mahāsāmata* applies, as the construction is extremely faulty

⁹ The grant was made on the *akshaya tritīyā* day which falls on Vaiśākha śukla tritīyā. *Yugādi dinē* may mean 'on a Friday on which the Kaliyuga commenced' [See also *Ind Ant* Vol XXVI p 179, under Vaiśākha-suklapaksha —Ed]

¹⁰ By *Gangāsandhi* is perhaps meant the confluence of the Mahānadi and the Tel

¹¹ The village Ālāpa could not be identified

¹² Krishna, son of Ākhaudala and grandson of Mahōdadi, is the donee

¹³ The *akshara* *dā* of *kadāchit* is engraved over an erasure

¹⁴ Land enjoyed by a brāhmaṇa as rent free is now called *brāhmōttara*, not *brahmusra* as it is here

2

6

3

10

15

11a

14

4

1

24

2

2.

- 32 nasād-apī ānēsha dhamabhēshaṃya atata halāhala-viṣham || Āviṣha[m] vi-
 33 shamitāhuh brahmasvam viṣha u[ch]yatē viṣam=ākākinō hamnti brahmasa putra-
 paitrikam
 34 yathā gau bharatē vachhaksharini kshiramustē ōva datvā sabasiāksha bhūmi bhara-
 35 ti bhūmidah || Vājrapēyē-sahasrāni aśvamēdha-śātāni cha || gavā[m*] kōti-pradā-
 36 nēna bhūmihartā na śudhyati || yathā bijāni lōhanti pukirnnāni mahitala¹

Third Plate

- 37 Ōva bhūmi-kṛita-dānam sasyē² sasyē prayachhati [*] bhūmi yah pratigrībhāti ya-
 38 chhchha bhūmi prayachhati ubhai tai punya-karmā niyatai svargā-gāminai [||*]
 Harantē hāra-
 39 yatē yas=ta ma[m]da-budhis=tamā-vṛitah sa batdhā Vārunauh pāśyēs=tiryayō-
 40 nishu jāyētē || Sva-datām para-datām vā yō harēti vasu[m]dharā || sa kapilā-
 41 śataghnūnām=ēnāsi pratipadyatē || Hīramnyamēka gā-
 42 m=ēka[m] bhūmu=apy=ardham=agula || harantō naraka yā[m]ti yāva-
 43 d-āhuta-samplavah || Siva[na]gana Pāndi³-sutēnē lāchhinta⁴
 44 mākārājaki⁵ mudrēti ||

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In order to localise and identify the places mentioned in the foregoing three grants and other allied inscriptions we must try and ascertain how and where the originals were found A and B as well as S were discovered by cultivators while ploughing fields in the villages granted by the charters As regards Milupādī Khandakshētra of C, Milupādī or Milupāndī may be the name of a plot of land All fields in the district of Sambalpur as well as in the feudatory states attached to it bear local names, and if Khandakshētra denoted merely a stray piece of land, no identification of it is possible But Khandakshētra may also be the name of a village, for in F 1, line 13, we actually find the word as the name of a village The resident of that village is said to have come from Odayaśringa, which I identify with Odsingā in the native state of Ātmallik Rōyarā being on the borders of Sonpur State (C, line 21), not far off either from Pātnā or Ātmallik, there might have been a village of the name Khandakshētra in the locality where the record was unearthed

It must be noted that the states of Rerhakhol, Ātmallik, Bodh and Pātnā lie to the north, north-east, east and south, respectively, of the Sonpur State which they adjoin Of the geographical names mentioned in F 1, the river Ōngā (now called Ong) flows through the states of Pātnā and Sonpur The Zamindārī of Barpalī (district Sambalpur) in which the village Satallamā, the modern Satalmā of S is situated, is also within a few miles from the river Ong flowing past Sālēbhatā Bakēbirā and Loisingā (Vakaveddā and Lēisingā of F 1) are also close to Sālēbhatā Police Station

Nuptara, Nupursinga and Banktentulī (*Lupattarā Khandīya Vakratentalī grāmē*, line 5, A) are in the neighbourhood of the place where A was obtained As Suvarnapura (A, line 1) is certainly the Sanskritised form of Sonpur, so also is Rādhāphamvallikandara (A, line 12),

¹ The aksharas *ni* and *hita* are engraved over an erasure

² The form *sasye sasye*, etc indicating abundance of crops, shows that the dialect then in use was similar to Bengali, for this is now used only in Bengal as an idiomatic form

³ Read *Śivanāgēna* The akshara *na* of *nāga* is corrected apparently from *ga*

⁴ The word used here for 'engraving' must be some Dāsī term then current

[What is intended is probably *Śivanāgēna Pāndi sutēna lāchhita*, and *mākārājaki mudrēti* seems to mean *mākārājasya mudrayēti* On the word *lāchhita* see the late Professor Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol IX p 274—E1]

⁵ The form *mākārājaki* is Hindi pure and simple The use of this form is worth noting

a very high sounding form of Rerhakhol The word 'kandara' means 'khol' both in Uriya and vulgar Bengali

Murasima (F 1, line 1 and S, line 2) appears to be Mursing which is in the Jarāsingā Zamindāri of the Pātnā State The situation of Satalmā, Bakēbirā and Loisingā led me first to make this identification My impression is confirmed by the fact that it is customary with the Zamindār of Jarāsingā to be ceremoniously installed every year on the Dasara day (10th day from the full moon of the month of Āśvin) by going to Mursing, which is at present quite an insignificant village

There is no doubt that when A was issued, the donor was present at Sonpur The word *vijaya kataka* in line 1 of the Pātnā copper-plate grant (F 1), like *vijaya-skandhāiāia* (A, line 1), occurring as it does after the name of the place where the king was residing, can never mean a town "From Murasima (or from Suvarnapura, as the case may be) where the king with his victorious soldiers was encamped" should be the meaning of the first line of the text of both F 1 and A

It is very probable that a town was being built at Chaudwār, on the bank of the Mahānadī, opposite Katak, either by Janamējaya or his son Yayāti; but it was never finished Dr Fleet has very rightly remarked (above, Vol III, 324) that the town Katak is of later origin than Chaudwār If this be the case, how could the place attain any celebrity already in the time of Janamējaya? It may be that the town Katak owes its name to the fact of its being built on a camping ground As the king must have encamped in many different places, it is impossible that the name Kataka had at such an early period as the reign of Janamējaya, become the proper name of the locality to which it is now applied Dr Fleet saw clearly what the word meant,¹ but was only misled by the name of the town where the plates edited by him were preserved Since it is clear that the Sonpur charters were issued from Sonpur, there is no reason to suppose that the charters relating to Bakēbirā (F 1) and Satalma (S) — not far from one another — were not issued from some place in Pātnā during the military expedition of the grantor

I am inclined to think that the town Vinitapura, whence Mahāśivagupta issued B granting the village of Nibinnā, is no other than Binikā in the Sonpur State The villages Nibinnā and Mendā (now a police station) are in the Binikā subdivision From the source of the river to the Bay of Bengal there is no other town on the bank of the Mahānadī which bears such a name Considering that even villages very often retain their old names, it is not likely that a town of such importance has lost its name altogether For this reason I think Vinitapura is the Sanskritised form of the non-Aryan name Binikā

It is a pity that the original find-spot of F 5 cannot now be known How the charter relating to a village in the Kōsala country was carried to the Government record room at Katak, was not at all inquired into by Babu Rangalal Banerji when he first edited it in 1877 I can easily imagine how the charters granted in favour of the chief minister of the king (F 2, F 3 and F 4) were carried by him and left behind

I must, by the way, mention one fact here, regarding the names of those villages mentioned in the plates edited by Dr Fleet, which I have failed to identify, because the locality where they were discovered could not be traced Randā, Mendā, Mardā, Lendā, Tulundā, Kulundā, Bulendā, Balandā, and such other names many villages in the district of Sambalpur bear Randā, Tulendā, Alāndalā, etc of the plates bear the provincial peculiarities of the names of villages in the district of Sambalpur

The district of Sambalpur and the Uriya-speaking feudatory states attached to it, were included in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces till October 1905, for administrative

¹ Above, Vol III p. 341.

convenience due to their geographical situation. It is perfectly clear that this tract of country was also once included within Kōsala-dēśa or Dakṣiṇa Kōsala of which Ratanpur (in the district of Bilaspur) was the capital, but did not form any part of Ōdra or Orissa. For, in the first place, Nibinnā in Sonpur (B, lines 4, 5, 15 and 16) and Satallamā (modern Satalma) in Sambalpur (S, line 9) are described as villages in Kōsala-dēśa.¹ Secondly, the Brāhmana who came from Orissa to be settled in the district of Sambalpur, could not have been called a man of Ōdra-dēśa (S, lines 16 and 17) if the district were part of Orissa. It is worthy of note that even now, when anybody goes to Puri on pilgrimage, either from Sambalpur or from the feudatory states, he says he is going to Orissa. In popular language, Orissa does not include Sambalpur and its feudatory states.

The grantors of the charters F 1 to F 6, A, B, and S, called themselves lords of Kōsala-dēśa² as well as of Trikalīṅga. It is worthy of note that the Kēsari kings are counted in Orissa from Yayāti and not from his father Janamējaya. There is another Janamējaya in the list of kings, but he was a remote successor of Yayāti. Merely because no epigraphic record of Janamējaya has been obtained, it cannot be argued that it is Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta I, who has been wrongly shown on the list. This is at least certain that the Orissa record does not know anything of Śivagupta who is the first king of this line.

Since all the copper-plate grants of Mahābhavagupta I relate to villages in Kōsala-dēśa³ (including Sambalpur of course) it must be presumed that, to begin with, the Sōmavamśi kings became powerful in Kōsala-dēśa only, and that it was only subsequently that they extended their influence into Orissa. Sādhārana, who was the chief minister of Mahābhavagupta I, was granted villages for his enjoyment in Kōsala-dēśa (F 2 to F 4). He could not have managed them if he had been living far away from those villages, nor would the king select such distant villages for his minister who was his favourite.

Whether the Guptas who were lords of Kōsala and Orissa were connected with the family of Śivagupta, son of Harshagupta of the Rājūm, Surpur and Ratanpur records is a question which awaits solution. That the Hinduised Śabara king Udayana belonged to, or rather claimed descent from, the lunar race, like the Sōmavamśi kings, and that the successors of Udayana from Tivara downwards assumed the title Gupta, and were all Śaivas, have been fully established. From the inscription of Bhavadēva published by Professor Kielhorn (J R A S 1905, pp 617-624) it may be inferred that different branches of the same family reigned simultaneously at different places. The assumption by Bhavadēva of the title Kēsari has also to be noted. Dr Fleet did not accept the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham, not because there was any chronological difficulty in identifying the father of Janamējaya with Śivagupta of the Rājūm plates, but because he considered it not possible on palaeographic grounds.⁴

The characters of the Sambalpur and Orissa plates differ very much from those of the Rājūm and Ratanpur records, but the cause of this difference may be the following. King Janamējaya and his successors had many Bengali Kāyasthas for their court officers. We get the names Kailasa Ghōsha, father of Vallabha Ghōsha (S),⁵ Kōi Ghōsha,⁶ son of Vallabha

¹ [Satallamā was in Kaśalōdā vishaya—not in Kōsala dēśa.—Ed.]

² [In F 1, A and S, there is nothing to connect the donors with Kōsala, but in F 2 to F 6 and B the donative villages are said to be in the Kōsala country.—Ed.]

³ [See the preceding note.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol III p 333

⁵ [The text of this inscription has कायस्थ आह्वयेन कै(वि)लाससुतेन.—Ed.]

⁶ Kōi Ghōsha seems to be a contraction of Kailāsa Ghōsha

Ghōsha (A and F 1), Malla Datta, son of Dhāra Datta¹ (F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, and S) in the employment of Janamājaya, the names Chāru Datta,² Uchchhava Nāga and Allava Nāga³ under king Yayāti (B) and the names Singa Datta⁴ and Mangala Datta under Bhimaratha (F 6) None but Bengali kāyasthas bear Datta, Ghōsha, Nāga, etc., as surnames The Uriya Karans (who may be called kāyasthas) never used such surnames The words Datta, Ghōsha, etc., as inseparable parts of the names of men, were in use in other parts of Northern India, and such names could be borne by persons of any and every caste But as these words are surnames here of Kāyasthas, there can be no doubt that the kings had Bengali officers under them when they acquired territories in the forest tract of Sambalpur

The writers and engravers used the alphabet which was current amongst them Mr Thomas remarked long ago that these letters resemble mostly, and are identical in some cases with, the modern Bengali alphabet The letters *kra*, *nga*, *ñcha*, *tu*, and *pha* are striking examples But it must also be borne in mind that some letters represent the modern Uriya forms of them only If we compare the alphabet of the epigraphic records of the Pāla and the Sēna kings of Bengal, we can clearly see how the modern forms of Bengali and Uriya letters were evolved These characters were also in use in the district of Ganjam, but they were slightly modified by southern influence (*eg* above, Vol III, plate facing p 222) Inscriptions written purely by Uriya scribes also bear the forms of these letters with the provincial peculiarities of Bengali letters (C) I cannot deal with the historical significance of it here

The cumulative effect of the forgoing facts is certainly on the side of the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham that the Guptas who were Kōsalēndras and Trikalīngādhipatis must have sprung from the Hinduised Śabara family of Udayana

[The identification proposed by Mr Mazumdar of Vinitapura with Binikā in the Sonpur State has been arrived at independently by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta which, though received prior to this paper, has been unavoidably delayed for want of proper impressions of the inscription.—Ed.]

NO 9—FIVE VALABHI PLATES

By PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH D, CHRISTIANIA

In the *Indian Antiquary*⁵ has been published an "Account of a collection of copper-plates belonging to the Palitānā State By the late A M T Jackson, ICS" The collection consists of twelve plates, which were found some forty years ago They were strung together on a copper wire, about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank in Palitānā Two of these plates form a grant by the *Sāmanta Mahārāja* Simhāditya, the remaining ten make up four complete and two incomplete Valabhi grants⁶ The twelve plates have been kindly lent to Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist for India, who has been good enough to send me impressions of eight of them, prepared at his request in Dr Vogel's office

Rai Bahadur V Venkayya describes the wire on which the plates had been strung as being about 8" in length Its two extremities are secured into an oval seal measuring $2\frac{1}{16}$ " by $1\frac{3}{4}$ "

¹ [There is no evidence in the inscriptions to show that this man was a *kāyastha* On the other hand, he is called a *rānaka* in F 2 and S.—Ed.]

² [See note 1 on page 98 above.—Ed.]

³ [Chāru Datta is called a *rānaka*, while the other two are not spoken of as *kāyasthas*—Ed.]

⁴ [There is nothing in the inscription to show that Singa Datta, who held the office of *sandhivigrahin*, was a *kāyastha*—Ed.]

⁵ Vol XXXIX pp 129 f

⁶ See above, pp 16 and 80

The seal bears in relief, on a countersunk surface a recumbent bull, facing the proper right, with a pretty large hump, and below it the legend *Śrī-Bhatahlah*. The bull and the legend are separated by two horizontal lines, of which the upper one is not quite distinct.

The eight plates contain three complete and two incomplete Valabhi grants. The three complete ones and one of the two incomplete ones belong to the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* I. One of them is dated [Valabhi-] Samvat 206, two [Valabhi-] Samvat 210, while the incomplete one does not contain a date. The same is the case with the remaining plate, which forms the beginning of a grant issued by *Śilāditya* I *Dharmāditya*.

I PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHURUVASĒNA I, [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 206

These are two plates, each written on one side only. According to Rāi Bahadur V Venkayya, "the working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely on the back of both plates." The length of the plates is $9\frac{1}{8}$ " and the height $6\frac{1}{4}$ "—7". The size of the individual letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The plates are, to judge from the impressions, in a very good state of preservation. The first plate contains 14 and the second 16 lines of well executed writing.

The characters are the same as in other old Valabhi plates. They comprise the signs for initial *ī* in *-īśvara-*, l 16, and for *dh* in *Dhinda-*, l 17. There are two signs of interpunctuation, viz a single dot in l 18 and a double dot or *usarga* in *vasēh* instead of *vasēt*, l 27, *-Dhruvasēnasyah*, 1e *Dhruvasēnasya* ||, l 29. The numerical symbols for 200, 6, and 5 occur in l 30.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the name of the first ancestor of the Maṭrakas occurs in the form *Bhatahla*, as in all the older plates. The form *Bhatārha* is a later attempt at Sanskritizing the name, and there is no reason for preferring it, at least so long as we do not know whether the name is Indian or not. The *ō* in *-phalōpa-*, l 12 looks almost like an *ī*. The dropping of a final *t* in *hais=chi*, l 23, *vasēh*, 1e *vasēt*, l 27, and the writing of *s* instead of *sh* in *sōdasa-*, l 17, are probably Prākṛitisms, compare also *-Dīṇasīhah sīha* l 10. Note further the use of an *n* instead of an *m* before *ś* in *chatvarīnsad-*, l 16, and *chatvārīnsad*, l 18, and the doubling of surds, nasals and liquids after an *r*, thus, *-ōpārjñ-*, l 3, *-manr=mmant-*, *-dharmma* *Dharmma-*, l 7, *-ārttha-*, l 11, *-pādāvartta-*, ll 16, 17, 18, *pūrvvōttara-*, l 18, etc., but *-ārha-*, l 20, and finally, the spelling *jy* in *Jarabhajya*, l 19. The writing *jy* instead of *j* recurs in *Jyāvala-* in l 16 of the plates of Samvat 210, Śrāvana śu 15, which will be published below. It is comparable with the common modern spelling *jy* in order to denote the pure palatal and not the sound *dz* in Marāṭhī districts. This spelling is therefore of interest for the chronology of the change of *j* to *dz* in Marāṭhī. Professor Jacobi¹ has suggested to call the language usually designated Jaina Mahārāshtrī, the language of Jaina commentators and poets, Saurāshtrī. He draws attention to the old Jaina tradition that the ultimate redaction of the Jaina books was made in Valabhi in the year 980 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira. It would therefore seem probable that Jaina Mahārāshtrī represents the dialect of Valabhi about 500 A D. Jaina Mahārāshtrī is closely related to Mahārāshtrī, the parent of modern Marāṭhī,² and not to Śaurasēnī, from which Gujarātī is mainly derived. There are also other features which point to the conclusion that the language of Kathiyawar and Gujarat generally has not always been of the same kind as at the present day, but more like the dialects from which Marāṭhī is derived,³ and it is therefore possible to compare the spelling *jy* in Valabhi plates and in modern Marāṭhī with each other, though Marāṭhī is not now spoken in the districts where these plates were issued. The writing *rājasrīh* l 3, where the published grants of Dhruvasēna have *rājyasrīh*, is perhaps also comparable, the modern change of *j* to *dz* not taking place in the word *rājā*.

¹ *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig, 1879, pp 15-18.

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, para 20.

³ See Dr Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, Vol IX Part II pp. 326 f.

The writing is on the whole fairly correct. There are, however, some places in which the engraver has misread his draft. Thus we find *a* instead of *ā* in *chatvarinsad*-, l 16, *vapī*, l 17, *-chārībhyaṃ*, l 19, *sāmanyam*, l 24, *a* for *i* in *-iachchhurita*-, l 5, *ā* for *a* in *-prasāsta*-, l 7, *-paddhātīr*-, l 8, *-mahattarā*-, l 14, *ārnnava*-, l 21, *ā* for *ē* in *-mūdāt*-, instead of *-mūdēta*, l 25, *i* for *a* in *-vabōddhā*, l 11, *i* for *i* in *-maulīmanir*-, l 7, *g* for *ś* in *-ianga*-, l 23, *t* for *q* in *-bhōtyam*, l 21, *t* for *n* in *-numattaiyah*, l 25, *t* for *v* in *-ārjyat*-, l 2, *d* for *p* in *-dātakaḥ*, l 25, *dhru* for *hri* in *sudhru*-, l 12, *n* for *v* in *-jīnyamāna*-, l 6, *-nyarasthā*- l 8, *p* for *b* in *-āpādhā*, l 23, *p* for *y* in *apam*-, l 25, *ru* for *ka* in *-ābhishṛu*-, l 9, and so forth. Note also the absence of *samdhi* in *-dīdhitīh dīn*-, l 5, *srishtah yatō*, l 22, etc., and the confusion of the dual and the plural in *Vyāsagītau ślōkā bhavanti*, l 26.

The plates contain a grant issued from Valabhī by the Mahāsāmānta, the Mahārāja Dhruvasēna bestowing several plots of land in the villages Madkanā, Tāpasīya and Tinīshaka, in the Hastavaprāharanī (district), on the Chhandōgas Kumārasārman and Jarabhajin, of the Śāndilya gōtra, residents of Śānkara-vātaka. Hastavaprāharanī is well known from other Valabhī inscriptions.¹ It corresponds to the modern Hāthab, 6 miles south of Gōghā in the Bhāvnagar State. The lower classes pronounce this name Hāthap,² and this form is probably the correct one. It can be regularly derived from *Hastalāpra*, but hardly from *Hastalā-apra* or *Hastarāpra*. These forms look like learned Sanskrit versions of an older *Hatthaappa* and are hardly genuine. *Astakāpra* of the Periplus points to an original *Hastakāpra*. The names of the three villages in the district are not elsewhere known. The grant was issued from Valabhī, the present Wālā, situated in 21° 52' N. and 71° 57' E. I cannot identify Śānkara-vātaka, where the two donees were residing. The *dātula* was the *pratihāra* Mammaka, who appears in the same capacity in the two grants of Dhruvasēna of Sam at 207.³ The writer was the same Kikkaka, who wrote the remaining edicts of Dhruvasēna.⁴ The date of the grant was the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the (Valabhī) year 206, corresponding to A D 525-26. It is the earliest known grant of Dhruvasēna.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] Valabhītah prasabha-pranat āmitānā[m] Maitrakānām-atula-bala-sapatna-
- 2 mandal abhōga-samsakta-samprahāra śata-lakṣha-pratāpah pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjyat(v)-ōpa-
- 3 1jyat-ānūrāgō=nurakta-maula-bhrita-mitra-sīṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājāsīh⁶ para[ma]māhēśvarīah
- 4 sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhatakkah tasya sutas=tat-pada-rajō-rnn-āvanata-pavitrikrita-śīrās-śūṣ-va-
- 5 nata-śātru-chūdamanī-piabhā va(vi)chchhurita-pāda-nakha-punkti-dīdhitīh dīn-ānātha-jan-ōpajī-
- 6 n(v)yamāna-vibhāvah paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpati-Dharasēnah tasy-ānujas=tat-pād-ābhīpa-

¹ Compare the (spurious?) plate of Drōnasimha of Samvat 183 (*Journ Bom Asiat Soc* Vol XX. pp 1 ff), the Ganēśgad plates of Dhruvasēna I of Samvat 207 (above, Vol III pp 318 ff), the Bhāvnagar plates of Dhruvasēna I of Samvat 207 (*Ind Ant* Vol V pp 204 ff), the Wālā plates of Dharasēna II of Samvat 269 (*Ind Ant* Vol VI pp 10 ff), and the Bhāvnagar plate of Dharasēna IV of Samvat 326 (*Ind Ant* Vol I p 45), see *Ind Ant* Vol V p 314, Vol VII p 53 f, Vol VIII p 141, Vol XIII p 358, Colonel Watson's *Statistical Account of Bhāvnagar*, p 106, and above, Vol III p 319.

² *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 54.

³ *Ind Ant* Vol V p 206 and above, Vol III p 323.

⁴ See *Ind Ant* Vol IV p 105, Vol V p 206, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol VII p 300, above, Vol, III p 323, and below Nos II and III.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read perhaps, with the published plates of Dhruvasēna, *rājyasīh*.

[illegible]

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage. The script is highly stylized and characteristic of older Indian manuscripts. The page shows signs of age, including wear and discoloration.

- 7 nāma-praśā(śa)sta-vimala-manli(h)manir=Almanv-ādi-pranīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā
Dharmmarāja
8 iva vibhita-vinaya-nya(vya)vasthā-paddhā(ddha)tir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-svāminā
parama-
9 svāminā svayam-upahita-rājy-ābhishēru¹-mahā-viśrānan-āvapūta-rājaśrīh paramamā-
10 hēśvarō mahārāja-Drōnasi[m*]hah si[m*]ha iva tasy=ānujas=sva-bhuja-balōna para-
gaja-
11 ghat-ānikānām=ōkavijayī śarīn-aishinī[m] śaranam=(a)vabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvā-
nā[m] kalpa-
12 tarur=iva sudhrut(hrit)-praoṇyam yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhogadah paramabhāgavatah
13 paramabhattyā(tā)raka-pīd-ānudyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnah kuśali
14 sarvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-vimiyuktaka-drā[m]gika-mabattarā(ra)-chāta-bhata-
dhruvādihikaranika-

Second Plate

- 15 dāndapāśik-ādin=anyā[m]ś=cha [ya]thā-sambadhyamānākānadh[ī]yaty²=astu va(vō)
viçitam yathā
16 Hastavepr-āharanyām Madkanā-grāmē kutumbi-Īśvara-pratyaya-pādāvaritta-śatam
chatvāriṇśad³-adhikam
17 ⁴śōḍaśi-pādāvaritta-parisārī va(vā)pi cha tathā Tāpasiya-grāmē Dhundaka-pratyaya-
pādāvā(va)rtta-śatam
18 ⁵chatvāriṇśad-adhikam tathā ⁶Tinīshaka-grāmē pūrvv-ōttara-simni pādāvaritta-satam
saha vāpyā Śankaravātaka-vā-
19 stavya-brāhmaṇa-Kumārasarmma-[Ja]rabhājyibhyā[m] Śāudilya-sagōtrābhyām Chhandō-
gasabrahmachārībhyā(bhyā)m mayā mā-
20 tā-pitrōh puny-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aihihik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvāpti;
nimittam=ā-chandr-ārka(a)-
21 āronava-kshuti-sarit-parvata-sthiti-samakālinam putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōtyam⁶ balī-
charu-vaiśvadēv-ādyānām kri-
22 yānām ⁷samūtsarpyan-ārittham=udak-ātisarggēna brahmadāyō nrishtah yatō=nayōr=
uchitayā brahmadāya-
23 sthityā bhūmijātōh krishatōh pradīśātōr=vvā na kais=chi[t*] svalp=āpy=āpādhā⁸
kāryy=āsmad-⁹angajair-āgāmi-bhadra-
24 nripatibhiś=ch=āntiāny=aiśvāryyāny=asthira[m*] mānushya[m*] sāma(mā)nyam
cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhīh
25 ¹⁰apam=asmad-dāyō=numattavyah¹¹ [||*] yas=ch=āchchhindyād=āchchhudyamānam v=
ānumōdāt=sa¹² pañchabhīr=mmahadātakai¹³
26 sōpapātakais=sa[m]yuktas=syad=api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītau ¹⁴ślōkā bhavanti [||*]
Shashiti-varsha-sahasrāni svarggē
27 mōdati bhūmidah [||*] āchchhētā oh=ānuman[t]ā oha tāny=ēva narakē vasēh¹⁵
[||*] Bahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhī[h*]
28 Sagar-ādibhīh [||*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam (||)
Svabastō mama mahā-

¹ Read -shēka² Read chatvāriṇśad³ Read -bhōgyam⁴ Read -ābādā⁵ Read -mantavyah⁶ Read ślōkav bhavatah.⁷ Read °mānakān=anudarśayaty=⁸ Read shōḍaśa-⁹ Read °sarppan¹⁰ Read -vamśa.¹¹ Read °mōdātā sa¹² Read vasēh¹³ Perhaps tath=Ātinīshaka-¹⁴ Read ayam=¹⁵ Read =mmahāpātakaih

29 sāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya(h) [||*] Dātakah pratihāra-Mammakah
 [||*] Likhitam Kikkakēna [||*]
 30 Sam 200 6 Bhādrapada śu 5.

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Om Hail! From Valabhī (*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who forcibly prostrated their enemies (*was born*) the general, the glorious Bhatakkā, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles fought within the circuit of the territories of adversaries of unequalled strength, who gained devotion by gifts, honours and straightforwardness towards those whom he had prostrated by his splendour, who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara

(Line 4) His son (*was*) the general Dharasēna, whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his feet, the shining line of the nails of whose feet was inlaid with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes when they bent with their heads (*before him*), whose wealth was being lived upon by poor and helpless people, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara

(Line 6) His younger brother (*was*) the Mahārāja Drōṇasimha, whose spotless crest-jewel became auspicious by bowing down to his (*brother's*) feet, whose nature (*manifested itself in*) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others, who like Dharmarāja (*i.e.* Yudhiṣṭhira) fixed the path of the laws of good conduct, whose anointment to the kingdom was performed by the paramount sovereign in person, the lord of the circuit of the territories of the whole earth, and whose royal glory was purified by (*his*) great liberality, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara

(Line 10) His younger brother, who like a lion defeated singlehanded, by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, who was the refuge of those who sought for refuge, who grasped the real purport of the meaning of the *Śāstras*, who, like the *kalpa*-tree, granted the enjoyment of rewards according to the wishes of (*his*) friends and favourites, the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of the paramount lord, the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahārāja Dhruvasēna, being in good health, issues the following order to all his *āyuktakas*, *vinnyuktakas*, officers of the watch-stations, *mahattaras*, district officers, soldiers, *dhruvādāhkaranihas*, *dāṇḍapāsikas*, and others according as they are concerned

(Line 15) Be it known to you that I have given as a *brahmadāya*, with libations of water, in the Hastavapra-āharanī in the village Madkanā, hundred and forty *pādārtas* belonging to the householder Īśvara and an irrigation-well with an area of sixteen *pādārtas*; further in the Tāpasiya village, hundred and forty *pādārtas*, the holding of Dhundaka, further on the north-eastern border of Tiniṣhaka village hundred *pādārtas*, together with an irrigation-well, to (two) inhabitants of Śankaravātaka, (*viz.*) the brāhmanas Kumāraśarmaṇ and Jarabhajji, of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, students of the Chhandāga school, for the increase of the religious merit of My mother and father and in order to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I wish to last for the same time as the moon sun, ocean, earth, the rivers and mountains, to be enjoyed by the succession of their sons and sons' sons, for the performance of the rites of *balī*, *charu*, and *varṣadēva* and others Therefore, not even a slight obstruction should be made by anyone to these two while they are enjoying it in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmadāya*, cultivating it or assigning it (*to others*) And this Our gift should be assented to by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common And he who confiscates it or assents to its being confiscated, incurs the guilt of the five great sins together with the minor sins

(Line 26) There are also two verses sung by Vyāsa about this The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years, but he who confiscates or approves (*of confiscation*) dwells in hell the same number of years

The earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagarā, whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward

(Line 28) The sign-manual of Mo the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna The messenger is the *pratihāra* Mammaka Written by Kikkaka

The year 200 (and) 8, (the month) Bhādrapada, the bright (fortnight), the 5th (*tithi*)

II—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHURVASĒNA I, [VALABHĪ] SAMVAT 210

These plates are described as follows by Rāi Bahadur V Venkayya,—‘Two plates without ring or seal Each of them has, however, two ring holes The ring hole of the left-hand corner of the bottom of the first plate is not complete, a small piece of its lower margin being broken just below the ring hole Each plate is written only on one side The working of the engraver’s tool shows itself in a few places on the back of both plates The length of the plates varies from 10½” to 10¼” and the height from 6½” to 6¼” The height of individual letters is about ¼” Each plate contains 14 lines of well executed writing in a very good state of preservation

The alphabet is of the same kind as in the plates described above The *visarga* is apparently used as a sign of interpunctuation in *bhavantih*, i.e. *bhavanti* ||, l 23 The numerical symbols for 200 10 and 5 occur in ll 27 f

The orthography is similar to that of the foregoing grant Forms such as *kaś=chi*, l 21, *sīha*, l 9, and *=anumatī*, l 23, look like Prākṛitisms The forms *Jyāvala-* for the common *Jātāla-* l 16, and *-rāja-*, which perhaps stands for *rājya*, l 3, have been discussed above Surds, liquids and nasals are doubled after *r*, thus, *-ārjjavōpārjjet-*, l 2, *-dharmma-*, l 7 A surd has been doubled before *y* in *-ānuddhyātō*, l 12, *-sambaddhyāmāna-*, l 14 The engraver has not been careful to avoid miswritings Thus the *anusvārā* has often been left out, and in ll 9, 23 and 25, whole syllables are missing An *a* is very often wrongly written instead of an *ā*, thus, *pratap-ōpanata-dāna-man-*, l 2, *-nuragō*, l 2, and other instances in ll 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, *a* is written instead of *i* in *=ayam=*, i.e. *=iyam=*, l 23, *i* is used for *ī* in *iāpi*, l 18, *i* for *ī* in *-manī-*, l 4, *-manīr=*, l 7, *idītam*, l 15, *ē* for *ī* in *-numōdētam*, l 21, *u* for *ū* in *bhumi-*, l 22, *g* for *s* in *-igrānan-*, l 9, *n* for *ṇ* in *Matrakānām=*, l 1, and so forth Writings such as *-dīdhitih dīn-*, l 5, on the other hand, are not mistakes of the writer, but this instance of wrong *sandhi* belongs to the original draft and recurs in most of the grants of Dhruvasēna The redundant *bhavanti*, l. 23, is perhaps also due to carelessness in the original draft

The grant was issued from Valabhi by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna, in order to confirm the Brāhmana Vishnuśarman, of the Jāvāla *gōtra*, a student of the Vājisanēya (*śākhā*) and a resident of Sīmhapura, in the possession of some land in the Hastavapra-āharanī, viz the *karada* field cultivated by the Brāhmana Viśākha, on the south-western border of the Bhallara village, and the Āmrīhikā tank, and further 50 *pūdāvartas* on the northern border of the Vasukiya village, to be entered from Akshasaraka I am unable to identify the villages Bhallara and Vasukiya Vasukiya is said to be Akshasaraka-*prāvēśya* This corresponds to the Akshasaraka-*prāpīya* in the Ganēśgad plates of Śamvat 207, which Professor Hultzsch¹

¹ Above, Vol III p 323

translates "which belongs to the Akshasarakaprāpa," comparing the expression *Vatasthalikā-prāyīya*- in l 5 of the copper-plate grant of Guhasēna of Samvat 248,¹ instead of which we should perhaps read *Vatapallikāprāpīya*- It seems certain that *prāpīya* is synonymous with *prāvēśya*, which also occurs in the Khariā plates of Mahāsudēva.² *Prāvēśya* may, of course, be a fiscal term. It is, however, not likely that it means anything else than what it does in the common phrase *achāta-bhata-prāvēśya*. *Prāpīya* must then be a Prākṛit form of *prāpya*.³ I would accordingly translate *Akshasarakā-prāvēśya* "which is entered from Akshasarakā," i.e. borders on Akshasarakā. I cannot locate Akshasarakā. The last part of the word is probably *sarakā*, lake, pond. Of the remaining geographical names mentioned in the plates, Valabhī and Hastavaprāharanī have been referred to above. The name Āmrīlikā probably means "abounding in mangoes." Simhapura, where the donee resided, also occurs in the plates of Dharasēna IV of Samvat 326 published in the *Bombay Journal*, Vol. X, p. 77 ff. It is the present Sihōr, situated in 21° 43' N and 72° E.

The *dātaka* was the *pratihāra* Mammaka, and the writer Kikkaka, as in the preceding grant. The grant is dated on the 15th (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana in the (Valabhī) year 210, corresponding to A.D. 529.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁴ svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-pranat-āmitrānām Maitrakānām⁵=atula-
bala-sapatna-mandalābhōga-
- 2 samsakta-sampībhāra-śata-labdha-pratāpah prata(tā)p-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-ārjjav-
ōpārjjitānura(rā)gō=nurakta-
- 3 m[au]labhrita-mitra-śrēnī-bal-āva(vā)pta-rājaśrīh⁶ paramamāhēśvaras=sēna(nā)patī-Śrī-
Bhatakkah
- 4 tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-run-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śīrāś=śīrō-vanata-śītru-chūdāmani(ū)-
- 5 prabhā-vichchurita-pāda-nakha-pamkti-didhītib di(di)n-ānātha-jan-ōpajīvyama(mā)na-
vibhavaḥ
- 6 paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpatī-Dharasēnas=tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ābhīpranāma-prasasta-
vimala-
- 7 mauḥmanir(nir)=Mmanv-ādī-pranīta-vidhi-vidha(dhā)na-dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva
vihita-vinaya-vy[a]vasthā-pa-
- 8 ddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-mandalābhōga-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam=upahita-
rājyābhishēka-
- 9 mahā-vigrā(śrā)nan-apūta⁷-rājaśrīh paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-Drōnasimhas=sī[m*]ha
iva
- 10 tasy=ānujas=sva-bhujā-balēna para-gaja-ghat-ānikānā(m)m=ēkavijayī śaran-aishinā[m*]
śarana-
- 11 m=avabōddhā śāstr-ārthita-tattvānām kalpatarur=iva suhrit-prapayinām
yathābhilashita-phal-ōpa-
- 12 bhōgadāḥ paramabh[ā]gavataḥ paramabhatyā(ttā)ṛaka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-
mahārāja-Dhruva-
- 13 sēnah kuśali s[a]rvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka vimyuktaka-cha(chā)ta-bhata-drāngika-
mahattara-
- 14 dhruvādhikaranika-dāndapāśik-ādin=anyāms=cha yathā-sambaddhyāmānaka(kā)n=anudaiśa-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 206 f. (No. 467 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's *Northern List*)

² See above, Vol. IX, p. 172, text line 4.

Read 'lānām=.

³ [See above, p. 81 and note 1.—Ed.] ⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Perhaps -rājyaśrīh

⁷ Read -āva-pūta-

[The text in this block is extremely faint and illegible due to extreme contrast and noise.]

Second Plate

- 15 yaty=astu vō vidi(di)tam yathā Simhapura-vāstavya brāhmaṇa-Vishnuśarmmanē
 16 Jyāvāla-sagōtrāya Vāṇṣanēya-sabrahmachārinē Hastavapr āharanyā[m*] Bhallāra-
 17 grām-āparadakshina-simni brāhmaṇa-Viśākha-prabhuktaka-karada-kshētram dvādasa-
 pādā-
 18 varitta-parisār=Āmrilikā vāpi(pī) tath=Ākshasaraka-prāvēśya-Vasukiya-grāmōttara-
 19 simn[1] pādāvaittāh pamchāsād=bhukta-bhujyamānakāh cītan=mayā mātā(tā) pitrōh
 puny-ā-
 20 pyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aiḥk-āmushmika-yathābhulashita-phal-a(l-ā)vāpti-nimitta[m*]
 pūrvvāchāra-
 21 sthity=ānumōdē(di)tam yatō=sya bhūmjatah kṛishatah kaishayatah pradīsatō vā
 na kaś-chi[t*]
 22 paripanthanā kāryy=āsmad-vamśajair=āg[ā]mī-bhadra-nripatibhiś=cha sāmā(mā)nyam
 bhū(bhū)mī-dāna-phalam=ava-
 23 gachchhadbhīr=ayam=asmad-anumatī¹ mantavyā [1]* bhavanti ch=ātra Vyāsagitih
 ślōkā bhavanti(h)
 24 Bahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiś=Sagar-²ibhih [1]* yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=
 tasya tasya tadā
 25 phalam [1]* Shashthim varsha-sahasrāni svarggō mōdati bhūmidah [1]*
 āchehētta(ttā) ch=ānumanta(tā) cha ta(tā)ny=ē[va*] narakē vasē [1]*
 26 Svadattā[m*] paradattām va yō harēta vasundharām [1]* gavā[m*] śatasahasasya
 hantuh pra(prā)pnōti kīrbisham [1]*
 27 Svahastō mama mahā(hā)sāmanta mahā(hā)rāja-Dhruvasēnasya [1]* Dūtakah
 pratihāra-Mammakah [1]* Likhitam Kikkakēna [1]* Sam 200 10
 28 Śrāvana śu 10 5

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1-14 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam 206]

(Line 15) Be it known to you that for the inhabitant of Simhapura, (*viz*) the Brahmana Vishnuśarmaṇ, of the Javala gōtra, a student of the Vāṇṣanēya (*sākhā*), the following (*property*), *viz* in the Hastavapra-āharani, in the Bhallara village, on the south-western border, the *karada*² field (*formerly*) enjoyed by the Brahmana Viśākha, (and) the irrigation well Āmrilikā extending over twelve *pādāvartas*, further on the northern frontier of the Vasukiya village, which can be entered from (*viz* which borders on) Akshasaraka, fifty *pādāvartas*, which have formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee), has been confirmed by Me, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father, and in order to obtain for Myself such rewards here and in the other world as I may wish. Therefore obstruction should not be made by any one to him while he enjoys it, cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (*to others*). This Our confirmation should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 23) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this. The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. He who rescinds grants of land made by himself or others, incurs the guilt of the killer of hundred thousand cows.

¹ Read =*ayam*= *asmad anumatir=anumantavyā*

² *Karada* perhaps means 'tribute paying'. It is of course possible to read *prabhukta kakarada*

(Line 27) The sign-manual of Me the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna The messenger is the *pratihāra* Mammaka Written by Kikkaka The year 200 and 10; (the month) Śrāvana, the bright (fortnight), the fifteenth (*tithi*)

III—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I; [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210.

These are two plates which have been described as follows by Rāi Bahadur V Venkayya,—
“Each of them has two ring-holes Each plate is written only on one side The working of the engraver’s tool shows itself in a few places on the back The length of the plates is about 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ”, the height varies from 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ” to 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ”

The plates are in a good state of preservation The first contains 15 and the second 12 lines of well executed writing The average height of individual letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ”

The characters are of the same kind as in the plates dealt with above They comprise the signs for an initial *au* in *Apasvasti*-, l 17, for a final *t* in *trimsat*-, l 17 and *ic(ia)sēt*-, l 24, for a final *m* in *=ānujñātām*-, l 19 The curious shape of the *visarga* in *krishatah*-, l 20, *-gītāh*-, l 22, *-ādibhah*-, l 23, *-vāsīhanah*-, l 25, is probably due to the engraver’s misunderstanding his draft Note also the signs of *-ē-* in *-kīm=ēha-*-, l 11, and of *lō* in l 12 A sign of inter-punctuation occurs in l 25 The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 are found in l 27

With regard to orthography the remarks made about the preceding grants also hold good here The wrong *sandhi* in *bhujatōkrish*-, l 20, may be a Prākṛitism The same is perhaps the case with *Drōnasihams=sīhava*-, l 10 Consonants are doubled after *r* in the usual way, thus, *-ārjyavōpārjyita*-, l 2 f, *-dharmmā Dharmma*-, l 8, *-maryyādayā*-, l 20, etc. The doubling of a surd before *y* in *-ānuddhyātō*-, l 13, *-sambaddhyamāna* -, l 15, is also in accordance with the practice in similar grants There are several instances of careless writing, thus we find *a* for *ā* in *dānaman*-, l 2, *īapī*-, l 16, *brahmano*-, l 17, *-āpyāyanaya*-, l 18, *tā(sā)manyam*-, l 22, *=ānumanta*-, l 24, *-dayam*-, l 25, *ā* for *a* in *chā*-, l 24, *krishnāhāyō*-, l 25, *u* for *ū* in *bhumi*-, l 25, *r* for *ri* in *trimsat*-, l 17, *ē* for *a* in *vesēt*-, l 24, *ē* for *ai* in *śaranēshunām*-, l 11, *chch* for *ch* in *chch=ānu*-, l 24, *chhy* for *ndhy* in *Vichhyātavīsh*-, l 25, perhaps *j* for *y* in *-rāja*-, l 3, *ñcha* for *sia* in *āñchayuya*-, l 27, *ta* for *gā* in *=ātami*-, l 21, *t* for *tt* in *-tatvānām*-, l 11, *āchchhētā*-, l 24, *tā* for *sā* in *tāmanyam*-, l 22, *p* for *y* in *mapāpī*-, l 18, *dē* for *mu* in *-āñhikādēshmi*-, l 19, *n* for *n* in *mantrakānām*-, l 1, for *t* in *nāny=ēva*-, l 24, and for *v* in *=anumantanu*-, l 22; *p* for *y* in *patō*-, l 20, *s* for *sh* in *susha*-, l 25 L 21 contains a series of mistakes in *=chavtyāny=aiśvaryyāny=ēsthira mōnuryya tāmanyam* Note also the superfluous *anusvāra* in *-sihams*-, l 10, *suhrint*-, l 12, the superfluous *na* in l 21, the redundant *ha* in *vāsīhanah*-, l 25, the omission of *nā* in *-āñhikā[nā*]m*-, l 11, the omission of a *visarga* in *rājābhī*-, l 23, and the form *Kikakka* instead of *Kikkakēna*-, l 26 In l 5, on the other hand, we find the correct *sandhi* *-dīdhitr=ādīn*-, while the other grants of Dhruvasēna have *-dīdhitr dīn*-

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsīmanta* the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna to the Brāhmana Skanda of the *Apasvasti gōtra*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā sākhā*, a resident of *Akrōlaka* village, who was therewith confirmed in the possession of an irrigation well (*vāpī*) and a field of thirty *pādāvurtas*, on the northern border of the village I am not able to identify this village The messenger was *Rudradhara*, who is not elsewhere known, and the writer, as in the preceding grants, *Kikkaka* The grant is dated on the fifth (*tithi*) of the dark (P) fortnight of *Āśvayuja*, in the (Valabhī) year 210, corresponding to A D 529 The syllable denoting the fortnight has been miswritten, and it is possible that it should be restored as *śu* and not as *bā* The mistake is due to the final syllable of the preceding word being wrongly repeated

[illegible]

[illegible]

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-pīanat-āmitrānā[m*] Matrakānām(nām)=
atula-bala-sapatna-ma-
2 ndal-ābhōga-samsakta-sa[m*]prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpah pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-
ārjja-
3 v-ōpārjyit-ānurāgō=nurakti-maulabhīta-mitra-śi-ñi-bal-āvāpta-rājaśrīh² paramamā-
4 hēśvaras=sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhatakkas=tasya sutas=tach-charana-rajō-run-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-
5 śrāh śū-ō-vanata-śatru-chūdāmani-prabhā-vichchurita-pāda-nakha-pamkti-didhīr-ddin-
ānā-
6 t̥ha-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpati-Dharasēnas=tasy-ānuja-
7 s=tat-pād-ābhīpranāma-prasasta-vimāla-maulumanir=Ṣmanv-ādi-pravita-vidhī-vidhāna-
8 dharmā Dharmarāja iva vibhita-vinaya-vyavasth[ā]-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-mandal-
ābhōga-
9 svāminā paramasvāminā svayam=upabita-rājy-ābhishēka-mahāvīśrānan-āvapūta-rā-
10 ja[ś]rīh paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-Drōnasīham(simha)s=sī[m*]ha iva tasy=ānujas=
svabhūja-balē-
11 na para-gaja-ghat-ānikā[nā*]m=ekavijayi śaranē(nai)śinām śaranam=avabōddhā
śāstr-ārt[t̥h]a-ta[t*]tvā-
12 nām kalpatarur=iva suhri(m)t-pranayinām yathābhīlāshita-phal-ōpabhōgadāh
parama-
13 bhāgavataḥ paramabhattāraka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnah
14 kuśali sarvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-viminyuktaka-chāta-bhata-makattara-drāṅgika-
dhruvā-
15 dhikaranika-dāndapāśik-ādīn=anyāms=cha yathā-sambaddhyamānakān=anudarśa-

Second Plate

- 16 yatya=astu vō viditā yath=Ākrōlaka-grāma uttara-s[i]mni dvādaśa-pādā(r)varita-
parisara va(vā)pi(pī)
17 kshētra-pādāva[i]ttās=cha trī(tri)mśat tat=aiṣa vāstavya-bra(brā)hmana-Skandāya
Aupasvasti-sagōtrāya Vājśanēya-
18 sabrahmachārīnē yad=ētat=[pū]rvvabhukta-bhujyamānakam tan=mapā(y=ā)pi
mātāpitrōh puny-āpyīyana(nā)ya
19 ātmanas=ch=aiḥik-ādī(mu)śmika-yathābhīlāshita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam pūrvv-āchāra-
sthity=ānujñātam
20 pa(ya)tō=sya pūrvva-bhukti-maryyādayā bhūmjatā(tah) krishata[h]³ 'karshayataḥ
pradīśatō vā na kōna-vi(chi)t=svalp=āpy=ā-
21 b[ā]dhā vichāranā vā (na) kāry=asmad-vamśajair=āta(gā)mī-bhadra nripatibhīś=cha-
⁴vityāny=aiśvaryyāny=ēsthira mōnuryya
22 tā(sā)ma(mā)nyam cha bhūmīdāna-phalam=avagachchadbhir=īyam=asmad-anumatir=
anumantanyā(vy=ā)pi ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītaḥ⁵
23 ślokā bhavanti [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ⁶[|*]
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā

¹ Expressed by a symbol² Perhaps *rājaśrīh*³ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *visarga*⁴ Read *ch=ānityāny=aiśvaryyāny=ēsthira mōnuryyam*⁵ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *visarga*

- 24 phalam [||*] Shasbti-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggō mōdati bhūmid[a]h [I*] āchchhē[t*]tā
(ch)ch=ānumanta(ntā) chā(cha) nāny(tāny)=tva narakō vō(va)ēt [||*]
25 Vichhy(Vindhy)-ātaviśhv=atōyāsu śuska(śushka)-Lōtāia-vāśihana[h](vāśinah) [I*]
krishnāhā(ba)yō hi jāyantō bhū(bhū)mi-da(dā)yam haranti yō ||
26 Svahastō mama mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya [||*] Dātako Rudradharah
[||*] Likhitam Kikkaka(Kikkakēna)
27 Sam 200 10 ā[n̄cha](āśva)yuja ja(ba?) 5

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1-15 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam 206]

(Line 16) Be it known to you that, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father and to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I may wish, I have, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, confirmed (*the enjoyment of*) an irrigation-well with an area of twelve *pādārtas* and thirty *pādārtas* arable land on the northern border of Akrolaka village which had formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee) for the benefit of the resident of that same place, (*viz*) the Br̥hmana Skanda, of the Aupasvasti *gōtra*, a student of the Vāṇsan̄ya (*sākhī*) Therefore not even a slight obstruction or dispute must be made by anybody to him while he enjoys (*this land*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (*to others*) in accordance with the conditions under which he enjoyed (*it*) previously This Our confirmation (*of the old grant*) should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common

(Line 22) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this,—The earth has been enjoyed, etc The giver of land, etc Those who rescind a grant of land are reborn as black serpents living in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya

(Line 26) The sign manual of Me the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahārāja Dhruvasēna The messenger is Rudradhara Written by Kikkaka The year 200 (and) 10; (the month) Āśva[yuja], the dark (?) (fortnight), the 5th (*tihi*).

IV —PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF DHRUVASĒNA I

This plate has been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya,—“One plate only of the inscription is preserved It is written on one side and has two ring-holes at the bottom The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back There is also a square hole in the left-hand top corner of the plate, bored into the symbol representing the syllable *ōm* Length of plate varies from 11' to 11½", height varies from 6¼" to 6½"”

The plate contains 13 lines of well executed writing The average height of individual letters is ¼"

The characters are similar to those used in the other plates They comprise the sign of the *jñātmāliya* in -*Dhruvasēnah*=*husalī*, l 12 There are three different forms of the medial long -*i*- Two of them occur in *dīdhitīh dīn*-, l 5, and the third in -*pranīta*-, l 6 Note also the form of -*ē*- in -*nām*=*ēka*-, l 9, which is likewise used in the corresponding passage of the grant just dealt with

With regard to orthography, we may note the usual doubling of consonants after *r*, thus, -*ārīttha*-, l 10, *sarvān*-, l 12 On the other hand, we have a single *dh* before *y* in -*ānudyātō*, l 11, -*sambadhya*-, l 13, as in the grant of Samvat 206 The absence of *sandhi* in -*dīdhitīh dīn*-, l 5, is in accordance with the common practice in Dhruvasēna's grants In l 4 we find -*runa*-

[illegible]

nata- instead of *-run-āvanata-*, and the syllables *nīma-pra* have been omitted in l. 6. In l 7 we find *viphata-* for *ihata-* On the whole the engraver has done his work carefully

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*, but only the formal portion is preserved

TEXT

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-pranat-āmitra(trā)nām Maṭṭrakānām=atula-bala-sapatna-mandal-ābhoga-
- 2 samsakta- samprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpah pratāp ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjvit-
ānurāgō=nurakta-maula-
- 3 bhṛta-mitra-śrēṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājyasrīḥ paramamāhēśvarah śrī-sēnāpati- Bhaṭṭakkaśas=tasya
sutas=tat-pāda-
- 4 rajō-run-anata(run-āvanata)-pavitr[i]kṛta-śrīrāḥ śrī-ō-vaṇata-satru-chūdāmani-prabhā-
vichchurita-pāda-nakha-pankti-
- 5 dīdhitih dīn-ānātha-jan-ōpaṇivyaṃāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras= sēnāpati- Dharaśēnah
- 6 tasy= ānujaś= tat-pād-ābhupra[nūma-pra*]śasta-vimala-mauli-manir=Amānv-ādi-pranita-vidhi-
vidhāna-dharmā Dharmma-
- 7 rāja iva vi[ph]ita-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddhatir=akhila- bhuvana-mandal-ābhoga-svāminā
parama-
- 8 svāminā svayam=upahita-rājy-ābhishēka-mahāviśrāṇan-āvapūta-rājaśrīḥ paramamā-
hēśvarah
- 9 mahārāja-Drōṇasimhaś=simha iva tasy=ānujaś svabhūja-balēna para-gaja-ghat-
ānikānām=ēka-
- 10 vijayī śāran-aishinām śāranam=avabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvānām kalpatarur=iva
subhrit-pranayinām
- 11 yathābhūlashita-phal-ōpabhogadah paramabhāgavataḥ paramabhāttāraka-pād-
ānudhyātō
- 12 mahārāja-Dhruvasēnah=kuśali sarvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-mahattara-drāṃgaka-
chāta-bhata-
- 13 dhruvasthānādhikarana-dandapāsik-ādīn=anyāmś=cha yathā-sambadhya-

V —PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF [ŚĪLĀDITYA I DHARMĀDITYA, VALABHĪ-
SĀMVAṬ 286].

Rai Bahadur V Venkayya has favoured me with the following description of this plate,—
“One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It has two ring-holes at the bottom, but neither the ring nor the seal which it might have borne is forthcoming. A small piece of the plate is broken at the left top corner, damaging a portion of the symbol for *ōm*. Likewise a small piece is missing at the beginning of l 10, where, however, no letter has been damaged. The plate is engraved only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. Length of plate varies from 11½” to 11¾” Height about 8½”

The plate contains 18 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is ¼”

The characters agree with those used in the grants of Śīlāditya I

With regard to orthography, we may note the use of *ri* for *ri* in *tridaśa-*, l 7, of *ri* for *ri* in *trina-*, l 7, the writing of *mgh* for *mḥ* in *-samghatis-*, l 5 and in *samghat-*, l 13, the use of *n*

¹ Expressed by a symbol

for *m* in *-ānsa-*, l 15, the doubling of consonants after *r* and before *y* in *-ārjjavōpārjvit-*, l 2, *Bhatārkkād-*, l 3, *sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l 6, *-ānuddhyātos-*, l 14, and so on. There are a few mistakes, such as *ē* for *a* in *-pētha-*, l 18, *t* for *tt* in *-satva-*, l 4, *j* for *jj* in *-ōjvala-*, l 18, *p* for *pr* in *-pabhāva-*, l 4, a superfluous *anusvāra* in *-rāmja-*, l 3, and so on. The first *n* in *santāna-*, l 9, has been misshaped and looks almost like a *v*. Note also the absence of *samdhi* in *-sabdah rūpa-*, l 6.

The plate contains only the formal portion of the grant and breaks off in the description of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, but it is absolutely certain that Mr Jackson was right in assuming that the grant was issued by him. The absence of *samdhi* in *-sabdah rūpa-*, l 6, the word *-dhairyya-* in *-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l 6, and the word *-bala-* in *-ākhila-bala-dhanurddharah*, l 11, occur in all the grants of Śīlāditya but not in other Valabhi grants. It is also possible to state definitely that the plate belongs to a grant issued before Valabhi-Samvat 290, because the spellings *-samghatis-*, l 5, *-tridaśaguru*, l 7, and *samghat-*, l 13, which also occur in the Walā plates of Valabhi-Samvat 286, are not found in the Dhānk plates of Valabhi-Samvat 290. The last words of our plate are *-ōjvalatari-krit-ārttha-*, and by comparing other Valabhi grants we find that the second plate must have begun *-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-*. Now these are the first words of the fragmentary second Walā plate of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, dated Sam 200 80 6 Vaisākha-va(?) 6, which has been published by Dr Bhandarkar¹. The length of that plate is, according to the editor, 12" and the height 8½". The size therefore also agrees with that of our plate, and there cannot be any doubt that the two plates belong together, so that the whole grant is now before us. To judge from Dr Bhandarkar's edition the second plate is not well preserved. I asked Rai Bahadur V Venkayya to be good enough to try to get hold of it so that it could be republished together with the first plate. His endeavours to do so have not, however, been successful, and I therefore edit the beginning alone.

TEXT

- 1 Ōm^a svasti [||*] Valabhītah prasabha-pranat-āmītrānām Maītrakānām=
atula-bala sampanna-mandal-ābhōga-samsakta-prahā -
- 2 ra-śata-labdhā-pratāpat=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjvit-ānūrāgād=anurakta-
maulabhṛita-śrēṇī-bal-ā-
- 3 vāpta-rājya-śriyah paramamāhēśvara-Śrī-Bhatārkkād=avyavaohchhinna-rā(m)ja-
vamsān=mātā-pūtri-charan-āravinda-pranati-pravidhant-āśēsha-kalma-
- 4 shah śaisavāt=prabhṛiti khadga-dvītiya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghat-āspṛōtana-
prakāśita-sa[t*]tva-nikashas=tat-p[r*]abhā-
- 5 va-pranāt-ārātī-chūdāratna-prabhā-samsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmī-samgha(ha)tis=sakala-
smṛiti-pranīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-
- 6 prajā-hṛidaya-ramjan-ānvarttha-rāja-sabdah rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-
buddhi-sampadbhīh smara-śaśānk-ādrirāj-ō-
- 7 dadhi-tri(tri)daśaguru-dhanēśān=atīśayānāś=śaran-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tri-
(tri)nā[va]d=apāst-āśēsha-svakāryya-
- 8 phala[h*] prārthān-ādhyak-ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhrīt-pranayī-hṛidayah
pādachār=īva sakala-bhuvana-mandal-ābhō-
- 9 ga-pramōdah paramamāhēśvarah Śrī-Guhasēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-
mayūkha-sa[ntā]nā-vīsrīta-Jāhnavī-jal-au-
- 10 gha-prakshālīt-āśēsha-kalmashah pranayī-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sampad-rūpa-lōbbhād=
iv=āśrītas=sarabhasam=ābhī-
- 11 gāmīkar=ggunais=sahaja-śakti-śīkshā-vīśēsha-vismāpit-ākhila-bala-dhanurddharah
prathama-narapatī samatasrīstānā-

¹ *Ird. Ant* Vol I p 46.

² Expressed by a symbol

[illegible]

- 12 m=anupālayitā dharmmadāyānām= apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kārinām=upaplavānām
darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyōr=ēk-ā-
- 13 dhivāsasya samgha(ha)t-ārāti-paksha-lakshmi-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikram-
ōpasamprāpta-vimala-pārthivaśrīh paramamāhē-
- 14 śvarah Śrī-Dharasēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānuddhyātas=sakala-jagad-ānandan-
ātyadbhuta-guna-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-dīnma-
- 15 ndalas=samara śīta-vijaya-śōbhā-sanātha-mandalāgra-dyuti-bhāsuratar-ānsa-pith-ōdūha-
guru-manōratna-mahābhārah
- 16 sarvva-vidya-parāvara-vibhāg-ādhyagama-vimala-matir=api sarvvatas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpi
sukh-ōpapādaniya-pari-
- 17 tōsha[h*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīrya-hridayō=pi sucharit-ātīśaya-suvyakta-
parama-kalyāna-svabhāvah khili-bhū-
- 18 ta-kritayuga-nripati-pē(pa)tha-viśōdhan-ādhyat-ōdagra-kirttir=ddharmm-ānupaiōdh-ō[j*]-
jvala-tari-krit-ārthta-

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Ōm Hail! From Valabhī (*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who had by force prostrated (their) enemies, from the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhatārka, who had acquired splendour in hundreds of battles connected with the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength, who had gained the devotion of those whom he had prostrated by his splendour through his gifts, honours and straightforwardness, who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants (*was descended*), the royal lineage being uninterrupted, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Guhasēna, whose sins were all washed away by the prostrations at the lotus feet of (his) mother and father, to whom (his) sword was indeed a second arm from (his) childhood, and who brightened the touchstone of his strength by splitting open the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes, the collection of the rays of the nails of whose feet was combined with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes who were prostrated by the power of that (*strength*); who rendered (his) title of king appropriate by pleasing the minds of (his) subjects by thoroughly observing the conduct laid down in all the *smritis*, who in beauty, loveliness, stability, firmness, profundity, wisdom and wealth surpassed (*respectively*) Cupid, the moon, the king of mountains, the ocean, the preceptor of the gods (Brihaspati) and Dhanēsa, who, through being intent upon granting safety to those who came for protection, threw away all the results of his deeds as if they were straw, who gladdened the hearts of learned people, friends and favourites by giving (them) riches in excess of their demands, and who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the vast circle of the whole world,

(Line 9) his son (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Dharasēna, whose sins were all washed away by the flood of the waters of the Ganges which flowed from the cluster of rays of the nails of the feet of his (*father*), whose wealth was being lived upon by hundreds of thousands of favourites, who was impetuously resorted to by attractive qualities as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, who astonished the archers of all armies by his innate ability and excellent training, who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings, who was a remover of calamities that might oppress (his) subjects, who showed (the world) Śrī and Sarasvatī living together, whose prowess was skilful in enjoying the Fortune of the compact ranks of his foes, and who by his prowess obtained spotless royal splendour,

(Line 14) his son [the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Śīlāditya], who meditates on his (*father's*) feet, who covers the whole horizon by the rise of his wonderful virtues that gladden the whole world, who supports the great burden of weighty desires on the pedestal of his shoulders (which have got their) splendour increased by the lustre of his sword that is

possessed of the brilliancy of victory in hundreds of battles, who though his intellect is pure by mastering the higher and lower divisions of all sciences, is always easily gratified by even a trifle of wit, who, though his heart possesses a profundity that is unfathomable by the whole world, well manifests his noble disposition in abundance of good conduct, who has achieved exalted fame by purifying the path of the kings of the Kṛitayuga which had become abandoned, [whose second name of Dharmāditya arose from his enjoying riches, happiness, and] wealth which have been made more resplendent by (his) non-obstructing the law.

No 10 —BURMESE INSCRIPTION AT BODH-GAYA.

By TAW SEIR KO

Translations of this inscription have already been published at pages 208-210 of Rajendra-lala Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, and at page 76 of Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*. There is some controversy as to the correct reading of the dates. The initial date is undoubtedly 657, which corresponds to 1295 A D, and the final date 660, which is equivalent to 1298 A D. During the period indicated by these two dates, the Burmese empire of Pagan was in the throes of a Chinese invasion. In 1284, Pagan had been occupied by the Chinese. In 1298 A D, Kyawzwa, the titular king, had been dethroned by three Shan brothers, who bore divided rule at the new capitals of Myinzaing, Metkaya, and Pinlê in the Kyauksè district. Two years later, the Chinese again invaded Myinzaing. In these circumstances, the only inference is that the last repairs to the Mahābodhi Temple alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a king of Arakan.

There is, however, some difficulty in the identification of the personages mentioned in the inscription. *Mahāthera Pinthagugyi* cannot be identified with certainty. *Pinthagugyi* or the "great Pinthagu" is a title, designation, or *sobriquet*, rather than a personal name, and is derived from the Pāli word *pamsukūḷika*, "one who obtains the materials for his clothing from a dust-heap or a cemetery." Such a title was usually conferred on a Buddhist monk of exceptional sanctity and austerity, who had secured the esteem and admiration of the laity. There was such a celebrated Buddhist monk at Pagan during the reign of Narapatisithu (1167-1204 A D.)

Thadomin sounds like an Arakanese title of a king or prince. It does not occur in the chronological lists appended to Phayre's *History of Burma*.

King Sinbyuthakin is called in the inscription *Sinbyuthakhin Trā Mingyi*. The first part means "the Lord of the White Elephant," and the second "Dhammarājā." Here, again, the expression is a common regal title and not a personal name.

Siddhammarājaguru is the title of a learned monk. All royal preceptors are called "Dhammarājaguru," or the "King's guru."

Sirikassapa and *Varavāsi* are ordinary names of Buddhist monks.

A great deal of interest centres round the designation "Pyu-ta-thein min", which appears as "Pu-ta thin min" in lines 9-10 of the inscription below. I am inclined to identify this personage with the "King Sinbyuthakhin" mentioned in the same inscription, and both with Meng-di, No 9 of the "Dynasty of the City Loung-Kyet" at page 301 of Phayre's *History of Burma*. This king reigned from 1279 to 1385, and is described as a "son of Meng-bhi-lu." There are two "Meng-bhi-lus," namely, No 7 of the same dynasty, who reigned from 1272 to 1276 A D, and No 12 of the "dynasty of Ping-tsa City," who ruled from 1075 to 1078 A D (page 299, *ibid*). The latter king was driven out from his kingdom by a usurper, and his son and heir, Mengre Baya, sought refuge at the Court of Kyanzittha, king of Pagan. Mengre Baya died leaving a son called Letyāmengnan. This Arakanese prince

[illegible]

was restored to his ancestral throne by Alaungsithu, Kyawzitha's grandson and successor, in 1103 A D, with the aid of 100,000 Pyus and 100,000 Talaing. Hence the fortunate prince is known in history as "Pyu-ta them-min," or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus" (*vide* page 40, *ibid*). It is most probable that Meng-di, during whose reign the inscription was set up at Bodh-Gaya, was a descendant of Letyāmengnan and was also called a "Pyu-ta-them-min"

On the same page, Phayie says "Alaungsithu caused the Buddhist temple at Gaya to be repaired" I am inclined to think that, on that occasion, the King of Pagan deputed the *Mahāthera* Pinthagugyi to superintend the work, and that he required his *protégé*, Letyāmengnan, to render the necessary assistance in this work of merit. It would then appear that the "Thadomin" mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of Letyāmengnan, the Prince, who first bore the title of "Pyu-ta-them-min" or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus"

It is quite possible that one of the conditions of Letyāmengnan's restoration to the Arakanese throne was that, for the accumulation of merit of Alaungsithu, his suzerain and benefactor, he and his descendants were to render material assistance in the repair and maintenance of the temple at Bodh-Gaya. Viewed in this light, the chronology of the inscription and the *raison d'être* of the proceedings recorded therein become clear, reasonable and logical

TEXT

- 1 Purbhāthikhin thīthanā 218 lunlie-pyithaw akhāhnaik sambuteik kyungo asoyathaw Si-
- 2 sridhammasoka myithaw Mingyi seti s'atthannag 4 danng aphaw hnaik
- 3 sumtaw phonpiera Pāyātha i-tango akhā hemyin pyet
- 4 rwe myuthaw thikhin Pinthakūgyi tayank Thopyi tachtet py-
- 5 etkheragā Thadomin pyu-i Thopyi(y) tachtet pyetkhedon
- 6 ragā Sinbyuthikhin Trā Mingyi mimi kosa sira sridhamma-
- 7 rājakurugo sytan mulatthaw akhāhnaik pā-la-
- 8 t thaw tabethā Sirkassapasa thi lōk antha ntsā hilyet
- 9 malōk radat ragā Varavāsi thikhin therago sum kham siyragā Pu-
- 10 tathin min hu-i lok siykānu thikhin nge ko myatkyi The(ia) ko
- 11 akhwin puragā Sakarac 657 lhu pyatholazan 10 rak thaunkyan pyndōn-i
- 12 Sakarac 660 Tazaungmonlazan 8 rak tahnungann m(y) hlū-sathaw
- 13 takhunkukā takhunpyādoko le pusao-i Thimbōk thaung simi
- 14 thaungdo akyem myaswa hln pusao-i Thāthami hu hmat rwe thungè 2
- 15 yauk shwepan ngwepan khwet paso swèthaw padetha le pu-
- 16 sao-i Akhākhapthera hln thimbōkwut mapyat tsinthaw
- 17 kraung mrie kyun nwado ko le way ruy hlūkhe ī ngā pyu
- 18 thaw kaunghmugā Nippan, pyitsi athauk apin phyitchin tha-
- 19 te Yat (meik) ti purhāthikhin letthet hln rahandāsu lothate

TRANSLATION.

- 1 When 218 years of the era of the Religion of the Lord Buddha had passed away, Sridhammasoka, the Ruler of Jambudīpa,
- 2 built 84,000 chaityas, one of which was situated on the site,
- 3 where the Buddha took a meal (of rice porridge offered by Sujātā before attaining Enlightenment) This shrine, owing to the effluxion of time, fell into ruin,
- 4 and was repaired by the Mahāthera Pinthagugyi Subsequently,
- 5 it was repaired by Thadomin It again fell into disrepair,

6 and King Sinbyuthikhin deputed the Royal Preceptor,
 7 Sīradhammarājaguru, to undertake the work of repair
 8 Sīrikassapa, the disciple of the Preceptor, had sufficient funds,
 9 but could not take the work in hand (owing, probably, to the absence of skilled
 artisans)—

10 He, therefore, sent Varavāsi, a junior *Thera*,
 11 to King Pyutathin Min, who complied with the solicitation for assistance
 12 The work of repair was begun on Friday, the 10th, waxing of Pyatho 657 B E.
 (January 1295 A D),

13 and was completed on Sunday, the 8th, waxing of Tazaungmon 660 B E (November
 1298 A D)

14 The following offerings were dedicated to the shrine flags and streamers, 1 000 bowls
 of rice and 1,000 lamps (for several times), 2 boys in the place of the donor's own children,

15 and gold and silver flowers and cloth hung on bamboo framework

16 In order to provide for the daily offering of rice at the shrine, at all times,

17 land, slaves, and cattle were purchased and likewise dedicated May this

18 meritorious deed of mine lead me on to Nirvāna !

19 May I become a disciple of Motteyya, the coming Buddha !

No. 11 —DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

By PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, BONN

I have received from the Government Epigraphist, Mr Venkayya, a large number of dates
 for examination, of which I here publish 32 dates of Chōla kings In accepting this task I
 may be permitted to give expression to my admiration of the work done by my predecessor, the
 late Professor Kielhorn Without the results he had worked out with inexhaustible patience,
 I probably should not have succeeded in verifying many of the dates which are now published

The dates have been calculated with the help of my General Tables published in Volume I,
 p 443 of this journal The time of the end of *tithis* and *nakshatras* is given in *ghatikās* only,
 when the result at issue would not be influenced by a few *ghatikās*, more or less In those
 cases, however, where a higher degree of accuracy is wanted, I have made use of the new
 special tables which I am going to publish in Part iv of this volume These tables yield the
 result within a few *palas* according to the Ārya, Sūrya, and Brahma-Siddhāntas, and the
 Siddhānta-Śirōmani

The date No 198 reduces the time previously found for the commencement of the reign of
 Rājādhirāja II to the period from the 7th to the 30th March 1163 A D. The remaining dates
 confirm the results previously found

A —PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌLA I

191.—In the Vēdapuriśvara temple at Tirukkalittattai ¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiru-manni(manni) valara .
 20 kō=Pparakēsariṇa[u]mar-āna śrī-R[ā]-
 21 j[ē]ntra-Śōladēvaṛkku yāndu onbadāvaḍu
 24 ivv-āttai Magara-n[ā]-
 25 ya]ṛṛu Budan-kīlamai peṛra Tirukkēttai-nānru

¹ No 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of the auspicious (*nakshatra*) Jyēsthā, which corresponded to a Wednesday of the month of Makara in this year "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 8th February 1021, which was the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Makara. The *nakshatra* was Jyēsthā which ended, according to the equal space system, about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise

B —VIKRAMA-CHŌLA

192 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunarayūr ¹

- 1 [S]vasti śrī [||*]² Pūmādu punara .
- 3 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=āna Tribhuvanacha-
- 4 kavattigal³ śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku yāndu 2 nandu āvadu Mīdhuna-nāyarṇu=
[p]pū[r]vva- [pa]kshattu [dv]ādaśiyum Tī[n]gat-kīlamaiyum perṇa [Vi]śāgattu
nāl

"In the 2nd—second—year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

This date is intrinsically wrong. Monday, the 23rd June 1119 A D corresponded to the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshādha) and the *nakshatra* was Mūla

193 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunarayūr ⁴

- 1 Pūmādu punara
- 2 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=āna Tribhuvanachakravarttigal
- 3 śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku [y]āndu mūnrāvadū Mīdu[na*]-nāyarṇu pū[ī]vva-
pakshattu shash[th]iyum Velli-kkī[ī]lamaiyum perṇa Pūrattu nāl

"In the third year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Friday, and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

The date corresponds to Friday, the 4th June 1120 A D, being the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshādha), the *nakshatra* being Pūrva-Phalgunī, which had begun about 12 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise and was current for the greater part of the day.

194 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunarayūr ⁵

- 1 ⁶ Śrī-Vikrama Chōladēvarkku yāndu 3 mūnrāvadū Mīduna-nāyarṇu [p]ū[r]v[va]-
pakshattu ashtamiyum Viyāla-kkīlamai[ya]m perṇa Uttirattu [nāl]

"In the 3rd—third—year (of the reign) of the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

¹ No 170 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The space between *śrī* and *pū* was perhaps intended for a punctuation

³ Read °*chakravarttigal*

⁴ No 164 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁵ No 171 of the same collection for 1908

⁶ This inscription is engraved in continuation of No 170 of 1908 (from the middle of line 17 of the latter)

This date is apparently wrong. It belongs to the same year and month as the preceding one and may be expected to fall on the day previous, if we take the week-day to be given correctly, and on the following day if we assume the *nakshatra* to be right, but these items are Friday and Pūrva-Phalgunī in the preceding date and Thursday and Uttara-Phalgunī in this.

195 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunāraiūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— Pūmādu punara
 3 kō=²Pparakēsarī[var]mar=āna Tribhu[va]nach-
 [cha]krava-
 4 ³rttiṅga[l] śrī-Vī]kra[ma-Śō]ladēva]rkku⁴ yāndu 12 ā[va]du Rishabha-[nā]jār[ru]=
 ppūrvva-pakshattu shashthiyum Vīyā[la]-kīlakkiṭṭamāyumu⁵ pe[r]-
 5 ra Ma[gattu nā]l

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Vikrama-Chōladēva],—on the day of M[aghā], which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 15th May 1130 A.D., which was the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāishtha) and was coupled with the *nakshatra* Maghā. The 6th *tithi* ended about 41 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Maghā commenced about 10 *ghatikās* after it according to the equal space system.

C —PARAKĒSARIVARMAṆ RĀJARĀJA II

196 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunāraiūr⁶

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Pūyal vāyttu
 3 Lō=Pparakēsaripaymar=āna Rāja[r]ājādēva]rku
 yāndu ⁵āvadu nāl Vriśchika-nāyār[ru]=p[p]ūrvva-[pa]kshattu triṭṭiyayum
 Śani-kīṭṭamāyumu perṇa Uttirādat-
 4 [tu nāl]

"In the time (nāl) of the 5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika "

The date seems to correspond to Friday, the 24th November 1150 A.D., which was the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vriśchika (Mārgaśīrsha). The day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā, which commenced about 19 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise of that day, while the third *tithi* ended about 41 *ghatikās* after it. We must therefore assume that in the inscription, Saturday is wrongly given instead of Friday.

¹ No 167 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The letter *śā* of *kēsarī* is written on an erasure.

³ The syllable *r* at the beginning of the line is corrected from *ra*

⁴ The five syllables *maśōladēva* are written on an erasure

⁵ Cancel the first two letters *kīṭṭa*

⁶ No 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

197 —In the Aiyānār temple at Tiruppattūr ¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya tira-mādam . . .
 4 . . . kō=Pparakēśaripatmar-āna Tribuvanachchakkaravattigal śr[ī]-
 Rājārājadēva[ku y]āndu 7 āvadu Ishaba-nāyarra a-
 5 para-pakshattu dvādaśiyum Viyāla-kkaḷamaiyum perṛa Aśvati-nāl

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

The date intended in this inscription is Thursday, the 21st May 1153 A D. It is, however, not the 12th, but the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishtha), it was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended about 11 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The 12th *tithi* ended about mean sunrise of Friday at Lankā, according to the Ārya-Siddhānta, 22 *palas* after it, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta 7 *palas* before it, and according to the Brahma-Siddhānta 52 *palas* before it. But as we have to reckon with true sunrise, which occurred on that day, say at Conjeeveram, 1 *ghaṭikā* 49 *palas* before mean sunrise at Lankā, the end of the 12th *tithi* fell after true sunrise of Friday, which day therefore was called the 12th *tithi*. The 12th (lunar) *tithi* was however coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended in it, though the day in which it ended was called the 11th *tithi*.

D —TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II

198 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunaraiyūr ²

- 1 Svasti śrī [6_] Kadal-ś[ñ]nda³ pār-ēlun= . . .
 8 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Rājāta(dhū)rājadēvarkku yāndu āṇāvadu
 Mina-nāyarra pūrva-pakshattu shashthiyum Viyāla-kka(kkū)ḷamaiyum perṛa Urōśani-nal

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādh[ī]rājadēva,— on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina "

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 6th March 1169 A D. On this day, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mina (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Rōhinī about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise (according to the equal-space system). The present inscription brings the accession to the throne of Rājādhirāja II between 7th and 30th March 1163.

E —KULŌTTUNGA-CHŌLA III

199 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunaraiyūr.⁴

- 1 . . . [k]karavatt[ī]ga[ī] śrī-Ku]lōttunga-Śōḷadēva[ī]ku yā[ndu]⁵ 2 vadu⁶
 [Ku]m-
 2 [ba-nāyarru*] irubattoṇ[rā]n=[dīyadī]yum perṛa apara-[pa]kshattu p[ī]da-
 m[ai]yum Budan-
 3 [pī]radamaiyum⁷ perṛa [Pū]rattu nāl

¹ No 597 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² No 172 of the same collection for 1908

³ The syllable *la* seems to be entered below the line

⁴ No 166 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁵ Between *ndu* and the figure 2 there is some space in which traces of a letter or a figure are seen

⁶ The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *vadu*

⁷ The *tithi* seems to have been repeated by mistake

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the first *tithi* to a Wednesday, to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the twenty-first solar day [of the month of Kumbha] "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 13th February 1180 A D, which was the 21st day of the solar month Kumbha. The case is similar to that in No 197, but here the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was an expunged *tithi*, wherefore the day was to be called the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. According to the Ārya-Siddhānta, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna) ended 5 *ghaṭikās* 9 *palas* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the 1st *tithi* of the dark fortnight 5 *palas* after mean sunrise of the next day (Thursday), but as the sun rose in Conjeevaram on that day 8 *palas* later, the end of the *tithi* was brought over to the preceding day, and was, therefore, expunged. But this first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was coupled with Pūrva-Phalgunī which ended on Wednesday about 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

200.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunarayūr¹

1 Svasti śī [||*] Tirubuvanachchakkaravatt[ī]gal [śrī]-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṛku
yāndu 2 vadu² Mina-nā[ya]ṛṛu pūrva-pakshattu pradamaiyam Vi[ḷ]ala-
kkilamaiyam peṇṇa [U]ttirattādi-nāl

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina "

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 28th February 1180 A D. On that day ended the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mina (Chaitra) and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrpadā, both about 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

201 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunarayūr³

1 Svasti sri [||*] Pu(pū)-mauviya Tisaimugattōn kō=Pparakē-
[śā]ṇipāṇmar=āna Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigal ⁴śī-Virarājēndhrā(dra)dēvaṛku
yāndu [5]ñjāvadu Kumba-[n]āyaṛṛu apara-pakshattu⁵ navamiyum Velli-
kkilamai peṇṇa Mūlattu nāl

"In the [5]th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājēndradēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Friday, the 18th February 1183 A D, on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* and the *nakshatra* Mūla about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

202 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunarayūr⁶

1 Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Puyal vāy[ttu]
3 kōv= Virarāśaḷēśaripan-

¹ No 175 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *vadu*

³ No 176 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ Read *śrī*

⁵ Read *-pakshattu*

⁶ No 178 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908,

⁷ Read *Li āśaḷēśarī*

- 4 mar-āna [Ti*]ribuvanachohakkara[va]ttigal śr[i]-Virarājendra-Śōladēvaikkū
yāndu ārā[va]du nāl Simha-nāyarru apara-pakshattu navamiyum Śani-kkīlamai-
yum perra [Mri]ga-
5 [śi]rsha[ttu n]āl

"In the time (*nāl*) of the sixth year (*of the reign*) of king ¹Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Mrigaśirsha, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

I take the date to correspond to Saturday, the 10th September 1183 A D For, on this day the *nakshatra* Mrigaśirsha began at about 4 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā The day, however, was not the 9th, but the 7th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Simha (Bhādrapada), that *tithi* having ended about 16 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise — The result shows that the word *navamiyum* of the original date should be altered to *saptamiyum* (or perhaps into *ashtamiyum*, if that *tithi* was intended with which the given *nakshatra* mainly coincided, or in which it ended, as was the case in Nos. 197 and 199)

203.—In the Vilnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmilalai ²

- 1 [Sva]stī śr[i] [||*] T[ri]ribuvanachohakka[va]ttigal³ śri-Kulō[t]tu[n]ga-[Ś]ōladē-
[va]ṛku y[ā]ndu ēlā-
2 vadu Magara-nā[ya]rru pū[rva]-pak[shat]tu śatadasi[y]u Viyila-kkīla[mai]yum
perra Punarpūsatti=[n]āl

"In the seventh year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara "

The date intended seems to be Wednesday, the 16th January 1185 For, on that day the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Makara (Māgha) ended about 45 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Punarvasu ended about 14 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise The week-day however was Wednesday, and not Thursday, as given in the original date, apparently by a mistake

204.—In the Vilnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmilalai ⁴

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] [Paya]l vā[y*]ttu va[la]m [peru]ga [||*]⁵ Tribuvanachohak-
karavatt[igal] Maduraiyum Pā[n]diyan mudittalai[y]un-gon[d-aṇḍi]na śi-
Kulō[t]tu[n*]ga-[Ś]ōladēvaṛ[k]ku [y]āndu padinārāvadu
2 K[u]mba-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu [pañja]miyum Velli-kkīlamai[y]um perra
I[r]ēvatī-nāl

"In the sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the [fifth *tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 28th January 1194 A D, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kumbha ending about 54 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise of that day, and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ending about 15 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise As the *tithi* might be an

¹ Kulōttunga III bears the surname Parakēsarivarman in his other inscriptions

² No 386 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

³ Read °*chakravartiga*

⁴ No 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁵ Between *ga* and *tri* there is some space which may have contained a sign of punctuation

expunged one, I calculated the beginning of 5th *tithi* for true sunrise at Conjeevoram according to the Ārya-Siddhānta, it began nearly a *ghatikā* before sunrise of Friday, which day accordingly was the 5th *tithi*

205 — In the Vīlināthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvilimūlai.¹

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] P[n]ya[l vā][y*]ttu [valam]
 Madurai koṇ[du] Pan[diya]n
 muditta[l]n[y]un=gond-arul[īna] śr[ī]-Kulōttu[n]ga-Śōladēvaṅku yāndu padin[ā]-
 [va]du Ka[r]-
 2 kaḍaga-nāyaṅṟu apara-pakshattu śa[turteśiya]m² Tiṅgal-kīlamai per[ra] Puna-
 [r]pū[sa]ttu nāl

"In the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who, having taken Madurai, was pleased also to take the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth (or fourth) *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ka[r]kataka "

The *tithi* in this date must be the 14th, for the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula (and Vriśchika) only can be coupled with Punarvasu. The 14th of Karkataka however cannot also be coupled with that *nakshatra*, but the 14th of Mithuna. If we calculate for the 14th of the dark fortnight of Mithuna which corresponded to the 8th July, 1195 A.D., the *nakshatra* is indeed Punarvasu, but we find the week-day to be a Saturday instead of a Monday. Indeed the week-day would be incorrect on any possible assumption.

F.—RĀJARĀJA III

206 — In the Aīyanār temple at Tiruppattūr.³

- 1 [Sva]stī śī || [||*] Tūbuva[nachcha]k[aravattigal] śrī-Rājarāja-
 2 *dēva[ṅku] yāndu 4 vaḍu Dhann-nāyaṅṟu pūvva-pakshat-
 3 tu da[śa]mīyam Śevvā-kīlamaiyum per[ra] Rēvati-tū(nā)l

"In the 4th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanuś "

This date is also a doubtful one. The *tithi* given in the inscription corresponds to the 18th December 1219 A.D., but it is a Wednesday and is coupled with the *nakshatra* Bharanī and Kṛtikā. The preceding day was a Tuesday, but it was the 9th *tithi* and was coupled with Aśvinī and Bharanī. If we assume the month to have been Vriśchika instead of Dhanuś (for there are instances of such mistakes in these inscriptions, see above, vol IX, p 220, note 12, and p 221, note 4), we find that Tuesday, the 19th November 1219 A.D., was the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vriśchika, not the tenth *tithi* as stated in the inscription, but this tenth (lunar) *tithi* was coupled with the *nakshatra* Rēvatī, the one ending 13 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise, the other beginning 40 *ghatikās* before it, cf No 202

207 — In the Aīyanār temple at Tiruppattūr.⁵

- 1 [Svastī śī || Tū*]buvannachchakkaravattigal śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāndu 7 āvaḍu
 Isha[ba]-nāyaṅṟu apara-pakshattu tū(tri)tiyayun=Dingal-kīlamaiyum per[ra]
 Mā[la]tti=nāl

¹ No 416 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² It is not impossible that the reading is *śadattiyum*, i.e. the fourth *tithi*

³ No 595 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ The *ī* symbol attached to *dē* is at the end of 1 1

⁵ No 596 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

"In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

I take the date to correspond to Monday, the 30th March 1222 A D, though the *nakshatra* of that day was not Mūla, but Uttarāshadhā and Śravana. The third *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishtha) ended, according to the Ārya and Sūrya Siddhāntas, 1 *ghaṭikā* 44 *palas*, and 46 *palas*, respectively, after mean sunrise, and something more after true sunrise, while the 4th *tithi* ended on the next day. According to the Brahma-Siddhānta, however, Sunday was the third *tithi* and Monday was an *adhika* or repeated *tithi*. The result is practically the same as was found by the two other Siddhāntas.

208 — In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilū¹

- 1 ॐ Svasti śri [||*]
- 2 Tiribuvanach[obu]-
- 3 kkaravattigal śri-
- 4 Rājarājadēvarakku y[ā]-
- 5 [n]du 7 Evadi[n*] edirām=[ā]-
- 6 ndu Kumbha-nayarru [p]ū-
- 7 rava-pakshattu tritraya[m]
- 8 Tingal-kkalamai[y]u[m] pe-
- 9 rra Śodi-nāl

"In the year opposite the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds almost certainly to Monday, the 20th February 1223 A D. But the original date contains two errors: (1) it was not the 'first' fortnight, because in it the *nakshatra* Svāti is impossible, (2) it was not the 3rd but the 4th *tithi*. For on calculating the above date, we find that the 20th February corresponded to the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna), and that almost the whole day coincided with the *nakshatra* Svāti.

209 — In the Viṇnāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvilimūlai²

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Tribuvanachchakkaravattigal [ś]ri-Irajarājadēvarakku yāndu
[1]1 [va]dn³ Kumbha-nu[ja]rra apaia-[pa]kshattu ēlādasiyum Śani-[k]kalamaiyum
perra
- 2 Mūlattu nāl

"In the [1]1th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

This date is the same as that in No 214 below and will be dealt with in that place. It deserves to be remarked that, in this inscription just as in No 214, the month Kumbha has been erroneously quoted instead of Makara.

¹ No 215 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The name Rāja-āya is denoted by two abbreviations

³ No 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ The date may also be read as 21

210 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[1]i[1]buvanachchakkaravatt[1]ga[1] śi-Rāśarāśadēvarkku yāndu
[11]³ 'Ishava-nāyar[ru] pū[1]va-pakkattu saptam[1]yam Nāyar[ru]kk[1]lamaiyam
per[ia] Magattu nāl

' (In) the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

If we take the year to be the 11th, neither the week-day nor the *naśhatra* comes out right. But if we calculate for the 21st year, both items come out right. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May 1237 A D. The 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāishtha) ended about 9 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise of the 3rd May, and the *nakshatra* Maghā covered nearly that whole day.

211 —In the Vīṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlūmalai⁵

- 1 S[1]a[1]stī śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachcha[k*]karavattigal śrī-Rāja[rājadēvark]ku [y]āndu
11 i[va]du Dhanu-nāyar[ru] pū[1]va-pakshattu daśamiyum T[1]ngat-kk[1]lamai-
yu[m]
2 per[ra] Irēvati-[n]āl

" In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rāja-rājadēva, — on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

The date as given in the inscription would correspond to Thursday, the 31st December 1226 A D, which was coupled with Kritikā. This result is wrong in all details. If we calculate Monday, the 29th December of the same year, the *nakshatra* comes out right, but it is the 7th *tithi*. Now, assuming that the month Dhanus has erroneously been quoted for Makara, the original date would correspond to Monday, the 30th November 1226 A D. This is apparently the right date. On that day, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Makara ended about 37 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ended about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise.

212 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr⁶

- 1 ௨ Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakkar-
2 vatt[1]gal śrī-Irāśarāśadēvarkku y[ā]-
3 nddu⁷ irubadāvadū Magara-nāyar[ru] pū-
4 rva-pakkattu saptamiyum Tīngal-kk[1]a]-
5 maiyum pper[ra]⁸ Āsvati-nāl

" In the twentieth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva, — on the day of Āśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The calculation of the original date yields Wednesday, the 16th January 1236 A D, which day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Āśvinī, but as the week-day is wrong, we must reject this.

¹ No 198 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² Two unintelligible symbols are engraved at the beginning of the line before the akshara *sva*

³ The figures in brackets may also be read as 21

⁴ Read *Rishabha*

⁵ No 409 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ No 195 of the same collection for 1908

⁷ Read *yāndu*

⁸ Read *per[ra]*

date. Assuming a mistake in the month, viz Makara for Dhanus, we get Tuesday, the 18th December, which corresponds to the given *tithi* (ending 9 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise), but the *nakshatra* was Rēvati (beginning 13 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise). If we calculate for the following year, the 21st instead of the 20th, the date comes out right in all details. It corresponds to Monday, the 5th January 1237 A D. On that day, the 7th *tithi* of the month Makara ended 14 *ghatikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Aśvinī began 13 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise. This is probably the equivalent of the date, though it is rather surprising that the number of the regnal year should have been erroneously quoted.

213 —In the Vilnāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai¹

1 Svasti śrī — T[ī]rubu[va]nachohā(cha)kravartti[gal śrī-R]ājarājadēvaṛku [y]āndu
20 ıru[bad]ā[va]du Rishabha-[n]āyaṛ[ru] pūr[vva]-pakshattu daśa[m]ı[y]um
[V]e[||ı]²-kkīlamai[yum p]er[ra] Utt[ira]ttu [nāl]

"In the 20th—twentieth—year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a [Friday] and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

The date probably corresponds to Friday, the 16th May 1236 A D. On that day, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishtha) ended 12 *ghatikās*, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī 14 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā. It appears therefore that, in the original date, the tenth *tithi* has been erroneously quoted instead of the ninth. Calculating Mēsha instead of Rishabha, we find that the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended on Thursday, the 17th April 1236 A D, 40 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī began only 50 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. If this date be the right equivalent, we have to assume that the month as well as the week-day are erroneously quoted in the original.

214 —In the Vilnāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai³

1 Svasti[ı] śr[ı] [||*] Tır[ı]buvanachaka[va]ttigal⁴ śrī-İrājairājadēva[r]ku⁵ yāndu
21 vadu Kum[ba]-n[ā]yaṛru apara-pakshattu ēk[ā]daśamıyum⁶ Śan[ı]-kkīlam[ı]yūm
peṛra Mūlattu

2 nāl.

"In the 21st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [eleventh] *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th January 1237 A D. But the month Kumbha has erroneously been quoted instead of Makara. For, it is impossible that in Kumbha (Phālguna) the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight should coincide with Mūla, and besides, in that year Phālguna badı 11 was a Monday (or possibly a Sunday, for the end of the *tithi* fell very near sunrise), but certainly not a Saturday. But on the day stated above, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Makara ended about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Mūla ended about 27 *ghatikās* after it.

¹ No. 407 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The space between *m* and *kk* is just enough for *ve||ı* and not for *sevvāy* (Tuesday).

³ No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ Read °chakravartı°

⁵ Read -Rājarāja°

⁶ The syllable *m* is written below the line. The *tithi* intended may have been either *ākādaśi* or *daśam*. But No. 209 above, which is identically the same date, gives *ākādaśi*.

215 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

- 1 [S]vasti śrī [||*] Tr[ī]bhuvannachchakrava[tt]gal śrī-[R]ājarā[ja]-
 2 d[ē]varkk[u] yāndu [2]6 āvadū=edirā[m=ā-
 3 ndu Kann-nā]ya[r]ru=[p]pūrvva-[pakshattu ashta]²mi-
 4 [y]um Tīngal-kālamaiyum [p]eṛra Aṇḷattu nāl

"In the year opposite the [2]6th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eighth *tithi* (or the fifth *tithi*) of the first fortnight of the month of [Kanyā]"

The date as given in the inscription admits of four cases (1) 16th year, 5th *tithi*, the equivalent is Tuesday, the 2nd September 1231 A D, the *nakshatra* Anurādhā began 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, (2) 26th year, 5th *tithi* Wednesday, the 11th September 1241 A D, Anurādhā ended 47 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. Assuming the eighth *tithi* to be given, the week-days will be (3) Friday and (4) Saturday for the 16th and 26th year respectively, and the *nakshatra* will also be wrong. If we compute the same four cases for Simha instead of Kanyā, we get a Monday only for case 1, viz Monday, the 4th August 1231 A D, but the *nakshatra* is Chitā and Svāti. If we compute for Tulā instead of Kanyā, case No. 4 gives a Monday, viz 14th October 1241, but then the *nakshatra* would be Śravana and Śravishtā. Therefore the date of this inscription seems not to admit of verification.

216 —On some detached stones in a grove at Tirukkāvāśāl³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchak[ka]ra[va]tt[ī]gal śrī-⁴Rājarājadēvarkku y[ā]ndu
 28 āvadū Karkkadaga-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshat[t]u śaturteś[ī]yum Budag-
 k[ī]lamaiyum peṛ[ra*] Utt[ī]rattu nāl

"In the 28th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

The original date erroneously quotes the 14th *tithi* instead of the 4th, for, Śravana (=Karkataka) sudi 14 cannot coincide with Uttara-Phalgunī, but sudi 4 may coincide with it. The corrected date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd July 1243 A D. On that day the 4th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Karkataka ended 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī ended 24 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

217 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr⁵

- 1 6. Svasti śrī [||*] T[ī]r[ī]buvanachchakkaravatt[ī]gal śrī-Rāsarāśadēvar[k]ku
 yāndu 31 āvadū Mēsha-nāyarru . . . ⁶[pa]ṇjāmi[y]um Tīngal-
 kalamaiyum [p]eṛra [A]ṇḷattu nāl

"In the 31st year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* . . . of the month of Mēsha."

The 5th *tithi* of both fortnights in Mēsha did not fall, in the year of the inscription (1247 A D), on a Monday, and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā cannot be coupled with the 5th *tithi* of

¹ No. 182 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The reading may also be *pañjāmiyum*.

³ No. 454 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The word *Rājarāja* is expressed by two abbreviations.

⁵ No. 199 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ In the original it cannot be made out whether *apara-* or *pūrva paksha* was engraved.

either fortnight in Mēsha. The *tithi* is therefore wrong. Now, calculating for the week-day and the *nakshatra* given in the inscription, I find that on Monday, the 22nd April 1247 A D, the *nakshatra* Anurādhā commenced 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The first *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 31 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this day is the one intended in the inscription, the word 'pañjanyum' is a mistake for 'pradamanyum'.

G—RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌLA III

218—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

1 ||— Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvānachechakkaravatt[ī]ga[ī] śrī-Irāśēndi[ra]-Śōladēvarkku
yāndu pa[t]tā[ra]dinn=ed[ī]rā[m=ā]pdu Kannu-ni-

2 yaṟru a[pa]ra-pakshattu shashthuy[u]m Tingal-k[ī]r[u]mayu[m] perra Rōsanī-nāl

"In the year opposite the [tenth] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladeva,—on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 11th September 1258 A D, however the month Kanyā has erroneously been quoted instead of Simha. On the day in question, the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Simha (being the 15th solar Kanyā) ended 51 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Rōhinī 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

219—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr²

1 [S]vast[ī] [śrī] [||*] [Tiribuvāna]chechakkaravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-Irāśēnd[ī]ra-Śōladēvarkku
yān[du] pa[d]inn=ēlāvadu I.³

2 [I]shabha- nāy .rru pūrvva-pa[k]shasttu⁴ tri(tri)tiyayum Nāyarra-kkū[u]mayum⁵
perra Pūsat[ta*] nāl

"In the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 21st May 1262 A D, if we assume that the third *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the second. For, on that day, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāishtha) ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Pushya commenced about 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

220—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr⁶

1 6. Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvānachecha[kka*]ra[vatti*]gal śrī-Rā[j]ē[ndra]-Śōladēvark[u]
yān]du

2 17 vadu Tulā nāyarra pūrvva-pakshattu chatu[rddasīy]um Velli-kkū[u]mayum

3 perra Aśvati-nāl

"In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā "

¹ No 208 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² No 213 of the same collection for 1908

³ Cancel the letter :

⁴ Read -pakshattu

⁵ The m of *Mayum* is entered below the line

⁶ No 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

The date corresponds to Friday, the 27th October 1262 A D The *nakshatra* *Aśvinī* ended about 36 *ghatikās* after sunrise, and the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* (*Kārttika*) ended according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 58 *ghatikās*, and according to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* 52 *ghatikās* after true sunrise at Conjeeveram As the same *tithi* was current at sunrise according to both these *Siddhāntas*, it was no expunged *tithi* But it was an expunged *tithi* according to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*

221 —In the *Vīṇāthasvāmīn* temple at *Tiruvīṇṇālaḷai* ¹

1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] [Tirubuvanach]chakka[ravat]t[ī]gal ś[ī]-²Rājendra -[Śōladēvar]kku yā[ndu] 1[8]vadū³ [Kumba]-⁴nāyaṟru [pūrvva-pa]kshattu [pa]ñcha[mīyū]m Budan-k[ī]lāmai[yum] peṟra Utt[ī]rāda[tū] nāl

"In the 1[8]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on [the day of] Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the [first] fortnight of the month of [Kumbha]."

In the month *Kumbha*, the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshādhā* can occur only between the 8th and 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight, in the month *Tulā* between the 5th and 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight We must therefore read *Tulā* in the inscription The details of the date would be right if we assume that the fifth *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the sixth For, on Wednesday, the 10th October 1263, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* ended about 10 *ghatikās*, and the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshādhā* about 20 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at *Lankā*

222 —In the *Mantrapuriśvara* temple at *Kōvilūr* ⁵

1 [Sva*]st[ī] śr[ī] [||*] [Tirubhuvana]ohchakkara[vat]t[ī]gal [śrī]-R[ā]jēndira-
[Śō]lādēvar[kku] yāndu [22] ā[vadu] Kumba⁶-nāya[ṟru] a[paia]-pakshattu
sha[shthi]yum Tīn[gat]- k[ī]lāmai
2 p[e]ṟra Śōdī nāl⁷

"In the [22]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of *Svāti*, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of *Kumbha* "

I cannot verify this date satisfactorily The *tithi* or the *nakshatra* must be wrong, for, the sixth *tithi* cannot coincide with the *nakshatra* *Svāti* The nearest approach to the given date is in the twentieth year, Monday, the 14th February 1267 A D, on which day the *nakshatra* *Svāti* commenced about sunrise, but it was the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Kumbha*, which ended about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise

No 12 —DATES OF PANDYA KINGS

By PROFESSOR H JACOBI, PH D, BONN

V Venkayya, M A, Rai Bahadur, has sent me for examination the text and English translation of 17 Pāndya dates, of which I herewith publish 15 In some cases my results

¹ No 412 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The syllable *rā* is denoted by an abbreviation

³ The word *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8

⁴ Between the letters *ba* and *nā* there is a symbol which may represent either *n* or the *ā* sign The name of the month is not quite clear It may also be read [*Tulā*]

⁵ No 216 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ There is some unaccountable space between the aksharas *ku* and *m* of *Kumba*.

⁷ The length of *nā* is inserted below the line.

are not satisfactory, still I thought it advisable to state what they are since they may be useful either for further consideration of historical questions involved by the inscriptions or for deciding the uselessness of the dates as being altogether wrong

Nos 90-94 enable us to fix the commencement of Jatavarman Vira-Pandya's reign, which has approximately been placed in 1310 A D by Mr Krishna Sastri (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908-09 Part II, § 27*) Four of these inscriptions quote, besides the details usually given in them, the corresponding solar day, thereby, as stated by Prof Kielhorn (above, Vol VI p 301), we can find the precise equivalent, though the year is not stated in any era, the regnal year only being given For, as a given solar day may be coupled with any of the thirty *tithis* and of the seven week-days, a given combination of these three items will, on the average, occur only once in $7 \times 30 = 210$ years, and the chance will be still rarer if the *nakshatra* is mentioned, as is usually the case In No 89 the *tithi* is not given, but the combination of the remaining three items is such as will recur only once in about 150 years

In order to solve the problems to which such dates give occasion, I have developed my tables (above, Vol I) in detail for several centuries, and with their help the task became an easy one These developed Tables will be published in book form in the *Encyclopædia for Indo-Aryan Research* I shall there explain the method of solving the problem in question

I now proceed to discuss the results of my examination of the dates in Nos 90-94 They may be summarised as follows —

Jatavarman Vira-Pandya (September 29, December 1, A D 1295)

- No 90. 6th year 23th September 1302
- No 91 22nd year 3rd May 1318
- No 92 44th year 2nd December 1339
- No 93 43 (Cor 46)th year 2nd August 1339
- No 94 46th year 16th June 1342


Nos 90-92 show that the king must have commenced to reign between the 29th September and the 1st December 1295 With this date for the commencement of the reign No 94 agrees if we read the regnal year as 46, as we may, since the second figure of 4[9] put in brackets in the transcript, may also be read 6 as stated in the note In No 93, the regnal year cannot be 46, since No 92 is dated in the same year of our era. The date, 2nd August, shows that the 46th year has wrongly been given instead of the 43rd

According to No 89 Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasēkhara seems to have begun reigning in 1379-80 A D I should, however, not place too much reliance on this result, before it has been corroborated by more inscriptions of the same king For, if in our inscription the wrong *nakshatra* had been quoted, as is rather frequently the case in these records, the calculated equivalent would of course be also intrinsically wrong

No 84 fixes the beginning of the reign of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pandya in A D 1237-38

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA I (A D 1216-35)

81 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tiruputtūr¹

- 1  Svast[1] śrī [||*] śrī-kō-Mārupa[n]mar-āna Tiribu[va]-nachchakkravattigal Sōnādu vaṅgiy-aruliyā śrī-Sundara-Pāndi-
- 2 yadēvaṅku yāndu 20 vadun(din) edirām-āndu [Ka]nni-nāyarṟu apara-[pakshat]t[n] Viyā[la]-kkīlamaiyu[m*] shashthiyum perṟa Pūṣattu nāl

¹ No 129 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

"In the year opposite the 20th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious King Maravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva, who was pleased to distribute the Chola country,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and a Thursday of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The date seems to correspond to Thursday, the 18th September 1236 A.D. That day was Āśvina *badi* 2 as required, the second *tithi* ending about 36 *chēṭi* after mean sunrise at Lankī. But the day was coupled with the *nakṣatras* Āśvinī and Bharaṇī, and not, as quoted in the inscription, with Pushya. It is impossible, on any supposition, that Āśvina *badi* 2 should be coupled with Pushya, the *nakṣatra* will always be one between Āśvinī and Bharaṇī, and never beyond the latter.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA I. (?)

(A.D. 1251 to 1261)

82 —In the Vilināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimūlalai¹

- 1 Kō=Chadapane(n)mar² Trībhuvana[nach[cha]ttaravattigal³ Sundara-Pāndyadēva[n]du⁴ dundu 2 [adu] iru[n]d[adu] Dānu-nāyaru pūrvā-pakṣa[ttu] che[ttu]⁵ Catiyūm Nāyaru[u-kkila]mmāi⁶.
- 2 yūm peṇra Āyilyattu na(n)l.

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king Jātavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Āślēṣhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ "

In this date the wrong fortnight is cited, for, in the month of Dhanuṣ or Pauṣa, Āślēṣhā cannot be coupled with *badi* 14, but only with *sudi* 14. However, the week-day does not come out right in either fortnight, if we assume the king to have been Jātavarman Sundara-Pāndya II. For, in K.Y. 4378 (=1276 ff A.D.) Pauṣa was expanded, and both *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 falling in the solar month of Pauṣa were not Sundays. The same holds good with Pauṣa *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 of the preceding year. Assuming the king to have been the first of this name, the week-day comes out right for K.Y. 4351 Pauṣa *sudi* 14 corresponding to Sunday, the 4th January 1251. But the *nakṣatras* coupled with that day were Punarvasu and Pushya, on the next day occurred Āślēṣhā.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA

83 —In the Vilināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimūlalai⁷

- 1 Svast[1] 4[i] [11*] Kō=Chchadapanmar Tr[1]bhuvana[nachobakravattigal] ri]-Su[ndara-Pān]dya-dēva[1k]u yāndu] ettāva[d]u Dānu-nāyaru pūrvā-pakṣa[ttu] ashtami[yu]m Velu-[k]k[1]lamaiyam peṇra Rō-
- 2 vati-nāl

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king Jātavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Sundara-Pāndyadēva],—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ "

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² Read *Trībhuvana[nachakravattigal]*

³ A symbol resembling the figure 4 is engraved before *su*. Perhaps it stands for *śri*

⁴ Read *yāndu*

⁵ Read *paṣṣattu*

⁶ Read *ṛṇṇamāṣ*.

⁷ No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

I have calculated the date for both Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya I and II, in both cases, the result is not satisfactory. I give them here. In 1258 A.D. Pausha was an expunged month, if we assume that *sudi* 8, falling in solar Pausha, was intended, we find that it ended 4 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā on Thursday, the 5th December, and the *nakshatra* Rēvati began only 15 *ghatikās* after sunrise. Therefore, the date would be right, if the eighth *tithi* had been wrongly quoted instead of the ninth. — Now assuming the king to be the second of his name, the date would fall in 1292 A.D. The calculation proves that on Friday, the 19th December 1292 A.D., the 9th *tithi* ended a few *ghatikās* before the end of the day according to all Siddhāntas, and the 8th *tithi* ended on Thursday. But as the *nakshatra* Rēvati ended about 5 *ghatikās* before sunrise of Friday, it could not have been coupled with that day.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA (A.D. 1237-38 to ?)

84 — In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputūr¹

- 1 ||| 6. Svasti śrī ||*] Tribhuvā[na]chchakravartigaḥ
 śrī-Sundara-Pāndyādēvarku yāndu 2 ndivad[u] Dhanu-nāyarṇu 11 ndi[ya]d[i]-
 yum pūrvā-pakshattu daśamiyum
 2 Budhan-kīlāmai[ya]m [p]erṛa Asvati-nāl

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyādēva,—on the day of Āśvinī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 11th solar day of the month of Dhanus.”

Between 1200 and 1500 A.D. there is but one day which fulfils all requirements of the date of our inscription, viz 4310 Kaliyuga, Pausha *sudi* 10, which corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th December 1238 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Lankā, the 10th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Dhanus (Pausha) was running, and ended about 42 *ghatikās* afterwards, and the *nakshatra* Āśvinī had begun 7 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise at Lankā and ended about 49 *ghatikās* after it. Accordingly, this king began to reign in 1237-38 A.D.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA II (?)

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290)

85 — In the Vilnāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvilimilalai²

- 1 Svasti [śrī ||]³ K[ō]r=Chadai[pan]mar T[ī]ru[b]avanachchakka[rava]t[ī]gaḥ ś[ri]-
 Śu[ndara-P[āndi]yadē[va]rku yān[du] 9[vadu] Tulā nāyar[r]u [ap]u[ṣṭi]-p[ak]shattu
 sapamiyum [N]āyarṇu-kīlā-
 2 mayum per[ra] P[ū]sattu nāl

“In the [9]th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyādēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The week-day does not come out right for the 9th year of either Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I or II. I have calculated the years 1259, 60, 61 and 1283, 84, 85 A.D.

¹ No. 180 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² No. 414 of the same collection for 1908

³ The punctuation after *śrī* is not distinct, the existing traces seem to point to the reading *Om*

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA II

(A D. 1275-76 to 1290)

86 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

- 1 Svasti [śi]² [||*] Kō-Ch[cha]daparṇmar-āpa Tiriḥa[va]nachechakkarava
 2 ttiṅa[1] Su[n]dara]-Pandiṇadēvarṅku yāṇdu 14 vadu Sim-
 3 ha-nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu ttiṭ[ia]ṅaiyum³ Budan-kiḷamaiyum
 4 perṇa Attattu nāl

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date of this inscription is K Y 4901, Bhādrapada sudi 3=Wednesday, the 9th August 1290 A D. For, on that day the 3rd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Bhādrapada (Simha) ended about 46 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā and the *nakṣatra* Hasta began about 9 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise

KŌNĒRIMĒLKONDĀN JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA

87 —In the Nilakanthēśvara temple at Vedāl.⁴

- 1 [Sva*]ṣṭi śrī [||*] Kōṇērīmēlkondān kōr=Chadaparnmar Tirubuvachechakkaravattigal
 śrī-Sundara-Pandiṇadēvarṅku yāṇdu paḍi[n-mū]nrāvadū=edir mu(mu)ṇṇāvadū
 Karkadaga-nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu sapta[m]i[y]um Budan-kiḷamaiyum perṇa
 Attattu nāl

"In the third (year) opposite the thirteenth year (of the reign) of Kōnērīmēlkondān king Jatāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka "

[Professor Jacobi has not recorded the results of his calculation of this date —Ed]

MĀRAVARMAN KULASĒKHARA I (A.D 1268-1308)

88 —In the Sundararāja-Perumāl temple at Poṇ-Amarāvati⁵

- 1 6. [Śrī] Svatt[ī](ṣṭi) kō-Māra[pa]-
 [nma*]r-āna(āna) Ti[rī*]buvachechakkaravatt[ī]gall=emmandalamun=gond-araliya
 Kulasēga-
 2 radēvarṅku yāṇdu 18 vadu Simha-nāyarṇu [pū]rvva-pakshattu pañchamīyum
 Tīngal⁶-kiḷamaiy[u]m perṇa Utt[ī]rādattu nāl

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of king Māra[varman] *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Uttarā-shādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date of the inscription seems to correspond to Monday, the 6th August 1295 A D, on which day the 5th *tithi* of the month of Simha (Bhādrapada) ended, about 52 *ghatikās*

¹ No 214 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The punctuation after the syllable *śrī* is indistinct

³ Read *trīṭiya*°

⁴ No 69 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁵ No. 21 of the same collection for 1909

⁶ Read *Tīngal*

after mean sunrise at Laṅkā But the *nakshatra* was Chitrā It may be remarked that the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā can never be coupled with Bhādiapada sudi 5, as required by the inscription

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN KULASĒKHARA (A D 1379-80 to ?)

89 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ¹

- 1 [S]vastī [śrī] [||*] [T]ribhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-Kulasēkharadē[va]rkṇ
y]āṇdu 4 vadin=edi[rā]m=ā[ndu Kar]kadaga-[nā]yaṛṛ=irubattē[ān=t]iyadī Śani-k-
2 [k]i[la]m]aiyum perṛa Rōsanī-nāl

"In the year opposite the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Saturday (and) to the twenty seventh solar day of the month of Karkataka "

The only day between 1200 and 1500, which I found to correspond to the date of the inscription, would be Saturday, the 28th July 1383 A D , it was the 27th solar Karkataka, (Śrāvana badī 10) and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini This king therefore would appear to have commenced reigning 1379-80 A D

In the years 1262 A D , 23rd July, and 1475, 25th July, the 27th solar Karkataka fell on a Saturday and the *nakshatra* was the next after Rōhini, viz Mrigaśīras, we need therefore take no account of these years

[The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved shows that it must be older than A D 1200 —Ed]

JATĀVARMAN TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN VĪRA-PĀNDYA (A D 1295-1342 ?)

90 —In the Viṇnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇmūlalaī ²

- 1 Svast[ī] śrī — ³Kōṛ=Chadāpanmar Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Vira-
Pāndiyadēvaṛku yāṇdu 6 vadu⁴ āṛvadu
2 [Ka]nṇi-nāyaṛṛu pūruva-pa[k*]shattu shattu(shthi)yum Velli-kk[ila]mai]yum perṛa
Mūlattu nāl

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndiyadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date of this inscription corresponds to Friday, the 28th September 1302 A D. On that day, the 6th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āśvina (Kanyā) 4403 Kaliyuga ended 6 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakshatra* Mūla was running till about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

91 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ⁵

- 1 Śrī-kō=Chchadaipānmar=āpa Tribhuvanachchakravatti[ga]] śrī-Vira-[P]āndiyadēvaṛku
yāṇ[du] 22[vadu⁶ I]shaba-nā[ya]ṛṛu [4]tēdiyum⁷ pū[ruva-pa]kshattu
[dvi]tiyayum perṛa Rō[h]i[ni]-n[ā]l*

¹ No 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

² No 401 of the same collection

³ In the syllable kō, the ō of the ō sign is corrected from tr

⁴ Vadu is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 6

⁵ No 128 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ Vadu is also expressed by a symbol.

The word tēdi is expressed by a symbol.

"In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the [4]th solar day of the month of Rishabha "

I take this date to correspond to Sunday, the 3rd May 1318 A D This day was actually the 8th solar Rishabha (Jyaishta), not the 4th as found in the transcript of the inscription, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Jyaishta (Rishabha) ended about 13 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, but the *nakshatra* Rōhinī had ended about 26 *ghatikās* before sunrise It would therefore appear that the *nakshatra* quoted was that current at the beginning of the *tithi*, though it had ended before the day which is called after that *tithi*

92 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ¹

- 1 Svast[1] śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadaivan[mar-āna] Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śrī Vira-Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu 44 vadu Dhanu-nāyarṇu
- 2 5 tēdiy[um]² pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Brihaspati-vāramum perṛa Mūlattu nāl

"In the 44th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 5th solar day of the month of Dhanus "

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 2nd December 1339 A D, on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (Dhanus) ended 32 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the *nakshatra* Mūla was current at sunrise and ended about 41 *ghatikās* after it

93 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ³

- 1 Svastā ś[r]ī [||*] Kō=Chchadaipanmar=āna Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śrī-Vira-Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu 46 vadu Karkadaga nāyarṇu 1[4 tēdi]⁴
- 2 pūrvva-pakshattu [pa]ñjamiyum Sōmavāramum perṛa Uttirattu nāl

"In the 46th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 14th solar day of the month of Karkataka "

This date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August 1339 A D. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Śrāvana (Karkataka) ended about 15 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī was current at sunrise, and ended about 6 *ghatikās* after it However, the calculated date was actually the 15th solar Karkataka, and not the 14th as stated in the inscription

94 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ⁵

- 1 [6_] Svastā śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadaipanmar=āna Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śr[ī]-Vira-P[ā]ndiyadēvarkku yāndu 4[9]⁶ vadu Mithuna-nāyarṇu 21 tēdim⁷ pūruva-pakkattu tuvādeṣiyum Āditya-v[ā]ramu[m] p[e]rṛa Anilattu nāl

¹ No 122 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

³ No 119 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol

⁵ No 120 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ The figure in brackets may also be read 6

⁷ *Tēdi* is denoted by a symbol, *tēdim* stands for *tēdiyum*

"In the 4[9]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 21st solar day of the month of Mithuna "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 16th June 1342 A D On that day, at mean sunrise at Lankā, the 12th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āshādha (Mithuna) and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā were current, the former ending about 24 *ghatikās*, and the latter 45 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā And the day actually was the 21st solar Mithuna

JATĀVARMAN VIKRAMA-PĀNDYA

95 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr¹

1 ||| 6. Svasti śr[1] [||*] Kō-Chchadaippanmar=āna Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal
sri-Vikrama-Pāndyadēvaṅku yāndu 8[vaḍi]n² eḍir 14 āvaḍu

2 Śak-ābdam 1344n mēl śellānna Śubhakṛi³-varuṣham Dhanu-ravi 19 tēdi⁴
pūrvva-pakshattu tṛtagayum Buda-vāramum peṇṇa Tiruvōnattu

3 nāl

"In the 14th (year) opposite the 8th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadēva,— in the (cyclic) year Śubhakṛit, which was current after the (expiry of the) Śaka year 1344,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) the 19th solar day (when) the Sun (was in) Dhanus "

This date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, 16th December 1422 A.D., the corresponding Jovian year of southern reckoning being Śubhakṛit But the third *tithi* has wrongly been quoted for the second For, on the calculated day which was the 19th solar Dhanus, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (Dhanus) was current at sunrise at Lankā and so was the *nakshatra* Śravana The third *tithi* began about 5 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the *nakshatra* Śravana ended about 52 *ghatikās* after sunrise It would therefore appear that the current *tithi* has been quoted instead of the one which ended on that day.

No 13.—GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNADEVA

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

These plates were found, whilst ploughing, in a field in an old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur tahsil of the Allahabad District The finder was a Kewat He states that his plough turned up the plates and broke the ring which fastened them together The find was rescued from him by one Ramnath, a zamindar of Mawai Kalan, and produced first before the Collector, and then, by the Collector's directions, before Mr E A H Blunt, C S, Sub-Divisional Officer, Karwi, Banda district, who sent the plates to Rai Bahadur Venkayya I edit the inscription from two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr Venkayya

These are two copper plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the

¹ No 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The syllables *vaḍi* are expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8

³ Read *Śubhakṛit*

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol

inscription was inside. The box measures nearly $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and about $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. When Mr Venkayya examined the plates, the seal had no ring and was detached from the plates. It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears, in relief, a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmi,¹ facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right, between two indistinct symbols (drums ?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates.—

श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः ॥

Thanks to the peculiar arrangement by which the inscription was protected from damage the writing is on the whole well preserved. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, prose (ll 1, 33-44, 49) and verse (ll 1-33, 45-49). The metre is irremediably wrong in two places (ll 9, 20).

The alphabet is an early type of Nāgarī. व is nowhere distinguished from व. य is often written like प, and च like व. The three letters य, व, and य are very similar in shape. If at the end of a line no spare place was left for the next *akshara*, the engraver has filled up the line by a vertical dash. The end of a section is marked by the symbols ॥ ॐ ॥ in three cases (ll 33, 35, 44).

As regards orthography, the vowel *ri* is expressed by *ra* in *grahē* (l 5) and takes the place of the syllable *ri* in *tribhuvana* (l 4). Instead of the vowel *li* a *u* is employed in *kupta* (l 28). The palatal sibilant occurs instead of dental *s* in *sruta* (l 26), and *s* for *s* in eight instances (*bhṛsam* and *āsā*, l 15, *sundā*, l 23, *asvapati*, l 34, *sākhinē* and *sarmanē*, l 40, *sukla*, l 41, *vamsē*, l 48). The *anusvāra* is replaced by *n* in *yaśāns* (l 32), *kh* by *sh* in *mayūsha* (l 3), *n* by *n* in *grihnāti* (l 46), *ph* by *p* in *pūtkāra* (ll 15, 24), and *y* by *j* in *vyāja* (l 33). Other vulgar forms are *tāmra* for *tāmra* (l 32), *sāmra* for *sāmra* (l 39), *sirmā*² for *simā* (l 39), *Kōsamva-pattalāyam* for *Kausāmba-pattalāyam* (l 37), and *utkīrnnitam* for *utkīrnnam* (l 49).

In the prose portion of the inscription, the rules of *sandhi* are not always observed, and even in the metrical portion, the *sandhi* is neglected in °*chayaiḥ tasmāt* (l 18). Two cases of wrong *sandhi* are °*vamdyō Ohēdīndra*° (l 11) and °*chaturāśramēka*° (l 30). Final *t* is often written in the Hindi way without the *virāma*, and after such a *t* the *sandhi* is neglected in °*नृत्यतवेतालो*° (l 26), °*वशात भैलाञ्च* (l 30), and °*श्रीमतश्वतीर्थे* (l 42).

The inscription opens with 30 verses praising the (Kalachuri) king Karnadēva and his ancestors. Three of these verses (1, 12, 18) are found also in the Benares plates of the same king,³ and the two first in the Rewah plate of Vijayadēva.⁴ After an invocation of Brahman (verse 1) and Brāhmī (v. 2), the genealogy starts from the Moon, from whom was produced Budha, the progenitor of Parūravas (v. 3). Among the kings of the race of the Moon was Bharata (v. 4). The panegyrist next mentions the thousand-armed Haihaya emperor (Arjuna) who captured the demon Rāvana (v. 5 f). The first historical person is Lakshmanarājadēva, who defeated the kings of Vangāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāta, Gurjara, and Kāśmīra (v. 8). His son was the 'moon among the kings of Chēdi,' Yuvarājadēva (v. 10), who became a supreme ruler

¹ In Captain Wilford's description of the seal of the Benares plates of Karnadēva, the goddess is erroneously called Pārvatī; see above, Vol. II p. 297.

² Compare Tamil *śīrmas* and *śīrcas* for *simā* and *śevā*.

³ Above, Vol. II. p. 805 ff., verses 1, 16, 26.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII p. 228.

(*Paramēśvara*, v 12). His son was Kōkalla (v 13), whose son, again, was Gāngēyadēva, the conqueror of the kings of Kira, Anga, Kuntala, and Utkala (v 17). His son was Karna (vv 19, 30), king of Chēdi (vv 25, 29). It will be observed that the panegyric portion of the inscription contains nothing of historical interest besides the bare names of a few Kalachuri kings who are already known to us from other sources.

The prose portion of the inscription (l 33 ff.) records a grant of land made by "this *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord of Trikalīnga, the glorious Karnadēva, who meditated at the feet of the *P M P*, the glorious Vāmadēva,¹ the glorious Karnadēva who has acquired by his own arm the sovereignty of the triad of kings, (viz) of the Aśvapati, the Gajapati, and the Narapati,—being in good health (and residing) at the camp of victory pitched at the holy Karna-tirtha."

Among the officers to whom the king's order was addressed, the following are specified: *mahādēvi*, *mahārājaputra*, *mahāmantrin*, *mahāsārdhuigrahika*, *mahāmātya*, *mahādharma-dhikarānika*, *mahāpratihāra*, *mahāśhapatalika*, *mahābhāndāgārika*, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāpramat-taiāra*, and *mahāsvasādhanika* (ll 35-37)

The object granted was the village Chandapahā in Kōśamba-pattalā (l 37). The donee was "the Brāhmana *Pandita-sri-Śāntisārman*, son of *Āśasathika-Mālhū*, grandson of *Upā-dhyāya-Silū*, (residing at) *Vidabhi*, of the *Kaundinya-gōtra*, with the three *pravaras* *Angirasa*, *Āmbarisha*, and *Yauvanāśva*, (and) studying the *Vājasanīya-sākhā*" (l 39 f)

The date of the grant was "during the administration (*vyavaharana*) renowned by the glorious Karna,² in the seventh year, in the month Kārttika, on the Kārtiki full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight, on Thursday" (l 41 f). These details answer quite regularly to Thursday, 5th November, A D 1047. see Dr Fleet's remarks, p 146 below

Before making the grant, the king had "bathed in the Gangā at the holy Argha-tirtha and worshipped the divine lord Śiva" (l 42)

Ll 45-49 contain six of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. At the end we are informed that "this (edict) was written by *Karanika-sri-Sarvānanda* and engraved by *Vidyānanda*" (l 49)

Among the geographical names mentioned in the grant, I cannot localise any besides Kōśamba-pattalā, which is a vulgar form of Kausāmba-pattalā, 'the district of Kausāmbi'. The same term occurs as Kōśamba-pattalā in a grant of Jayachandra of Kanauj,³ and the Karra inscription of Yaśahpūla⁴ refers to a village in the Kausāmba-mandala, 'the province of Kausāmbi'. Manjhanpur, the headquarters of the tahsil in which the Goharwa plates were found, lies west of Allahabad. The same remark applies to Kosam, which used to be identified, without hesitation, with the ancient city of Kausāmbi. Mr. V. A. Smith has proposed to locate Kausāmbi further south, near Bharhut,⁵ while Major Vost would place it at Gūrgi.⁶ But the finding of the present record at Goharwa in the Manjhanpur tahsil is another item of evidence showing that the country west-north-west of Allahabad between the Gangā and Yamunā rivers must have formed part of the province of Kausāmbi. Regarding Goharwa Mr. Blunt states that there are several temples, Jaina and others, inside the 'fort' in which the plates were found. I would suggest that this site might be carefully examined by one of the officers of the Archaeological Department

¹ Compare Professor Kielborn's remarks above, Vol II p 298 f

² *I.e.*, apparently, 'during the reign of king Karna'

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p 137.

⁴ Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol II p 246.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p 511

⁶ *Id.* 1904, p. 262

TEXT¹*First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति ॥ श्री ब्रह्मणे³ नमः ॥ निर्गुण व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर[म]-
कारण । [भ]ावग्राह्यं परं 'द्योतिस्तस्मै' सद्ब्रह्मणे⁴ नमः ॥ [१*] शुद्धे
हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति
- 2 यां सुनयः ॥ मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्राह्मी⁵ स[क्ष्म]ापि सा जयति ॥ [२*]
क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविर्बभूव⁶ भवभूषणमिन्दुरेषः ।
- 3 अस्मादजायत बुधः⁷ स किल क्षितीशमाद्य⁸ पुरुरवसमाप तनूजरत्न ॥ [३*]
इति महति सुधामयूषवंशे¹⁰ नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः ॥
- 4 अलभत भरतस्स चक्रवर्ती¹¹ तृभुवनभूषणभूयमेकमेव ॥ [४*] अत्रेदितो-
दितकुले¹² जगतीपतीनामीशः क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवर्ती [१] य-
- 5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजणजरमध्यवर्ती काराग्रहे¹³ धृत इव प्रसभ दशास्य ॥ [५*]
वैरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरता¹⁴ भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतबाहुव-
- 6 न्धविधुरो¹⁵ नक्तंचरग्रामणी¹⁶ हिलोल्लासितबाहुदण्डविहितः शीकण्ठशैलोद्धतिः प्राग्वि-
क्रान्तममृत्युत¹⁷ स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपम ॥ [६*] यन्नाग्नि-
- 7 धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्बहवो¹⁸ नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम
वृष्टिर्विपक्षनारीनयनान्वुवाहैः¹⁹ ॥ [७*] वङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परि-
- 8 भूतपा[ण्ड]ी साटेशलुण्डनपटुर्जितगुर्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाक्षितपादपीठ-
स्तेषु क्रमादजनि²⁰ लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥ [८*] आसीद्यद्वि-
- 9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूरशिरःसिंदूरपूरो[रु]णः²¹ ।
²²त्वङ्गतुङ्गतुरङ्गताडितमहाक्षीणी[भृ]-
- 10 द(ग)भोनिधिः पूरणो वैरिक्ठोरकंचदलनास्ससिद्धव्वपूरैरिव²³ ॥ [९*] साहित्य-
विद्यालनाभुजङ्गो²⁴ निःशेषवाचीधरणाय²⁵ शेषः । ततः स
- 11 जज्ञे जगदैकवंद्यो²⁶ चेदीन्द्रचन्द्रो युवराजदेवः ॥ [१०*] श्रीवनेन तनौ यस्य
प्रतापेनारिमर्हसु²⁷ । कुलाद्रिकु[ञ्जे]ष्वरिभि[स्त्रि]भिस्तुल्यं पदं (।)

¹ From ink-impressions received from Mr Venkayya² Expressed by a symbol³ Read ब्रह्मणे.⁴ The Benares plates (above, Vol II p 305, verse 1) read द्योतिः⁵ Read सद्ब्रह्मणे⁶ Read ब्राह्मी⁷ Read 'बभूव'⁸ Read बुध⁹ Read 'माद्य'¹⁰ Read 'मयूष'¹¹ Read तृभुवन¹² Read 'अत्रेदितो'¹³ Read 'गुहे'¹⁴ Read 'करती'¹⁵ Read 'बाहुवन्'¹⁶ Read 'वी' । हिलोल्लासितबाहुः¹⁷ Read 'ममृत्युत'¹⁸ Read 'बहवो'¹⁹ Read 'नाम्नुवाहै'²⁰ Read 'क्रान्त'²¹ Instead of स of 'व्यायामस्वेदो' the metre requires a short syllable; read 'योन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूर'²² Read 'त्वङ्गतुङ्ग'.²³ Read perhaps 'क्ठोरकठदलनारस्स सिद्धव्वपूरैरिव'²⁴ Read 'ललना'.²⁵ Read 'वाची'.²⁶ Read 'जगदैकवन्द्यो'.²⁷ Read 'मूर्हसु'.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadu

r V Venkayya

- 12 दधे ॥ [११*] भूभारक्षमष्टक^१ श्रुतिप्रणयिनीमालंव्यमानस्तनुं^२ (।) कुर्व्वाणः
समरेपि नाकपथगानागच्छतो विद्विषा^३ । विख्याता भुवि भूरिमार्गग^४-
13 मनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहिनीं यः साचात्परमेश्वरः समभवत्त्वम्यक् शिवाराधनात् ॥
[१२*] दिक्पर्यन्तनिखानयूपनिचयः^५ क्षमापालचूडामणस्त-
14 स्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकलनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गा-
ङ्गनास[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितचोणीप-
15 तीर्ता भृश^६ ॥ [१३*] आसाजये^७ समदसिंधुरगधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकराः
ककुभां करीन्द्राः[।*]पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव^८ खेचरनायकस्य चक्रुः
16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्निराशाः ॥ [१४*] यस्मिन्मुखैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिवी^९
चेतसि वर्त्तमाने । त[त्वि]^{१०} परस्मिन्निव योगभाजां निता-
17 न्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां^{११} ॥ [१५*] आक्रामदूर्ध्व^{१२} ब्रह्माण्डसघट्टस्फुटित ययः ।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं ॥ [१६*] कारापंजरवद्वकी-^{१३}
18 रनृपतिर्दीप्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयैः^{१४} तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गमङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत्^{१५} । येना-
कारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना
19 निर्जित्योत्कलमवधिसीम्नि^{१६} जयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥ [१७*] अगुणञ्चेति
लोलिति ख्यात यदिह दुर्यश । ^{१७}लक्ष्मास्तदधुना धौतं दिव्यमादाय
20 तद्वपुः ॥ [१८*] अतिमनोरथमर्थिजने धनं दिशति यत्तत्स^{१८} कल्पतरुस्तदः ।
रिपुययःकुसुदाकरभास्करः^{१९} सुतमसूत स कर्णनराधि-
21 पम् ॥ [१९*] आक्रान्तदृप्तसामन्तप्रतापप्रसरादिव । चरणी रणशौण्डस्य
सोष्माणौ यस्य रेजतुः ॥ [२०*] स्फुरद्ग्रा वज्रचक्राभ्यामेक[व्य]ाजिन ह-
22 स्तयोः । वभार^{२०} यः श्रियं सा[क्ष]ादिन्दोपेन्द्रविजृम्भिनी^{२१} ॥ [२१*] ^{२२}सूर्वोद्भू-
तधराभारदिकुजरकराय[तौ] । आनद्यतां^{२३} भुजौ यस्य हेलोदतवसु-^{२४}
23 न्वरौ ॥ [२२*] त्याग[व्य]सनिनो यस्य विपुल शस्त्रयोर्दयं । निधान विधिना
मन्ये द्विगुणीकृतमर्पित ॥ [२३*] उद्दण्डसुण्डायविमि[सि]ते-

^१ The Benares plates (above, Vol II p 307, verse 16) read °दृक्

^२ Read °मालवमान°

^३ Read °खात°

^४ Read पूत्कार°

^५ Read प्रलीना

^६ Read °चयैः

^७ Read °मन्त्रिसीमनि or °मन्त्रिसीमि वि°

^८ Instead of च of यत्तत्स the metre requires a short syllable

^९ Read वभार

^{१०} Read आनद्यतां.

^३ Read विद्विष.

^४ Read भृश.

^५ Read °निधौ

^६ Read °दूर्ध्व ब्रह्माण्ड°

^७ Read °भवत्.

^८ Read लक्ष्मा°

^९ Read °कुसुदा°

^{१०} Read °मिणी°

^{११} Read °हेलोदत°.

^४ Read °मार्गग°.

^७ Read आशा°.

^{१०} Read तत्त्वे.

^{१३} Read °वद्व°.

^{१७} Read लक्ष्मा°

^{१९} Read °कुसुदा°

^{२२} Read °सूर्व°.

- 24 न¹ पूत्कारचू[र्णी]कृतशीकरेण । सुक्तातपत्रायितमम्बराहे² यस्य प्रयाणे पृतना-
गजानाम् ॥ [२४*] नाहं नाथ विपन्नगोत्रवस-

Second Plate, First Side

- 25 तिर्न [त्य]क्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिर्दिनपतेर्दिक्क्रमाक्रामतः[*]³ ॥
प्रान्त(:)श्रान्तवरूथिनीकरिकरास्फाला-
26 वहेलोल्लासितकल्लोलावलिर्वाहुदण्डमुदधिश्चक्रंद⁴ सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥ [२५*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रु(:)श्रुतरुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रनृत्यतवेता-⁵
27 लोत्तालतालारवभरितककु[पूच]कपर्या(र्य)न्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्यालक्षवाचा⁶ समिति
सुरभसं⁷ दत्तहस्तादिसंज्ञाव्यापारेणामराणां वररम-
28 णविधिः कुप्तमासीन्मुहूर्त्त⁸ ॥ [२६*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनस्सुमनोवकीर्ण(:)संग्राम-
रङ्गभुवि भूमिभृतां पुरस्तात्⁹ । वीरस्य वीरचरितं नटवे¹⁰ कवं-
29 धैर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥ [२७*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना
प्रागुल्लचारित्रत¹¹ सार्धं वन्धुतया¹² गृहस्थपदवीं का[र]ागृहस्थापनात् [1*] वा-
30 नप्रस्थपदं वनाश्रयवशात्¹³ भैक्षाच्च तिच्चोः स्थितिः¹⁴ (।) येनैव¹⁵ चतुरा-
श्रमेकगुक्ता स्फटाकता¹⁶ शत्रुषु ॥ [२८*] यस्यार्थिब्रजवांछिताधिकफल-
31 प्राप्ते निसन्धभूः¹⁷ प्राकप्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरस्यपरत¹⁸ स्फुरद्दोषणाः । एते¹⁹ निर्मि-
तमाः [पु]रा परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन् कथं²⁰ सम्मा[स्य]-
32 न्ति यशान्ति²¹ चेदिर्दिनपतेराकुलोभूच्चिरं ॥ [२९*] किं तस्य कर्ण[नृ]पते-
र्वृत वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्ब्रपट्टैः²² । उक्तीर्यमाणनिवि-
33 डाक्षरचक्रवालवाचालितैर्वधिरभावमियाज²³ विश्वं ॥ [३०*] छ ॥ स पञ्च-²⁴
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु-(।)
34 ध्यात(।)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपर[म]माहेश्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमत्क-
र्णदेव²⁵ निजभुजोपार्जितास्त्रपतिगजप-²⁶
35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिः²⁷ श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः कुशली (॥ छ ॥) जयस्कन्धावार²⁸
श्रीमत्कर्णतीर्थाधिवासिते महादे[वो] महाराजपुत्रो महाम-

¹ Read °पूत्कारचूनि, छतेन पूत्कार°

⁴ Read °हेलोल्लासितकल्लोलावलिङ्ग°.

⁷ Read सुरभस

¹⁰ Read नटवे

¹³ Read °वशाद्

¹⁶ Read °श्रमेकगुक्ता स्फटाकता.

¹⁹ Read एतम्

²¹ Read यशान्ति चेदिर्दिनपतेरित्याकुलो°

²³ Read °वधिरभावमियाज

²⁶ Read °ताम्ब्रपट्टैः°.

² Read °मम्बराहे°

⁸ Read °सुत° and °नृत्यहेता°

¹¹ Read क्लृप्त मासी°.

¹⁴ Read भिचो स्थिति

¹⁷ Read निशम्यात्मसू प्राक्°

²⁰ Read परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डमधिष्ठाकथ.

²² ताम्ब्र looks like ताम्बु, read °ताम्ब°.

²⁴ Read एष

²⁷ Read °पत्य.

³ Read चेदिर्दिनपतेर्दिक्क्रमा°

⁶ Read °लक्ष्य°

⁹ Read °स्तात्

¹² Read वन्धु°.

¹⁵ Read येनैव

¹⁸ Read °धरान्तररसापारात्

²⁵ Read °देवो

²⁸ Read °वारं

- 36 न्नी महासान्धिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधर्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो
महाक्षपटलिको महाभाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र-(1)
- 37 मत्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिक एतानन्याश्च[1*]कीर्त्तितान¹ यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरु-
पान्यथाप्रतिस्थान² कोशस्वपत्तलाय³ (॥) चन्दपहायामनि-
- 38 वासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथाहं मानयति बोधयति⁴ समाजापयति⁵ [॥*]
विदितमस्तु भवता यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराष्ट्राटविशुद्धः सजल-
- 39 स्थलः साम्ब्रमधूक[1*]⁶ सगर्तोपरः सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसीर्मापर्यन्त[1*]⁷
सवनतुण्यूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः (1) विदभी कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब-⁸ (1)
- 40 रोषयौवनास्त्रि()प्रवराय⁹ वाजसनेयसाखिने¹⁰ उपाध्यायसीलूपौत्राय आवसथिक-
माल्लुपुत्राय पडितश्रीशान्तिसर्म्भणे¹¹ ब्राह्मणाय
- 41 ग्रामोय एतेषा पव¹² कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सरे
कार्तिके मासि ¹³सुक्तपक्षकार्तिकीपौर्णमास्या तिथौ गुरुदि-
- 42 ने एव सवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमतअर्घ्वतीर्थे¹⁴ गगाया स्नात्वा
भगवन्त शिवभट्टारकं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-
- 43 त्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चद्रार्कक्षितिपर्यन्त शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
यथादीयमानभागभोगहिरणादिसमस्तराजप्र-(1)
- 44 त्यादायाः एतस्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय दातव्याः । तदपचिकीर्षया न केनापि
(न) गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोकाः ।
- 45 सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्¹⁵ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1*]
सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३१*] व¹⁶-
- 46 हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजतिः¹⁷ सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फल ॥ [३२*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति¹⁸ यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति¹⁹
- 47 उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ²⁰ नियतं स्वर्गगातिनौ²¹ ॥ [३३*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-(1)
- 48 सेत²² ॥ [३४*] अस्मिन्वसे²³ द्विजन्नोपि यथान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत्²⁴ । तस्यापि
करलग्नोह शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत्²⁵ ॥ [३५*] सुवर्णमेक गामेका भूमेरप्ये-

¹ Read °तान्⁴ Read बोध°⁷ Read °सीमा°¹⁰ Read °शाखिने¹³ Read शुक्ल°¹⁶ Read वहुभि°¹⁹ Read प्रयच्छति²² Read वसेत्²⁵ Read °मेत्² Read °पुरपा° and °स्थान⁵ Read समाज्ञा°⁸ Read °साम्ब°¹¹ Read °शर्म्भणे ब्राह्मण°¹⁴ Read श्रीमदध°¹⁷ Read राजमि²⁰ Read °कर्माणौ²³ Read °वसे°³ Read कौशास्वपत्तलायां.⁶ Read साम्ब°⁹ Read °यौवनाश्च°¹² Read एव¹⁵ Read °वेन्द्रान्¹⁸ Read °गृह्णाति²¹ Read °गामिनौ.²⁴ Read °वेत्

49 कर्मज्ञः । हरिवरकमाप्नोति यावदाहूतसप्तवं^१ ॥ [३६*] लिखितं चेदं
करणिकशोभनानन्देन^२ । उत्कीर्णितं^३ च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाय्योः ॥

REMARKS BY DR. FLEET ON THE DATE OF THE RECORD
PUBLISHED ABOVE.

The record is dated "in the administration (*vyavaharana*) renowned by the glorious Karna," in the seventh year, and on the full-moon *tithi*, coupled with a Thursday, of the month Kārttika. Karnadēva's predecessor was his father Gāṅgēyadēva, who was reigning, we know, in A. D. 1030,⁴ and for whom we have perhaps also a date in A. D. 1037-38.⁵ For Karnadēva as king we have the date Phālguna vadi 9, answering to 18 January, A. D. 1042.⁶ On that day he made a grant, having bathed in the river Vēni on Phālguna vadi 2 on an occasion which the record mentions as *samvatsarē śrāddhē* (read *śrāddhē*) of his father Gāṅgēyadēva. The editor emended the text here into *samvatsara-śrāddhē*, and interpreted the phrase as meaning "at the annual funeral ceremony" in honour of his father Gāṅgēyadēva. The emendation hardly seems necessary. However, in any case, the text appears to indicate distinctly, not some indefinite anniversary of the death of Gāṅgēyadēva, but the first anniversary of his death, and it is at any rate fully capable of being understood in this sense. Accordingly, Gāṅgēyadēva died on Phālguna vadi 2, = 22 January, A. D. 1041.⁷ The month Kārttika in A. D. 1041 was, therefore, in the first year of Karnadēva. The month Kārttika in his seventh year came in A. D. 1047. In this year the given *tithi* was connected quite regularly with a Thursday: it ended at about 11 hours 45 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), that is, at about 5.45 P. M., on Thursday, 5 November, and, being current at sunrise, it gave its number to that same day. And this date, Thursday, 5 November, A. D. 1047, seems clearly to be the date of the record.

The result stated above is in agreement with the points, that this record gives the full titles of paramount sovereignty to Karnadēva in lines 33-4, and that it does not contain anything to suggest that Gāṅgēyadēva was living when it was drawn up. The following remarks, however, may be added, in case it might be thought that the use of the term *vyavaharana*, 'transaction of business, management, administration,' instead of *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya*, implies that Karnadēva was reigning as the representative of his father, the latter being still alive. As we have seen, Gāṅgēyadēva was dead by 22 January, A. D. 1041. Before that, the nearest occasions on which the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika can be connected with a Thursday are as follows:—In A. D. 1026 it began at about 21 hours 5 minutes after mean sunrise on Thursday, 27 October, but the lateness of the time (3 hours 5 minutes after midnight) precludes the possibility that the *tithi* should have been cited with that day. In A. D. 1023 it ended at about 11 hours 35 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, at about 5.35 P. M., on Thursday, 31 October, and consequently, being current at sunrise, gave its number to the day, but this is altogether too early a date for Karnadēva to have been associated with his father in the administration for already six years, especially in view of the points, that for Karnadēva's son and successor Yaśahkarna the earliest known date is in A. D. 1120, and that for Yaśahkarna's son and successor Gayākarna we have dates in A. D. 1151 and 1155-56.

¹ Read °सूत°

² Read °श्री°

³ Read चरकौर्ण

⁴ Alberūni tells us this *India*, trans. Sachau, Vol. I p. 202.

⁵ Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions, above, Vol. V Appendix, No. 406.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 407 edited above, Vol. II p. 305.

⁷ Or on 23 December, A. D. 1040, = Māgha vadi 2, if this *tithi* is preferred in consequence of what the editor pointed out in connexion with the weekday being not correct for Phālguna vadi 2 in A. D. 1042, and being correct for Māgha vadi 2, = 12 December, A. D. 1041. But it seems probable that the mistake lies in the weekday (or else in the *tithi*), rather than in the month.

No 14—NARASAPATAM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.,
SAKA-SAMVAT 967

By PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D. CHRISTIANIA

The grant inscribed on these plates was first brought to light by Mr Appa Rao, and a short note on it appeared on page 111 of Mr Krishna Sastri's Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1908-1909. I now edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who has kindly sent me the following description of the plates —

"These are five copper-plates with slightly raised rims, of which the first bears writing only on the inner side. They measure roughly $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and fluctuate between $3\frac{1}{4}$ " and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. The plates are held together by a circular ring, which measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The edges of the ring are secured in the bottom of an oval seal, which measures roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in its diameters. The seal is surmounted by a high recumbent bull with various emblems around it, which Mr Appa Rao says represent a conch, an elephant-goat, a *trishula*, a battle-axe, a crescent, a mace, a rope, and a drum. The plates with seal and ring weigh 295 *tolas*. The plates were received from the Narasapatam taluka of the Vizagapatam district."

The inscription consists of 74 lines and is in a fair state of preservation.

The alphabet is the same kind of Nāgarī as in Vajrahasta's Nadagām plates of Śaka-Samvat 979,¹ and in his Madras Museum plates of Śaka 984.² The *ñ* in conjuncts such as *ñoh* and *ñj* is placed after the consonant. The compound *ñj*, which occurs in l 69, is not used in any of the other known plates of Vajrahasta. It will be seen that the form of the *j* of this compound is slightly changed. There is almost no difference between *dā* (l 55) and *dā* (l 51), between *tu* (cf l 25) and *tta* (cf l 26), between *lu* (cf l 23) and *run* (cf l 22). The *anusvāra* is usually denoted by a circle after the consonant. At the end of line 3 and before the sign of interpunction in l 52, a *virāma* is added underneath. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *nivahān*, l 17, *samabhunah*, l 27. It has been omitted in *=avdāna*, l. 21; *=purasarāna* . . . *janapadāna*, l. 51, *yāvata*, l 56, *=ādityāta*, l. 58, *=gaurāvāta*, l 64 f. In *=avdāna*, l 21, and *=janapadāna*, l 51, the bottom of the letter *n* has been somewhat lengthened. There are several superfluous signs of interpunction in the grant itself, ll. 53 ff. The numerical figures 967 occur in l 73.

In ll 7 and 50 some syllables and words are written in Telugu letters.

With regard to orthography we may note forms like *-prakshyalita-* instead of *-prakshālita-*, l. 4, *nairityē* instead of *nairityē*, l 67, and the use of *v* instead of *b*, compare *=avda-*, l 9 f; *=lavdha-*, l 12, *=valāt-*, l 16, *=avdāna*, l 21, *=avdakān-*, l 27, *=lavdha-*, l 23, *Vardumv-*, ll 36, 58, *=avda-*, ll 39, 73, *=āvjayōh*, l 48, *=vāhvra-*, l 53. The class nasal and not the *anusvāra* is regularly written before surds. Before *h* and *p* we also find the *anusvāra*, thus, *śasāmka-*, l 7, *=alamkarishnō*, l 14, but *=Aniyānka-*, l 26, *=panka-*, l. 46, *Tampavā-*, ll 52 f, 71, but *=ālampanti-*, l. 46. Before *kh*, *gh* and *chh* there are no instances of the class nasal, but the *anusvāra* is used in all cases, thus, *=sāmkhā-*, l. 9, *=samghatta-*, l 11, *=samghē*, l. 39, *lāmchana*, i.e. *lāñchhana*, l 10. In all other nasal compounds, the class nasal is used.

The consonants *h*, *n*, *t*, *dh*, *m*, *y*, and *v* are doubled in all the instances where they occur after an *r*, thus, *=arkha-*, l 56, *=harnna-*, l 8, *=kīrttēh*, l 36, *=sārdhā*, l 53, *dharmma-*, l. 64; *sūryya-*, l 40, *sarvva-*, ll 18, 54. A *g* after *r* sometimes remains single and is sometimes doubled, thus, *mārgēna*, l 42, *=vinirgata-*, l 58, but *nripatir=Ggang-*, l 26, *=varg[ga]*, l. 42. The other consonants which are used after *r* in these plates, viz *j*, *th* and *bh*, are never doubled.

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p 183 ff.

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 94 ff.

Compare *-nirjāt-*, l. 33, *-varjāt-*, l. 55, *=arthibhyah*, l. 24, *pārthivah*, l. 27; *manēr=bhagavatō*, l. 8, *-tir=bhuvam*, l. 30, *krimīr=bhātīā*, l. 71. Between *m* and *r* a *v*, *i* e a *b*, is inserted in *tāmra-*, l. 61. There are besides, several other mistakes which may be due either to the writer or to the engraver. Thus we find *a* for *ā* in *-prakṣhyalita-*, l. 4, *Gang-*, ll. 13, 26, 44, *saṃriddhiman-*, l. 30; *-gīyaman-*, l. 36, *-chatta-*, l. 55, *a* for *i* in *-krita*, l. 39, *a* for *u* in *=ācharitam*, l. 41, *ā* for *a* in *ānu-*, l. 48, *gaurāvāta*, l. 64 f, *ā* for *ō* in *-kul-āttamasya*, l. 44; *i* for *ī* or *ai* in *isānyē*, l. 69, *i* for *ī* in *sāsānika-*, l. 71 f, *ū* for *u* in *-sūdūrāya*, l. 61, *ū* for *ō* in *=ekūna-*, l. 34, *j* for *ḡ* in *-nyāla-*, ll. 10, 30, *-vā[j*]=jātō*, l. 22, *tt* for *t* in *-chatta-bhatta-*, l. 55, *t* for *tt* in *-chchhatra-*, l. 10, *-ōtunga-*, l. 12, *t* for *d* in *-samutbhavāyās-*, l. 37, *d* for *t* in *prāchyōdan-*, l. 23, *y* for *yy* in *nyāyēna*, l. 41, *s* for *ś* in *āsīnē*, l. 48, *-śīm-*, l. 54, *śūnu*, l. 59, *śīmānō*, l. 65, *s* for *ś* in *-imsatim*, l. 34, *-māhēsvara-*, l. 49, *-pravēsō*, l. 55, *-yasō-*, l. 57, *kāsyapa-*, l. 57, *sāsāni-*, l. 61, *raṃsa-*, l. 68, *-silā*, ll. 68, 70, *isānyē*, l. 69, *sāsānika-*, instead of *sāsānika-*, l. 71 f, *s* for *śh* in *-visayasya*, l. 65, and so forth. Mistakes such as *sē* for *tṣa* in *prasādāsēm-(-dāt=sam-)*, ll. 8 f, the numerous instances where an *anusvāra* (cf. ll. 27, 39, 42, 53, 56, 72, 74) or a *visarga* (cf. ll. 21, 28, 51, 54) has been omitted, the omission of *jō* in *tasy=ānu[jō*]*, l. 21, of *r* in *-karishnō[r*]*, l. 14 *sūnu[r*]*, l. 58, of *s* in *saṃ[s*]*, l. 21; of *sa* in *sā[s*]nam-*, l. 73, and the many mistakes in l. 62, are probably due to the engraver, while the long omissions in ll. 34 and 65 just as well can be due to the writer of the draft.

There are several instances of wrong or irregular *sandhi*. Compare *-dattām=rā*, l. 70, *-mahān sri-*, l. 17, *=gajānn=arthibhyah*, l. 24, *sah śrī-*, l. 25, *prasiddhah cha'uh-*, l. 54, *-ādityāta Rūpadēviyāh jātah*, l. 58, *-pūrvian=tā-*, l. 61 f.

In l. 51 several dots indicate a correction. The engraver probably had to copy a corrected draft, and has reproduced it as he found it. The original reading of the passage was probably *saṃastāmātyapramukhajanapadān=* as in the Nadagām and Madras Museum plates, or perhaps, *sāmantāmātyapramukhajanapadān=*, see the footnote to the passage.

The language is Sanskrit, but the construction in ll. 58 ff. is very loose and shows that the composer of the grant was not very well versed in the sacred tongue. With the exception of one imprecatory stanza, the body of the grant is written in prose. The introduction contains the same twelve verses as the Nadagām and Madras Museum plates, with only one slight variation in verse 2, where our grant has *mahīpatih* while the other two read *=anīpatih*. In the grant itself we find the curious expression *bhūmicchidrāpīdhānanyāyēn=*¹ instead of the common *bhūmicchidrānyāyēna*, l. 55. The epithet *paranārīsū(su)dūrāya* used of one of the donees in l. 60 f, is also curious.

The grant was issued from Dantipura by the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, the *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Vajrahasta* (III), the overlord of the three Kalingas, and bestows some land on Irugana [*alias*] śrī-Mānāditya Chotta and Vira-Bhūriśrava. The name of the former was perhaps not Mānāditya Chotta but Āditya Chotta, though this reading would imply a serious grammatical slip in l. 60. He was the son of Mānāditya or Āditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarājā and Rūpadēvi of the Vaidumba family, to which Vajrahasta's mother Vinayamahādēvi likewise belonged. The donee Irugana Mānāditya Chotta was consequently a relative of the king.

The land granted comprised the Gōrasatta district with, *i* e. including thirty-five villages outside Tampavā. Its boundaries are given in ll. 65 ff. to the east Vistirnaśilā, to the south-east a banyan tree sacred to Ganēśa (*Vināyaka-vata*), to the south a hill with the temple of Tanku-Bhattārikā, probably some form of Durgā, to the south-west the Andhārāvēnī hill, to the west Kāñchaśilā on the Vamśadhārā, to the north-west Amrāpāthara; to the north

¹ *Bhūmicchidr-āpīnāna-* and *bhūmicchitr-āpīdhāna-* occur in the two grants of Dandimahādēvi published by the late Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI, p. 139, text line 31 and p. 142, text line 29), who has corrected them into *bhūmicchidr-ābhīdhāna-*.

Madhupapāhī, to the north-east Tālāñjaraśilā I cannot localise any of these names with the exception of the river Vamśadhārā, which flows through the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. On it is a village which in the Indian Atlas is called Varanasy, situated in 18° 51' N and 83° 56' E, and which I would identify with the Vārānasi-kataka mentioned in the Puri plates of Naisumbhadēva IV.¹ Another locality mentioned in Gāṅga plates, the Varāhavaritani,² I would look for in the course (*varitanī*) of the Varāhanadi, which rises in the Golkonda hills to the north of Narasapatam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Vātāda.

The date of our grant is the Śaka year 967, on the ninth day of the (solar) month Mīna, on a Monday. It is consequently the oldest known grant of Vajrahaṣṭa III.

The writers of the grant, the *sandhivigrahaṇ* Dhavala, who is described as the grant writer (*śāsanaḥ lāyastha*) of Tampavā, and the *kāraḥ* Mēntōju, are not elsewhere known.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm³ svasti [||*] Śīmatām=akhīla-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vi-
- 2 naya-dayā-dāna-dāksīnya-satya śaucha-śaurya-dhairya-ā-
- 3 di-gu[na]-ratna-pavītiānām=Ātrēya-gōtrānām
- 4 vimāla-vichār-ā[ch]ā[ra]-punya-salīla-pīa[kshya]ta-⁴
- 5 Kāl-kāla-kalmasha-mashinām mahā-Mahēndr-ācha-
- 6 la-sikhara-pratishthitasya sa[cha]i[ā]chara-gurōh sakala-
- 7 bhuvana-[nirmān-aika] sa(sū)tradhārasya śasāmbha-chu(chū)dā-⁵

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 manēr=bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāmīnaḥ prasādā-
- 9 śomāsīdit-aikasaṁkha-bhūri-pañcha-mahāśa-
- 10 vda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra⁷-hēmachāmara-vatavriṣhabhalāmchana⁸-samujva-
- 11 la samasta⁹-sāmrajya-mahimnām=anēka-samara-saṁgha-
- 12 tta-saṁpalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakṣmī-samalingit-ōtunga-¹⁰
- 13 bhūja-daṇḍa-manditānām Trikaṅga-mahibhujām ¹¹Gāṅgānām=anva-
- 14 yaṁ=alamkarishnō[1*] Viṣṇuō=iva¹² vikram-ākraṇta-[dha]rā-mandalasya Guna-
- 15 mahārṇava-mahārajasya putrah || ¹³P[ū]rvam bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya va-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 16 sudhā yā pañchabhūh pañchadhā bhuktā bh[ū]rīparākramō bhūja-
- va(ba)lāt=tā-
- 17 m=ēka ūva svayam | ēkikṛitya vijitya śatru-nivahān¹⁴ śrī-Vaj[ra]ha-
- 18 [sta]ś=chatuscha[tvā]rīṁśatam=atyudāra-charitah sarvvām=arakṣhīt=sa-
- 19 mām || [1*] Tasya tanayō Gundama-rājā¹⁵ varsha-trayam=apā-
- 20 layata mahīm || tadanujah Kāmārṇavadēva¹⁶ pañchatrī-

¹ Journ Beng As Soc, Vol LXIV, Part I, pp 136 ff, 151 ff

² Above, Vol III, p 127, note 5, Vol IV, p 185, note 5, Vol IX, p. 95 ³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read *prakṣhālita*

⁵ This line, with the exception of the syllables *rmā*, *na*, and *śasāmbha*, is written in Telugu characters

⁶ Read *prasādāt=sam* ⁷ Read *-chchhattra*

⁸ Read *lāmchhana samujjala*

⁹ The *ta* of *samasta* has been engraved over the *pa* of *saṁpalavdha*, l 12

¹⁰ Read *ōtunga*

¹¹ Read *Gāṅgānām=*

¹² [There is a superfluous *anuvāra* over the akṣhara *ri* of *ōriva* —Ed] ¹³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁴ Read *nivahān=*

¹⁵ Read *rājā*

¹⁶ Close to the upper circle of the *visarga* there is another circle whose significance is not clear

- 21 mśatam=avdāna¹ | Tasy-ānu² Vinayāditya[h*] samā[s*]=tisrah
 22 || ³Tatah Kāmārṇavā jāto jagati-kalpabhūrahah [i*] yō-rājad=rāpta-
 23 ohchhāyō Vajrahastō mahīpatih⁴ || [2*] ⁵Praśhyōdan-mada-gandha-
 luydhā(bdha)-madhu-
 24 pa-vyālīdha-gandān=gajānn⁶= arthibhyah

Third Plate, First Side

- 25 samadāt=sahasram=atulo yas=tyāgūnām=agranih [i*] sah^{6a} śrī-
 26 mān=Aniyankabhīma-nripatir=⁷Ggang-ānvay-ōttameakah pa-
 27 űchatri[m*]śatam=avda(bda)kūn=samabhunak prithvim⁸ statah pārthi-
 28 vah || [3*] ⁹Tad-agrasūnu[h*] Surarāja-sūnnā samah sama-
 29 stām samut-āri-mandalah [i*] sma pāti Kāmārṇava-bhūpa-
 30 t[i]r=[bhu]vam samriddh[i]man¹⁰-ar[ōdha]samām ¹¹samujvalah || [4*] ¹²Tad-ann-
 tad-ann-
 31 janmā chittajanm-ōpamānō gunasidhir=anayadyō Gundam-ā-
 32 khyō mahīśah | sakalam=idam=ara-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 33 kshat=tri[ni] varshā[ni] dhātrim(tri)-valayam=alaghu-tējō-nirjit-ārātī-
 34 ohakrah || [5*] ¹³Tatō [dva]mātura[s=asaya*] Madhukāmārṇavō nripa[h |
 avati sm=āvanīm=ētām=avdān*] ēkūnavimsatim¹⁴ || [6*] ¹⁵Atha Va-
 35 jahasta-nripatēr=ag[r]a-sutād=akhila-guṇi-jau-āgranyah [i*] Kāmārṇavāt=kav-i-
 36 ndra-p[r]agiyaman¹⁶-āyadāta-subha-kirttōh [(||) [7*] ¹⁷Śriya iva Vaidumv-
 (mb)-ānva-
 37 ya-payah-payōmidhi=¹⁸samutbhavāyās=cha [i*] yah samajani Vīna-
 38 ya-mahādēvyah śrī-Vajrahasta ita tanayah || [8*] ¹⁹Viyad-ritu-nidhi-
 39 sa[m*]khyām yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-samghē Dīnakrita²⁰ Vṛishabha-sthē
 Rohini-bhē su-
 40 lagnē [i*] Dhanushī oha sita-pakshē Sūryyavārē tritiyā-yuṇ sakala-dhari-
 41 trim rakshitum yō=blushiktah || [9*] ²¹Nyāyēna yatra samam=²²acharitam
 tri-va-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 42 rg[ga][m*] mārgeṇa rakshati ma[him] mahita-pratīpē | nirvyādhayaś=cha
 43 nīraghās=oha nīrāpadaś=cha śāśvat=prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūti-
 44 matyah || [10*] ²³Vyāptē Ganga-kul-āttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravāl[ē] śāśi-pra-
 45 dyōt-āmaluṇēna ya[sya bhu]vana-prahlāda-sampādīnā [i*] sandū-
 46 [rair=a]tīsāndra-panka-patalah kumbhasthali-pattakēshv=ālūpa-

¹ Read =āddān

² Read, with the Nadagām and Madras Museum plates, tasy=ānujō

³ Metre Ślōka, read -vāj-jātō

⁴ The Nadagām and Madras Museum plates read =vanīpatih.

⁵ Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭita, read praśhyōtan-

⁶ Read =gajān=

^{6a} Cancel the visarga

⁷ Read =Ggang-

⁸ Read prithvim, to suit the metre

⁹ Metre Vamśastha

¹⁰ Read samriddhimān=

¹¹ Read samujjvalah

¹² Metre Mālūnī

¹³ Metre Ślōka

¹⁴ Read ēkōna- vimsatim

¹⁵ Metre Gīti, read Vajra°

¹⁶ Read -pragiyamān-

¹⁷ Metre Gīti

¹⁸ Read =samudbhā-

¹⁹ Metre Mālūnī

²⁰ Read -kṛit

²¹ Metre Vasantatilaka, read nyāyēna

²² Read =ācharitam

²³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭita, read Gānga kul ōtta

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- 47 [nta] punah punaś=cha [ha]ritām=ā[dhōra]nā vāranān || [11*] ¹Anurāgē-
 48 na gṇinō ya[sya va]kshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōh | ²āsinō Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=
 °ānukū-
 49 lē vi[r]ājatah || [12*] Sa dēvah || Dantipurāt-parama-⁴māhēsvara-
 paramabha-
 50 ⁵ttarakō mahārājādhurāja-Trikaling-ādhipati-śrīmad-Vajrahasta-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 51 dūva[h*] kuśali ma[h-ā]mātya-purassarāna(n) sūmanta-pramukha-janapadāna(n)
 52 rāja-pād-ōpajivimah⁶ samāhūya samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatā[m] | Tam-
 53 pavā-grāma-vāhira-(l)pañchatims-ita⁷ grāmēna sārddha[m*] Gōrasatta-
 visha-
 54 yō=yam ⁸prasiddhah chatuh-śim-āvachchhinna[h*] sajala-sthalah sarvva-
 pa(pi)-
 55 dā-vivarjatah (l) ⁹achatta-bhattā-prav[ē]sō bhūmi-chhūdra-pidhāna-nyā-
 56 yēn=āchandr-ārka-kshita-sama-kūla¹⁰ yāvata mātā-pitrōr-ā[tma]nash pu-
 57 nya-yasō¹¹-vridhdhayē (l) Minamāsa-(l)navam[ē]¹² sōmavarē ¹³Kāsyapa-gōtrāya
 58 Pettakallu-vimrgata-Chotta-Vādayarājā tasya sūnu¹⁴ Vaidumvādityāta
 59 Rūpadēvyāh¹⁵ jātah ¹⁶śrī-Mānāditya-Chottah | asya sūnu¹⁶

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 60 Irugana-śrī-Mānāditya-Chottāya Vira-Bhūrisravāya cha | para-
 61 nārisūdūrāya¹⁷ (l) saty-ādhishtita-chētasō || udaka-pūrvvan=tāmvrāsāsa-¹⁸
 62 nī-kṛitya pattaka-p[r]adatto=smābhīr=atōsābhīdhēyibhūyāstuśra-¹⁹
 63 vanakaraiḥ kshētrakaraiś=cha samuchita-bhāga-bhōgādīkam samuparē-
 64 tavyam yathākāla-bhāvibhīh²⁰ svapati dānam=idam Manunō dharmma-gau-
 65 rāvāta²¹ || Gōrasatta-visayasya²² śimānō lūkhyantē || pūrvvatah
 66 Vistīrnnasīlā || āgnēyē parvvata-samipē Vināyaka-vatah ||
 67 dakshinē Tanku-Bhattārikā-[sī]ma-parvvatah | navityē²³ Andhārāvēnī-
 68 parvvatah || paschi[m]ē ²⁴Vamsadhārā-tatē Kāñchas[a]lā²⁵ || vāyavyē A-

¹ Metre Ślōka² Read āsinē³ Read =anukūlē or =ānukūlyē⁴ Read māhēsvara-⁵ The aksharas ttarakō mahārājā are in Telugu characters.

⁶ It looks as if the engraver has placed two dots under hā in mahā, three under sa in purassarāna, one before and one after sā in sūmanta and three under i in -jivimah. The mā of mahā seems to have been cancelled. I take the three dots under purassarāna and rāpādōpajivimah to signify that these words should be cancelled. The two dots under hā perhaps correspond with the two dots, before and after sā, and indicate that -hā- should be replaced by sūmanta. We would then arrive at the reading sāmāntāmātyapramukhajanapadān=samāhūya. The Nadagam and Madras Museum Plates read samastāmātyapramukhajanapadān=samāhūya, which may also be the reading intended.

⁷ Read -bāhira pañcha trīmatā.⁸ Read prasiddhah=chatuh śim-.⁹ Read achāṭṭabhaṭṭapravēśō¹⁰ Read -kālam yāvan-¹¹ Read yasō

¹² The ē of mē, the ē of pravēśō in line 55 and the ē of chakravālē in line 44 look like i, also the ē of Mēñōy in line 73 f

¹³ Read Kāsyapa¹⁴ Read sūnur=Vaidumbādityād=¹⁵ Cancel the visarga

¹⁶ In spite of śrī Mānādityachottāya, (l. 60) which begins a verse in the ślōka metre, we should perhaps read śrīmān=Āditya Chottah

¹⁷ Read sūnava¹⁸ Read sudūrāya¹⁹ Read tāmvrāsāsa-

²⁰ Read =atō=ya vidhēyī bhūya samastu pravanīkarash [It is not impossible that -bhēy=ājñā=śravanakaraiḥ was meant, see above Vol IX p 178, text l 10 f—H K S]

²¹ Read bhāvibhīr=bhūpatibhīr.²² Read -gaurat=paripālānīyam-ita²³ Read -vishayasya śimānō²⁴ Read navityē²⁵ Read Vamsa°.²⁶ Read -sīlā

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 69 m[r]āpātharah | uttarī Madhupapālīh || (1) isinyē¹ Talañjara-
 70 silā² || Svadattām paradattām=va³ harī=kaśchid=vasundharām [I*]
 sa vi-
 71 shthāyām krimir=bhūtva pūtibhūh stha pachyatō || Tampavā-
 grāma-sāśa-⁴
 72 nika-kāyastha-śrī-sandhivigrahi-Dhavalēna lkhita[m*]
 73 śā[s*]nam=īdam || Śakāvda(bda) 967 || itī kākiki-Mē-
 74 ntōjun=āpi lkhita[m]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Ōm ! Hail The son of the *Mahārāja* Gunamahārnavā, who by his prowess conquered the circle of the earth, as (*the god*) *Vishnu* by his studies, wishing to adorn the lineage of the glorious *G[ā]ngas*, the lords of the three *Kalingas*, who were purified by gems (*in the shape*) of virtues praised over the whole earth, such as prudence, good breeding, generosity, charity, courtesy, truthfulness, purity, valour and firmness, who were of the *Ātrēya gōtra*, who washed off the stains of the impurities of the *Kali* age by the holy water of (*their*) taintless thoughts and deeds, the grandeur of whose universal sovereignty was resplendent by the unique conch-shell, the drum, the five *mahāsabdas*, the white parasol, the golden chowrie, and the excellent bull crest which they had obtained by the favour of the blessed *Gōkarnasvāmīn*, who resides on the summit of the lofty *Mahēndra* mountain, the lord of what moves and what cannot move, the sole architect in the creation of all the worlds, whose crest jewel is the moon, who were adorned by lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by the goddess of victory won in the scuffles of many battles,—

(Verse 1) The glorious *Vajrahasta* [I], of exalted conduct, protected the entire (*earth*) for forty-four years, after he, the very valiant one, had, himself single-handed by the prowess of his arm, conquered the hosts of his foes and united the earth, which had formerly been divided and enjoyed in five parts by five kings

(L 19) His son king *Gundama* [I] protected the earth for three years, his younger brother *Kāmārnava*dēva [I] for thirty-five years, his younger brother *Vinayāditya* for three years

(V 2.) Thereafter king *Vajrahasta* [II] who was born of *Kāmārnava* [I], and who shone like a wishing-tree on earth, with radiant lustre,

(V 3) the incomparable head of liberal men, who gave to mendicants a thousand elephants, whose temples were sucked by bees attracted by the smell of the rut flowing (from them), he who was praised by kings, the glorious king *Aniyankabhīma*, the ornament of the family of the *G[ā]ngas*, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five years

(V 4) His eldest son, who was like the son of the king of gods, king *Kāmārnava* [II] protected the whole earth for half a year, prosperous and resplendent, after he had conquered the circle of (*his*) foes

(V 5) After him his younger brother who was comparable to the mind-born (*Cupid*), a blameless treasure of virtues, the king named *Gundama* [II], protected this whole circle of the earth for three years, after he had vanquished the host of (*his*) enemies with (*his*) mighty splendour

(V 6) Then his brother from a different mother, king *Madhu-Kāmārnava*, [protected this earth for nineteen years]

¹ Read *aisānyē*

² Read *-silā*

³ Read *-dattām* *va*

⁴ Read *-śāśamika*

17 b

52 52
54 54
56 56
58 58

... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...

18 a

60 60
62 62
64 64
66 66
68 68

... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...

70 70
72 72
74 74

... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...

(V 7-8) Then the son, named the glorious Vajrahasta [III], born from Kāmārṇava [II], the foremost of all virtuous men, the eldest son of king Vajrahasta [II], whose pure and shining fame was praised by the chiefs of poets, and from Vinayamahādēvī, who had sprung from the family of the Vaidumbas, as Śrī from the milk-ocean,

(V 9) he who was anointed to protect the whole earth when the aggregate of Śaka years reached the number of the sky (0), the seasons (6) and the treasures (9), while the sun was standing in Taurus, under the Rōhini *nakṣatra*, in the auspicious *lagna* of Dhanus, in the bright fortnight, on a Sunday, combined with the third (*tithi*),

(V 10) whose subjects are always enjoying wealth without ailments, sins and misfortunes, while (*he*), whose prowess is praised, protects the earth on the right path in order to get the three objects of life accomplished simultaneously,

(V 11) while the circle of the (eight) quarters is being filled with the fame, spotless as the light of the moon and procuring joy to the earth, of him (*who was*) the best of the G[ā]ṅga family, the mahouts of the quarters over and over again anoint (their) elephants on the surface of (their) frontal globes with masses of thick red-lead paste,

(V 12) through love of which virtuous man Śrī and Sarasvatī, sitting in (*his*) bosom and lotus-like mouth (respectively), shine in concord,

(L 49) he, the king, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious king Vajrahasta, being in good health, issues the (following) order from Dantipura, having called together the people headed by the feudatories, preceded by the high ministers, who live at the king's feet,—

(L 52) Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, the well known Gōrasatta district (*viśhaya*) with (its) thirty-five villages outside (*bāhira*) Tampavā village, circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, not to be entered by district officers (*chāṭas*) and *bhāṭas*, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, by means of a charter, after having made (it) into a copper-plate grant, according to the maxim of the covering of a hole in the ground (*bhūmi-chhādrapīdhāna-nyāya*) to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, on the ninth day of the month Mīna, on a Monday, to Irugana śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the son of śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarājū, who came from Petta-kallu, born of Rūpadēvī, the sun of the Vaidumba family,¹ and to Vira-Bhūriśrava (Bhūriśravas), who keeps far off from the wives of others, whose mind is set on truthfulness. Therefore, being obedient to him, the proper *bhāgabhōga* and other (*income*) should be brought to him, together with the *pravānikara* and the *kshētrakara*. Future kings [should preserve] this gift, from reverence for the law of Manu, from time to time.

(L 65) The boundaries of the Gōrasatta district (*viśhaya*) are (here) written to the east Vastirnaśilā, to the south-east the Vināyaka-vata (tree) near the hills, to the south the border hill of Tanku-Bhattārikā, to the south-west the Andhārāvēnī hill, to the west Kañchaśilā, on the bank of the Vamsādhārā; to the north-west Amrāpāthara, to the north Madhupapālī, to the north-east Tēlañjaraśilā [Here follows one of the customary verses]

(L 72) This charter was written by the illustrious *sandhinigraha* Dhavala, the grant-writer (*śāsunika-kāyastha*) of Tampavā village. The Śaka year 967. Thus also written by the *kāraka* Mēntōju.

¹ [It is difficult to reconcile the fact that Rūpadēvī, a lady, is called the 'Sun' of the Vaidumbas family. Perhaps Vaidumbāditya is to be taken as a proper name.—H. K. S.]

No. 15 — TIRUVELLARAI INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA Aiyar, B.A., Ootacamund*

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on some of the stones forming the margin of the well on the southern side of the Pundarikāksha-Perumāl temple at Tiruvellarai. This village is at a distance of 12 miles to the north of Trichinopoly and has several interesting ancient monuments. Among them may be mentioned (1) the rock-cut Śiva temple of Jambunātha² called in its inscriptions the Tiruvānaikkal-Perumānadigal, with an inscribed boulder in front,³ (2) the Viṣṇu temple of Pundarikāksha-Perumāl with another rock-cut cave⁴ on the southern side of its first *prākāra*, and (3) the well on which the subjoined inscription is engraved.⁵ Besides the above, there are the ruins of another Śiva temple in that part of the village where the Pallava well is situated. A big *linga* and a large sized Nandi are still to be seen in a field not far from the well.

The stones bearing the record under notice are not in proper order, but as none of them is missing, it has been possible to piece them together and make out the inscription completely. It is in an excellent state of preservation, having been engraved after the stones had been dressed for the purpose. The engraver seems to have taken great care as the record is almost free from any mistakes. The letters are cut deeply and the inscription is written in two sections of two lines each. The language of the record is Tamil prose and verse with an admixture of Sanskrit words and phrases written in Grantha characters.

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve notice. The vertical line to the right of *na* in *sua* reaches the full height of the top letter *sa*. The secondary *ṛ* is written from the right to the left and touches the consonant on the right side only. The secondary *ā* is denoted by a short vertical stroke added to the right of the letter so as to touch it by a small horizontal line at the top. The length of the vowel *ā* and the *u* of the combined consonant *vā* are as distinctly marked as in the modern characters. *Va* presents an early type. The bottom portion of *du* is drawn out into a flourish as sometimes to completely cover the letter that precedes it. All the *ya*'s occurring in this inscription have a big loop at the beginning. The *ē* symbol

* No. 541 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.


² The inscriptions on the outer walls of this temple which may be considered not so old as the cave itself, belong to the time of Rājāḷēśarīvarman, Parāntaka I and Rājendra Chōla I (Nos. 512 to 514 of 1905). The cave consists of a cell cut into the rock with two niches on either side. Of the two to the right, the first contains an image of Viṣṇu, while the second enshrines the god Gaṇēśa. In the two niches on the left side are put in stone images of a later date. The front part of the cave may be described as a verandah with four pillars cut out of the same rock.

³ As many as 16 inscriptions have been copied from this boulder (Nos. 515 to 530 of 1905). They range in date from the time of a Pallava king whose inscription is partially built in by a modern platform raised in front of the shrine of the goddess, to those of the early Chōla sovereigns Rājāḷēśarīvarman, Parakēśarīvarman, Parāntaka I and Vikrama Chōla. The texts of 13 of these records have been printed by the late Pandit Natesa Sastri (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 265 ff.).

⁴ Ten inscriptions of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 (Nos. 531 to 540) are from this cave, the kings represented being Nandivarman, Rājāḷēśarīvarman, Parakēśarīvarman, Rājārāja I, and Parakēśarīvarman 'who took the head of the Pandya'. One of the inscriptions (No. 534 of 1905) dated in the 8th year of a Parakēśarīvarman is interesting as it refers to gifts made by the queen of Udayār Anaimēṇṇūṇṇār (i.e. the king who died on an elephant's back) to the god Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rukmini of the big temple at Tiruvellarai. At present there is no shrine in the Pundarikāksha-Perumāl temple dedicated to Śrī Kṛṣṇa but there is an image of that god found on the outer *gōpura*, right of entrance. We cannot be certain if this is the image referred to.

⁵ Nos. 541 and 542 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 are engraved on stones forming the margin of this well.

touches the consonant that follows it. One graphic peculiarity of the record is that the loops of *n* and *ṇ* are fully developed and the consonant *rai* resembles to a great extent the letter *ṇa*. The *pulli* (or *virāma*) is invariably marked by a slightly curved line cut on the top of the letters. It is wrongly marked on *pe* in *peruṅṇaru* (l 2, section 1) and on *u* in *vaimmiṇēy* (end of l 2, section 2). The Sanskrit words and letters that occur in the inscription are *stasti* and *sṛi* at the beginning of the record, *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, *Dantivarmanu* and *Pallavatilatakulōrbhava* in line 1, *ratshu* of *ratshippār* in line 2 and *sṛi* at the commencement of the Tamil verse in section 2, line 1.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the well called *Mārppidugu-peruṅṇaru* by one *Kamban-Araiyān*, the younger brother of a certain *Visaiyanallūlān* of *Ālambākkam*. The work was commenced in the 4th year of *Dantivarman*, who belonged to the *Pallavatilata* (*ṭilaka*) family which is said to have sprung from the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, and completed in his 5th year. The capacity of the well accounts for the time taken in its construction. There are four entrances leading into the well and they are so constructed as to give it the shape of the *stastika* symbol  ¹. The Tamil verse in section 2 is written in the *Āsṛiyaviruttam* metre, each line containing six feet (*ṣiṛ*). It declares that no object in this world is permanent, that life is sure to decay, and that, therefore, if one commands wealth, he must, after taking what is required for his maintenance, utilise the remainder in doing work of charity.

An inscription dated in the 8th year (=A.D. 1262-3) of the Hoysala king *Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva* found on the margin of the same well records that a merchant (*viṇṇayan*) repaired it as it had suffered considerable damage from floods and other causes ². The same record refers to the well as having been built by a merchant. In the 13th century A.D. the builder of the well was believed to have been a private individual and not a chief, as the title *Araiyān* appended to his name would lead one to believe ³. It is also interesting to learn that repairs were executed to it in A.D. 1262. It was perhaps then that the inscribed stones got out of order.

The proper names that occur in this record are of special interest. *Ālambākkam* may be identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 miles from *Lālgudi* on the road to *Ariyalūr*. *Dantivarmamangalam* and *Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam* were its other names in ancient times, and it was situated in *Poygai-nādu* which was a subdivision of *Rājēndrasingavalanādu*. ⁴ *Tiruvellarai* is said to have been a village in *Vadavalinādu*, a district of *Rājāsraya-valanādu*. ⁵ The members of the village assembly of *Tiruvellarai* are referred to in two records of the Chōla king *Rājarāja I* found in the *Rājarājēśvara*

¹ From each of the entrances, a flight of steps leads to the interior of the well. Midway between the entrance and the bottom of the well, on what may be described as the portal, is a piece of sculpture which was, in all probability, carved at the time when the well was constructed and hence synchronous with it. There are thus four groups of sculptures in all, on the four sides. The principal figures on the northern side are *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* seated on a pedestal with attendant deities, flanked on either side by a *nandi*. A number of female figures, probably the *saptamātṛas*, are found on the southern side. With an attendant deity on the right side, the god *Yōga Narasimha* is figured on the eastern side in a sitting posture with legs folded and crossed and with something like a cloth passing round them. This group is flanked on the left by a lion while to the right is a *yakṣi*. I am not able to identify the images on the western side. Here are the figures of a warrior armed with a sword, a horse and a few other images.

² No. 542 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, p. 63, para. graph 4.

³ In spite of this belief it is not impossible that the builder *Kamban Araiyān* was a chief who belonged to the *Muttaraiyan* family.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909-10*, Part II, paragraphs 14 and 25.

⁵ *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II Part III, p. 338.

temple at Tanjore and were required to supply two *brahmachārins* as temple-servants and two other persons as watchmen to that temple¹

The well Mārppidugu-perunginaru should have been named either after the reigning king or a local chief under him. That it was not called after the builder is evident from the fact that he bore a different name. Nor do we know that Dantivarman had the surname Mārppidugu. It may be pointed out here that there was in ancient times a family of kings called Muttaraiyan ruling over a portion of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and a part at least of the Pudukkōttai State.² Some of the members of this family had for their surnames Perumbidugu, Vidēvidugu, etc. Śendalai, one of the places where their inscriptions have been found, is not far off from Ālambākkam whence the builder of the Tiruvellarai well hails. It may further be noticed that at Ālambākkam, there was, according to its inscriptions, a big tank called Mārppidug-ēri. It is just possible that both the Mārppidug-ēri of Ālambākkam and the Mārppidugu-perunginaru of Tiruvellarai came into existence at the same time and were named after the same person who, to judge from the similarity of the name, might have been a member of the Muttaraiyan family and a feudatory of the Pallava king Dantivarman of our record.

From the Tamil work *Nāḷayiraprabandham*, it appears that the Vishnu temple at Tiruvellarai was in existence from an early period,³ as the Vaishnava saints Periyālvār and Tirumangai-Ālvār composed hymns in its praise. The latter saint mentions the village not less than four times in his compositions and there is not much doubt that one of these references, viz. *Vellaraiyul kallaraimeḷ*⁴ has to be taken to denote the rock-cut cave in the Pandarikāksha-Perumāl temple. From the fact that Tirumangai-Ālvār mentions in his hymn on Paramēśvara-vinnagar some of the battles where the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla gained victories over the Pāndya sovereign and refers to another Pallava king Vayiramēgan, it has been surmised that the Ālvār was a contemporary of the latter and lived in the period immediately following the reign of the former whose achievements were fresh in the saint's mind.⁵ Tirumangai-Ālvār⁶ has thus been assigned to the 3rd quarter of the 8th century A.D. Accordingly, the cave in the Pandarikāksha-Perumāl temple probably came into existence before that time. One of the earliest inscriptions in the cave belongs to the time of a Pallava tīlaka king Nandivarman. This record mentions a certain Viśaiyanallūḷān, who is perhaps the same as that Viśaiyanallūḷān whose younger brother was Kamban-Araiyān, the builder of the well at Tiruvellarai. If this be the case, it may be concluded that Nandivarman was perhaps the predecessor of Dantivarman. At any rate he could not be far removed in point of time from the other.

¹ *Ibid* pp 326 and 338

² Inscriptions of this family have been found at Śendalai and Tiruchchatturai in the Tanjore District where there was a village called Vidēvidugu chaturvēdimangalam. Tirumaiyam and Malaikkōyil in the Pudukkōttai State also contain their records. The cave at Nārttāmalaī was excavated by the son of Vidēvidugu Muttaraiyan. A weight called *Vidēvidugu kal* was in use at Uyyakkondān-Tirumalai near Trichinopoly.

³ From some of these stanzas, it appears that the god in the Vishnu temple was in a standing posture in ancient times also.

⁴ *Minnaiy iru-udaraī Vellaraiyul kallaraimeḷ* occurs in the *Peryatirumol* of Tirumangai-Ālvār.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp 293-4.

⁶ One other king referred to by this saint is the ancient Chōla Kō-Chchengannān who is mentioned both in the large Leyden and the Tiruvāḷangādu plates. Tamil literature speaks of this sovereign as having fought with the Chēra Kanaikkāl Irumborai whom he eventually took prisoner and confined in a place called Kudavāyil-kōttam (*Puram* 74). The poet Poygaiyār celebrates the valour of this king in his *Kaḷavāli-nārpadu*. *Puram* 48 and 49 contain stanzas composed by the same author in honour of another Chēra king Kō-Kkōdai mārbāṇ who, if not identical with Kanaikkāl Irumborai, must have been a near relation of his and a contemporary of the Chōla Kō-Chchengannān. It is worthy of note that the *Peryapurānam* refers to the extensive building operations of this ancient Chōla king. The Saiva saint Tiruñāṇasambandar alludes to the construction of the temple at Tiruvaigam-māḍakkōyil and other places by the same king.

King Dantivarman of the subjoined record is stated to have been born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. In editing the Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman-Mahārāja, Mr Venkayya remarked that he was perhaps the immediate successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and added in a note that his successors probably spoke of themselves as belonging to the "family of the Pallavatilaka." And *Pallavatilaka* is a shortened form of *Pallavakulatilaka* which was actually borne as a title by Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription¹. Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a usurper as we know from the Kāśā-kūṭi plates. Subsequent kings (there are at least two known so far) claiming descent in the Pallava line, trace their ancestry apparently to Dantivarman of the Triplicane inscription as evidenced by the epithet *Pallavatilaka-kulōdbhava* prefixed to their names. The application of this epithet to the king of the present record necessitates our distinguishing him from Dantivarman-Mahārāja, "the ornament of the Pallava race." That such a distinction has to be made is also evident from the fact that this is not the only inscription which introduces this family. Not less than five records have, so far, been found where members belonging to the Pallavatilaka family are mentioned,² and it is therefore difficult to suppose that all the writers did not intend any difference between the terms *Pallavakula* and *Pallavatilakahula*.

From the Tiruvālangādu grant of Rājendra-Chōla I, we know that Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907—947) fought with the Ganga-Pallava Aparājita³. This king may be supposed to be the son of Nripatungavikramavarman and his successor. In two records of the 18th and 22nd years of Nripatunga, Adigal-Kamban-Māraṁbāvai, queen of Nandivarman of the Pallavatilaka family makes grants and there is a much damaged inscription in the Airāvātēśvara temple at Niyamam apparently dated during the reign of a Chōla king also registering a grant made by the same queen⁴. From these facts it may be concluded that, of the two kings of the Pallavatilaka family hitherto known, Nandivarman was either a contemporary of the Ganga-Pallava Nripatungavikramavarman or lived prior to his time by a few years. As Dantivarman of the subjoined inscription has been shown to be closer in point of time to this Nandivarman, he may be assigned roughly to the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT

First Section

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Bhāradvāja-gōtrattiṇ vaḥ=ttōṇṇiya Pallava-tīlata⁵-kulōrbhavan
Dantivarmmaṁku yāndu nāṅāvad=eduttukkondu [ai]ndāvadū mūṇṇuvittāṇ
Ālamb[ā]kka-Viśaiyanallūlān
- 2 tamḥ Kamban Arayan Tiruvellarai=Ttēnnūr=pperun-ginaṇu [||*] Idan piyar
Mārppidugu-[pe]rūnginaṇ=ēṇbadu |— Idu ratshippar⁶ ivv=ūr-Mūvāiratt-^{6a}
eḷunūṇṇavarum |—

Second Section

- 1 Śrī [||*] Kandār kānāv=ulagattir=kādalseydu nullādēy⁷ pandēy⁷ Paraman
padaitta nāl pārttu nūṇṇu nāyyādēy⁷
- 2 tandār⁸ mūppu vand=unnai=ttalara=ohcheydu nullāmun=undēll⁹=undu mikkaḍu
ulagamm=ariya [v]aṁminēy⁷

¹ Above, Vol VIII p 292

² Nos 16 of 1899, 300 and 303 of 1901 and 537 and 541 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905* 06, p 66, paragraph 10 ⁴ *Ibid* for 1898 9 p 7, paragraph 18.

⁵ *Tīlata* is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *tīlaka*

⁶ Read *rakshi*.

^{6a} Read *Mūvāy*.

⁷ In these four instances the final *y* seems to have been inserted to represent the full sound produced in pronouncing the words

⁸ *Tandu* is a variant of the Sanskrit *danda*

⁹ The doubling of the consonant *l* is a mistake. The first of them has to be deleted

TRANSLATION.

First Section

Hail ' Prosperity ' In the fourth year (of the reign) of Dantivarman who was born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gotra, Kamban Arayan, the younger brother of Viśaiyanallūlān of Ālambākkam, commenced (to build) the big well at Tennūr¹ in Tiruvellarai and completed (it) in the fifth (year of the same reign) Mārppidugu-perungināru is the name of this (well) The three-thousand and seven hundred² of this village shall protect this (charity).

Second Section.

Prosperity ' Without being (passionately) attached to this world where men seen (today), are not seen (tomorrow), without giving (yourself) up to despair looking for the (final) day appointed by the Creator, and before your (limbs) become weak at the appearance of old age with its (appendage of a) stick, if you have (wealth) maintain (yourself) and devote (what remains to charity) so that (all) the world may know (it).

No 16—NEW SPECIAL TABLES FOR THE COMPUTATION OF HINDU DATES

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The new Special Tables which I publish now are intended to supplement the General Tables in the same way as the old Special Tables do, which were published in Vol I above, p 450 ff, i.e. they are intended to test, according to one of the principal *siddhāntas* named at the head of the several Tables, the approximate result calculated previously by the General Tables To these new Tables the remark in § 4, p 403 l. c. applies also "The General Table is to be used first, and only when by that table the end of the *tithi* falls very near the beginning of the day, and the week day comes out in error by one day only, need the Special Tables for the several *siddhāntas* be tried to see if one of them will furnish the desired result"

The plan on which the new Tables have been constructed is the same as in the General Tables, as far as their object, the highest possible degree of accuracy, will allow Therefore the new Tables (1) refer throughout to mean sunrise at Lankā, not, as the old Special Tables do, to the beginning of the Solar year, (2) they furnish the quantities on which the *tithi* depends, in decimals of the circle and not in degrees, minutes and seconds as is the case in the old Tables. These innovations render the working of the new Tables very easy and almost mechanical

The Special Tables differ from the General Tables in two points, (1) They contain three columns headed *a*, *b*, *c* instead of the two in the General Tables headed '*Tithi*' and '*☾*'s anomaly *a* denotes mean distance of Sun and Moon, expressed in five decimals of the circle By Tables XVIII, XIV, XV *a* can be converted into *tithas*, *ghaṭikās*, and *palas*, *b* denotes the mean anomaly of the moon in four decimals of the circle, and *c* the mean anomaly of the Sun, also in

¹ The southern part of Tiruvellarai was probably called Tennūr in ancient times

² The signatory in one of the inscriptions of Rājārāja I (A D 935 1013) found at Māmallapuram in the Chingleput District is a certain Tiruvadigal Mānikanthan, a native of Tiruvēl[*]lārai He calls himself as one of the 3,700 of that village (*South Ind Inscrip* Vol I, p 65) This seems to indicate that at an early period there was a body of 3,700 persons at Tiruvellarai to whom later members traced their descent Reference to another such body of men is found in the expression *Tillai mūvāyirarar*

four decimals (2) To the sum of a (mean distance of Sun and Moon) *two* corrections (equations) must be applied, while in the General Tables only one equation is needed. The arguments of these equations are the sums of b and c , respectively, and they are to be looked out in the tables of equations under the several *siddhāntas*. In order to calculate the value of the equation for an argument not entered in the table, but lying between two table values, a column headed $\Delta 10$ has been inserted in the middle of these tables, which gives the increase or decrease of the equation for a difference of ten in the argument.

I now proceed to illustrate the working of the new Tables by a few examples.

First example—Let it be proposed to verify the date Kali-Yuga 4198, Chaitra *su di 2 ravau*, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. We first calculate the date according to the General Tables, and write down the calculation in the proper form (see above, Vol I p 410).

4100 K Y	(1)	5 58	111	Ind	●	=20 43
98 years	(4)	399	59	Ind	su di 2	=22 43

4198 K.Y	(5)	9 57	170
15th sol Chaitra	(4)	22·52	593

(2)	2 09	763
eq	763	=0

2 09

Result On the Monday (2) in question, the third *tithi* was running; it commenced on the preceding day (Sunday), about $5\frac{1}{2}$ *ghatikās* before mean sunrise. Now in order to calculate the result according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, proceed as follows. Look out K Y 4100 in the 1st century K Y in table I, 98 years in table II, and 15th Chaitra in table XIII (which is the same for all Siddhāntas) and sum up the quantities in the several columns (rejecting integers) thus—

	w	a	b	c
41st century	(1)	18563	6157	7867
98 years	(4)	13299	571	9999
15th sol Chaitra	(1)	75053	5932	9500

K Y 4198, 15 Chaitra	(2)	6915	2660	7353
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Now find the equation for b 2660 from table III, *viz* 5, and the equation for c 7353 from table IV, *viz* 3, then add these equations to a , *viz* $6915 + 5 + 3 = 6923$. Table XVII gives $6667 = su di 2$, the difference from a just found, $6923 - 6667 = 256$, this is according to tables XIV and XV equal to 4 *ghatikās* ($a \approx 226$) and 32 *palas* ($a \approx 30$). Therefore, according to the Sūrya Siddhānta, the 2nd *tithi* ended 4 *ghatikās* 32 *palas* before mean sunrise. The result is very nearly right, and we may in most cases rest satisfied with it. If the highest degree of accuracy be required we subtract the increase of a b c for 4 *ghatikās*, 2 *palas* from tables XIV and XV to the result found before, *viz* from 6915 22—

4 <i>ghatikās</i> 226	24	2	6915	2660	7353
32 <i>palas</i> 30	3	—	—256	27	2
256	27	2	6659	2633	7351

Equation for $b=2633$ is 4, equation c for 7351 is 3, the sum of both equations=7 added to 6659 makes 6666, which falls short of 6667 by 1. Therefore the end of the *tithi* occurred one *pala* after the moment calculated or 4 *ghatikās* 31 *palas* before mean sunrise at Lankā

Second example —Computing the date K Y 4276 Bhādrapada *su. dī* 13 *ravan*, our calculation by the General Tables stands thus (*l. c.* p 411) —

4200 K Y.	(1)	2 19	699	Ind	●	=26 54			
76 years	(5)	1 27	454	Ind su dī. 13=		9 54			
<hr/>									
	(6)	3 46	153						
3rd Āśvina	(2)	8·83	661						
<hr/>									
	(1)	12 29	814						
eq 814	=	0 08							
<hr/>									
(1) 12 32=Sunday, su. dī. 13									

Let it now be required to calculate the end of the 13th *tithi* according to the Arya-Siddhānta. By the General Tables we find that this moment occurred about 40 *ghatikās* (=0 68 *tithi*, table IV) after mean sunrise at Lankā. The Tables for Ārya-Siddhānta furnish the following data —

4200 K Y	(1)	7236	1988	7848
76 years	(5)	4208	4555	9
3 Āśvina	(2)	28266	6615	4271
<hr/>				
	(1)	39710	3158	2128
40 <i>ghatikās</i>		2257	242	18
<hr/>				
		41967	3400	2146

equation b for 3400 is 215, equation c for 2146 is 1178, their sum 1393 added to a 41967=43360. The difference from 43333, the value of 13th *tithi*, is a 27=25 *palas*, by which the end of the *tithi* occurred before the moment calculated. The exact time is therefore 39 *ghatikās* 35 *palas* after mean sunrise at Lankā

Possible error —As in the tables fractions are neglected or counted as 1, according as they are less or larger than $\frac{1}{2}$, the absolute error in every quantity may amount to ± 0.5 . Usually the plus and the minus of the different figures will compensate for each other, but in extreme cases the neglected fractions may sum up to ± 2.5 or ± 3.5 , according as 5 or 7 *a*'s are summed up. This error, in time, would be 2, 7 and 3, 7 *palas*, or 1 minute 5 seconds and 1 m 29 s, respectively.

SŪRYA-SIDDHĀNTA

TABLE I—For centuries (of the Kali-Yuga)

cent	$\frac{10}{2}$	a	b	c	sol corr	
					gh p	
30	2	46261	2028	7854	+ 1 10	For Sūrya-Siddhānta with <i>bīja</i> the last two figures of <i>b</i> must be augmented by 42 in 4500 K Y " 43 " 4600 " " 43 " 4700 " " 44 " 4800 " " 45 " 4900 " " 46 " 5000 "
31	2	34960	7891	7857	— 6 18	
32	2	23659	3754	7861	—13 46	
33	2	12318	9616	7864	—21 13	
34	2	1057	5479	7868	—23 41	
						For mean Distance (—☉ add 2006 to <i>a</i>
35	1	86370	979	7843	+23 52	
36	1	75068	6842	7847	+16 24	For mean Longitude of the Sun add to <i>c</i>
37	1	63767	2705	7850	+ 8 56	2145 between 3000 and 3300
38	1	52466	8568	7853	+ 1 29	2146 " 3400 " 4400
39	1	41165	4431	7857	— 5 59	2147 " 4500 " 5000
						For true Longitude of the Sun add 2206 to <i>c</i> , and subtract tenth part of equation <i>c</i>
40	1	29864	294	7860	—13 27	
41	1	18563	6157	7863	—20 54	
42	1	7262	2020	7867	—28 22	
43	0	92574	7520	7842	+24 10	
44	0	81273	3383	7846	+16 43	
45	0	69972	9246	7849	+ 9 15	
46	0	58671	5109	7853	+ 1 47	
47	0	47370	972	7856	— 5 40	
48	0	36069	6835	7859	—13 8	
49	0	24768	2698	7863	—20 36	
50	6	10080	8198	7838	+31 57	

TABLE II—*Sūrya-Siddhānta* Years of the century

year	to	a	b	c	corr	year	to	a	b	c	corr
0	0	0	0	0	gh p 0 0	50	0	44319	7931	2	gh p — 3 44
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15 32	51	1	80356	395	9995	+11 47
2	2	72013	4928	9986	+31 3	52	2	16362	2860	9987	+27 12
3	4	11106	7756	6	—13 25	53	4	55755	5687	8	—17 10
4	5	17412	220	9999	+ 2 6	54	5	91762	8151	1	— 1 38
5	6	83419	2684	9992	+17 38	55	6	27768	616	9994	+13 54
6	0	19426	5148	9985	+33 9	56	0	63775	3080	9987	+29 25
7	2	58818	7976	5	—11 19	57	2	3168	5907	7	—15 3
8	3	94825	440	9998	+ 4 12	58	3	39174	8371	0	— 0 28
9	4	30831	2904	9991	+19 44	59	4	75181	836	9993	+16 0
10	5	66838	5368	9984	+35 15	60	5	11187	3300	9986	+31 31
11	0	6231	8196	4	— 9 13	61	0	50580	6127	6	—12 57
12	1	2237	660	9997	+ 6 18	62	1	86587	8591	9999	+ 2 34
13	2	78211	3121	9990	+21 50	63	2	22593	1056	9992	+18 6
14	4	17637	5951	10	—22 39	64	3	58600	3520	9985	+33 37
15	5	53643	8416	3	— 7 7	65	5	97993	6347	5	—10 51
16	6	89650	880	9996	+ 8 24	66	6	33999	8811	9998	+ 4 41
17	0	25657	3344	9989	+23 56	67	0	70006	1276	9991	+20 12
18	2	65049	6171	9	—20 32	68	1	6012	3740	9984	+35 44
19	3	1056	8636	2	— 5 1	69	3	45405	6567	4	— 8 45
20	4	37062	1100	9995	+10 30	70	4	81412	9031	9997	+ 6 47
21	5	73069	3564	9988	+26 2	71	5	17418	1496	9990	+22 18
22	0	12462	6391	8	—16 26	72	0	56811	4323	10	—22 10
23	1	48468	8856	1	— 2 55	73	1	92818	6787	3	— 6 39
24	2	84475	1320	9994	+12 37	74	2	28824	9251	9996	+ 8 53
25	3	20452	3784	9987	+28 8	75	3	64831	1716	9989	+24 24
26	5	59874	6611	7	—16 20	76	5	4224	4543	9	—20 4
27	6	95881	9076	0	— 0 49	77	6	40230	7007	2	— 4 33
28	0	31887	1540	9993	+14 43	78	0	76237	9471	9995	+10 59
29	1	67894	4004	9986	+30 14	79	1	12243	1936	9988	+26 30
30	3	7287	6831	6	—14 14	80	3	51636	4763	8	—17 58
31	4	43293	9296	9999	+ 1 17	81	4	87643	7227	1	— 2 27
32	5	79300	1760	9992	+16 49	82	5	23649	9691	9994	+13 5
33	6	15307	4224	9985	+32 20	83	6	59656	2156	9987	+28 36
34	1	54699	7051	6	—12 8	84	1	99049	4983	7	—15 52
35	2	90706	9516	9998	+ 3 13	85	2	35055	7447	0	— 0 21
36	3	26712	1980	9991	+18 55	86	3	71062	9911	9993	+15 11
37	4	62719	4444	9984	+34 26	87	4	7068	2376	9986	+30 42
38	6	2112	7271	5	—10 2	88	6	46461	5203	6	—13 46
39	0	38118	9736	9997	+ 5 29	89	0	82468	7667	9999	+ 1 45
40	1	74125	2200	9990	+21 1	90	1	18474	131	9992	+17 17
41	2	10132	4604	9983	+36 32	91	2	54481	2596	9985	+32 49
42	1	49524	7411	1	— 7 56	92	4	93874	5423	5	—11 40
43	5	85531	9956	9996	+ 7 35	93	5	29880	7887	9998	+ 3 52
44	6	21537	2420	9989	+23 7	94	6	65887	351	9991	+19 23
45	1	60930	5247	10	—21 22	95	0	1893	2816	9984	+34 55
46	2	96937	7711	3	— 5 50	96	2	41286	5643	4	— 9 34
47	3	32943	176	9995	+ 9 41	97	3	77293	8107	9997	+ 5 58
48	4	68950	2640	9988	+25 13	98	4	13299	571	9990	+21 29
49	6	8343	5467	9	—19 16	99	5	49306	3036	9983	+37 1

TABLE IV — *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

Equation c

argument c		equation	Δ 10	equation	argument c	
0	5000	604	384	604	0	5000
104	4896	614	384	614	9896	5104
208	4792	684	384	684	9792	5208
313	4687	724	374	724	9687	5313
417	4583	763	365	763	9583	5417
521	4479	801	365	801	9479	5521
625	4375	839	365	839	9375	5625
729	4271	875	345	875	9271	5729
833	4167	910	336	910	9167	5833
938	4062	943	317	943	9062	5938
1042	3958	975	307	975	8958	6042
1146	3854	1006	288	1006	8854	6146
1250	3750	1034	269	1034	8750	6250
1354	3646	1061	260	1061	8646	6354
1458	3542	1086	240	1086	8542	6458
1562	3438	1108	211	1108	8438	6562
1667	3333	1129	201	1129	8333	6667
1771	3229	1147	179	1147	8229	6771
1875	3125	1163	154	1163	8125	6875
1979	3021	1174	134	1174	8021	6979
2083	2917	1185	102	1185	7917	7083
2187	2813	1197	86	1197	7813	7187
2292	2708	1203	58	1203	7708	7292
2396	2604	1206	29	1206	7604	7396
2500	2500	1208	0	1208	7500	7500

TABLE III — *Sūrya-Siddhānta*

Equation b

argument b		equation	Δ 10	equation	argument b	
0	5000	1402	892	1402	0	5000
104	4896	1307	883	1495	9896	5104
208	4792	1215	874	1587	9792	5208
313	4687	1121	864	1678	9687	5313
417	4583	1035	854	1767	9583	5417
521	4479	947	835	1855	9479	5521
625	4375	861	806	1941	9375	5625
729	4271	777	778	2025	9271	5729
833	4167	696	740	2106	9167	5833
938	4062	619	720	2183	9062	5938
1042	3958	546	681	2258	8958	6042
1146	3854	473	653	2329	8854	6146
1250	3750	407	604	2393	8750	6250
1354	3646	344	557	2458	8646	6354
1458	3542	286	509	2516	8542	6458
1562	3438	233	460	2569	8438	6562
1667	3333	185	413	2617	8333	6667
1771	3229	142	364	2660	8229	6771
1875	3125	104	307	2698	8125	6875
1979	3021	72	260	2730	8021	6979
2083	2917	45	181	2757	7917	7083
2187	2813	25	144	2777	7813	7188
2292	2708	10	97	2792	7708	7292
2396	2604	2	0	2800	7604	7396
2500	2500	0	0	2804	7500	7500

ĀRYA-SIDDHĀNTA

TABLE V —Centuries of Kali-Yuga
A—Original Ārya-Siddhānta

cent	<i>v</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr	
					gh	p
36	1	76166	6718	7826	+15	0
37	1	63891	2580	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52615	8442	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41310	4301	7837	— 8	45
40	1	30064	166	7841	—16	40
41	1	19789	6028	7815	—24	35
42	1	7715	1890	7818	—32	30

B—The same with Ialla's corrections

cent	<i>v</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr	
					gh	p
36	1	76166	6718	7826	+15	0
37	1	63811	2596	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52523	8475	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41201	4353	7837	— 8	45
40	1	29880	232	7841	—16	40
41	1	18558	6110	7844	—24	35
42	1	7236	1988	7848	—32	30
43	0	92528	7504	7824	+19	35
44	0	81206	3383	7828	+11	40
45	0	69884	9261	7832	+ 3	45
46	0	58563	5140	7835	— 4	10
47	0	47241	1018	7840	—12	50
48	0	35919	6896	7843	—20	0
49	0	24597	2775	7847	—27	55
50	6	9890	8291	7823	+24	10

For mean Distance (—○ add 1987 to *a*

For mean Longitude of the Sun add 2167 to *c*

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2227 to *c* and subtract tenth part of equation *c*

TABLE VI—*Ārya-Siddhānta* Years of the Century

year	<i>v</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr		year	<i>v</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr	
					gh	p						gh	p
0	0	0	0	0		0	50	0	44339	7939	2	— 3	38
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15	31	51	1	80345	101	9995	+11	31
2	2	72013	1928	9986	+31	2	52	2	16312	2868	9988	+27	5
3	4	11405	7756	61	—13	26	53	4	55744	5695	8	—17	24
4	5	47112	220	9999	+ 2	5	54	5	91751	8160	1	— 1	53
5	6	83118	2685	9992	+17	36	55	6	27757	621	9991	+13	39
6	0	19124	5149	9985	+33	7	56	0	63763	3089	9987	+29	10
7	2	58117	7977	5	—11	21	57	2	3156	5916	7	—15	19
8	3	94823	141	9998	+ 4	10	58	3	39162	8380	0	+ 0	12
9	4	30830	2906	9991	+19	41	59	4	75169	845	9993	+15	41
10	5	66836	5370	9984	+35	12	60	5	11175	3309	9986	+31	15
11	0	6228	8197	4	— 9	16	61	0	50568	6136	6	—13	14
12	1	42235	662	9997	+ 6	15	62	1	86571	8601	9999	+ 2	17
13	2	78241	3126	9990	+21	46	63	2	22580	1065	9992	+17	49
14	4	17634	5953	10	—22	43	64	3	58587	3530	9985	+30	20
15	5	53640	8418	3	— 7	11	65	5	97979	6357	5	—11	9
16	6	89616	882	9996	+ 8	20	66	6	33083	8822	9998	+ 4	12
17	0	25653	3347	9989	+23	51	67	0	6992	1286	9991	+19	34
18	2	65015	6174	9	—20	37	68	1	5998	751	9988	+25	25
19	3	1052	8639	2	— 5	6	69	3	15391	6578	1	— 9	1
20	4	37058	1103	9995	+10	25	70	4	81397	9042	9997	+ 6	27
21	5	73064	3567	9988	+25	56	71	5	17401	1507	9990	+21	59
22	0	12457	6395	8	—18	33	72	0	56796	4331	10	—22	30
23	1	48464	8859	1	— 3	1	73	1	92803	6799	3	— 6	59
24	2	84470	1324	9994	+12	30	74	2	28809	9263	9996	+ 8	32
25	3	20476	3788	9987	+28	1	75	3	61816	1727	9989	+21	1
26	5	59869	6615	7	—16	28	76	5	1205	1555	9	—20	25
27	6	95875	9080	0	— 0	56	77	6	40215	7019	2	— 1	51
28	0	31882	1544	9993	+14	35	78	0	76221	9181	9995	+10	37
29	1	67888	4009	9986	+30	6	79	1	12227	1948	9988	+26	9
30	3	7281	6836	7	—11	23	80	3	51620	4775	8	—18	20
31	4	43287	9301	9999	+ 1	9	81	4	87626	7240	1	— 2	49
32	5	79293	1765	9992	+16	10	82	5	23633	9701	9991	+12	42
33	6	15300	4229	9985	+32	11	83	6	59639	2169	9987	+28	11
34	1	54692	7057	6	—12	18	84	1	99632	4996	7	—16	15
35	2	90699	9521	9999	+ 3	13	85	2	35038	7167	0	— 0	13
36	3	26705	1986	9991	+18	45	86	3	71011	9925	9993	+11	47
37	4	62711	4450	9984	+34	16	87	4	7051	2359	9986	+30	19
38	6	2104	7277	5	—10	13	88	6	16443	5217	6	—14	10
39	0	38110	9742	9998	+ 5	19	89	0	82150	7681	9999	+ 1	21
40	1	74117	2206	9990	+20	50	90	1	18156	115	9992	+16	52
41	2	10123	4671	9983	+36	21	91	2	54162	2610	9985	+32	21
42	4	49516	7498	4	— 8	8	92	1	98555	5137	6	—12	5
43	5	85522	9962	9997	+ 7	24	93	5	29561	7902	9999	+ 3	26
44	6	21528	2427	9990	+22	55	94	6	65868	366	9991	+18	57
45	1	60921	5254	10	—21	33	95	0	1871	2830	9981	+34	29
46	2	96927	7719	3	— 6	3	96	2	41267	5658	5	—10	0
47	3	32934	183	9996	+ 9	28	97	3	77273	8121	9997	+ 5	31
48	4	68940	2647	9989	+25	0	98	1	13280	587	9996	+21	2
49	6	8333	5475	9	—19	29	99	5	19286	3551	9983	+36	34

Equation b

argument δ		equation	$\Delta 10$	equation	argument b	
0	5000	1900	8 74	1900	0	5000
104	4896	1209	8 74	1481	9896	5104
208	4792	1208	8 74	1372	9792	5208
313	4687	1118	8 64	1662	9687	5313
417	4583	1029	8 51	1751	9583	5417
			8 85			
521	4479	942	8 16	1898	9479	5521
625	4375	857	7 97	1923	9375	5625
729	4271	774	7 68	2006	9271	5729
833	4167	691	7 59	2086	9167	5833
938	4062	626	7 10	2164	9062	5938
1042	3958	542	6 72	2238	8958	6042
1146	3854	472	6 43	2308	8854	6146
1250	3750	405	5 95	2375	8750	6250
1354	3646	341	5 57	2437	8646	6354
1458	3542	285	5 09	2495	8542	6458
1562	3438	232	4 61	2518	8438	6562
1667	3333	184	4 03	2596	8333	6667
1771	3229	152	3 64	2638	8229	6771
1875	3125	104	3 07	2676	8125	6875
1979	3021	72	2 69	2708	8021	6979
2083	2917	46	2 02	2734	7917	7083
2187	2813	25	1 41	2755	7813	7187
2292	2708	10	0 77	2770	7708	7292
2396	2604	5	0 19	2778	7604	7396
2500	2500	0		2780	7500	7500

Equation c

argument ϵ		equation	$\Delta 10$	equation	argument c	
0	5000	597	3 71	597	0	5000
104	4896	636	3 74	636	9896	5104
208	4792	675	3 61	675	9792	5208
313	4687	713	3 64	713	9687	5313
417	4583	752	3 55	752	9583	5417
521	4479	789	3 46	789	9479	5521
625	4375	825	3 46	825	9375	5625
729	4271	861	3 26	861	9271	5729
833	4167	895	3 26	895	9167	5833
938	4062	929	2 98	929	9062	5938
1042	3958	960	2 88	960	8958	6042
1146	3854	990	2 78	990	8854	6146
1250	3750	1019	2 59	1019	8750	6250
1354	3646	1046	2 40	1046	8646	6354
1458	3542	1071	2 11	1071	8542	6458
1562	3438	1098	2 02	1098	8438	6562
1667	3333	1114	1 73	1114	8333	6667
1771	3229	1132	1 63	1132	8229	6771
1875	3125	1149	1 25	1149	8125	6875
1979	3021	1162	0 96	1162	8021	6979
2083	2917	1174	0 77	1174	7917	7083
2187	2813	1182	0 66	1182	7813	7187
2292	2708	1189	0 38	1189	7708	7292
2396	2604	1193	0 10	1193	7604	7396
2500	2500	1194		1194	7500	7500

BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA AND SIDDHĀNTA-ŚIRŌMAṆI

TABLE IX — *Centuries of Kali-Yuga*

A — BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA

cent.	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr.
37	1	63840	2581	7857	^{gh} +13 ^p 7
38	1	52564	8469	7861	+ 3 45
39	1	41287	1358	7866	— 5 37
40	1	30010	247	7870	—14 59
41	1	18734	6135	7874	—21 22
42	1	7458	2024	7878	—33 11
43	0	92795	7550	7855	+16 53

B — SIDDHĀNTA-ŚIRŌMAṆI

cent.	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr.
42	1	7263	1995	7819	^{gh} —33 ^p 14
43	0	92595	7520	7825	+16 55
44	0	81114	3408	7828	+ 7 51
45	0	70033	9296	7832	— 1 52
46	0	58752	5184	7836	—11 14
47	0	47471	1072	7839	—20 37
48	0	36190	6060	7841	—27 59
49	0	24909	2548	7846	—31 22
50	6	10241	8373	7822	—11 16

For the first 6 — 0 and 10
to 10

For the first 6 — 0 and 10
to 10
2161 before 1100 K Y and
2165 from 1100 K Y

For the first 6 — 0 and 10
to 10
2161 before 1100 K Y and
2165 from 1100 K Y

NOTE — The beginning of the Solar month according to the Brahma-Siddhānta and the Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi is earlier by one day than according to the other Siddhāntas.

TABLE X.—*Brahma-Siddhānta and Siddhānta-Sūtram*, *Year of the Cycle*

NOTE.—The Table is correct for Siddhānta Sūtram, for Brahma-Siddhānta the table after the 1st augment¹ by 1 after the year 7, by 2 after 22, by 3 after 37, by 4 after 51, by 5 after 66, by 6 after 81, by 7 after 94

year	a	b	c	sol corr	year	a	b	c	sol corr
0	0	0	0	gh p	50	0	30759	7099	2
1	1	36006	2165	9993	+15	30	81556	118	1091
2	2	72013	4329	9986	+31	1	16373	2873	9257
3	3	11196	7756	6	-13	29	3570	579	5
4	4	47113	221	9999	+2	2	91773	8165	1
5	5	83429	2685	9992	+17	32	27779	129	9193
6	0	19127	5159	9985	+33	2	63786	7091	9186
7	2	58820	7977	5	-11	27	170	5921	7
8	3	94827	112	9993	+1	3	39186	8186	0
9	4	30833	2906	9991	+19	33	75193	853	9993
10	5	66840	5371	9984	+35	3	11199	2315	9185
11	0	6233	8198	4	-9	26	50597	6112	6
12	1	12240	663	9997	+6	1	5799	8007	9999
13	2	78247	1127	9990	+21	35	22006	1671	9192
14	4	17640	7955	10	-22	35	58719	753	9981
15	5	53646	8419	3	-7	24	9619	1793	5
16	6	89653	884	9996	-8	6	31013	8828	9188
17	0	25660	3318	9989	+23	36	70419	1992	9191
18	2	65053	6176	9	-20	53	6626	1737	9983
19	3	1060	8640	2	-5	23	15117	6584	1
20	4	37066	1105	9995	+10	7	81426	9649	9997
21	5	73073	3569	9988	+25	38	17133	1511	9999
22	0	12466	6397	8	-18	52	50826	1311	10
23	1	48473	8861	1	-3	21	82832	6895	3
24	2	84480	1326	9994	+12	9	28839	9270	9996
25	3	20487	3790	9987	+27	39	64846	1731	9989
26	5	59880	6618	7	-16	51	1239	1502	9
27	6	95886	9082	0	-1	20	40246	7026	2
28	0	31893	1517	9993	+11	10	70253	9101	9995
29	1	67900	4011	9986	+29	41	12260	1955	9988
30	3	7293	6839	6	-11	49	51652	1783	8
31	4	43300	9303	9999	+0	42	87659	7247	1
32	5	79306	1768	9992	+16	12	23666	9712	9994
33	6	15313	4232	9985	+31	42	59677	2176	9987
34	1	51706	7060	5	-12	37	99066	5004	7
35	2	90713	9524	9998	+2	43	35072	7168	0
36	3	26720	1989	9991	+18	13	71079	9933	9993
37	4	62726	4453	9984	+33	44	7086	2397	9986
38	6	2119	7281	4	-10	46	16489	5225	6
39	0	38126	9745	9997	+4	45	82186	7689	9999
40	1	74133	2210	9990	+20	15	18492	154	9992
41	2	10140	4674	9983	+35	15	54499	2618	9985
42	4	49533	7502	3	-8	44	93892	5416	5
43	5	85540	9966	9996	+6	46	29899	7910	9998
44	6	21546	2431	9989	+22	16	65906	375	9991
45	1	60939	5258	10	-22	13	1912	2839	9981
46	2	96946	7723	2	-6	41	11396	5667	1
47	3	32953	187	9995	+8	47	77312	8131	9997
48	4	68960	2652	9988	+24	18	12319	596	9990
49	6	8353	5479	9	-20	12	49326	3060	9983

TABLE XII — *Brahma-Siddhānta and Siddhānta-Sirōmanī*

EQUATION

argument <i>b</i>		equation	argument <i>b</i>
0	5000	601	5000
104	496	595	9896
208	1792	525	9742
313	1657	18	9687
117	1553	15	9593
		3 65	
521	1470	17	9479
625	1375	17	9375
729	1271	17	9271
833	1167	17	9167
938	1062	17	9062
		3 07	
1042	958	2 55	8958
1146	854	2 68	8854
1250	750	2 78	8750
1354	646	2 84	8646
1458	542	2 87	8542
		2 21	
1562	438	102	8438
1667	333	81	8333
1771	229	62	8229
1875	125	46	8125
1979	21	32	8021
		1 15	
2083	188	20	7917
2187	197	11	7813
2292	1203	5	7708
2396	1207	1	7604
2500	1208	0	7500

TABLE XI — *Brahma-Siddhānta and Siddhānta-Sirōmanī*

EQUATION

argument <i>b</i>		equation	argument <i>b</i>
0	5000	1395	5000
104	496	1304	5104
208	1792	1212	5208
313	1657	1122	5313
117	1553	1033	5417
		8 35	
521	1479	946	5521
625	1375	861	5625
729	1271	772	5729
833	1167	697	5833
938	1062	619	5938
		7 01	
1042	958	546	6042
1146	854	471	6146
1250	750	407	6250
1354	646	345	6354
1458	542	287	6458
		5 09	
1562	438	234	6562
1667	333	186	6667
1771	229	143	6771
1875	125	105	6875
1979	21	73	6979
		2 49	
2083	188	47	7083
2187	197	26	7187
2292	1203	11	7292
2396	1207	2	7396
2500	1208	0	7500

TABLE XIII

For the months and days

7										8										9										10										11										12																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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0	18168	5526	0	2	23083	6776	5038	0	1	21072	7664	5859	0	5	22876	8188	6653	6	21073	8713	7147	0	1	22068	9001	8218	1	2	22055	9063	8293	2	3	22141	9139	8369	3	4	22227	9214	8445	4	5	22313	9289	8521	5	6	22399	9364	8596	6	7	22485	9439	8672	7	8	22571	9514	8747	8	9	22657	9589	8823	9	10	22743	9664	8898	10	11	22829	9739	8974	11	12	22915	9814	9049	12	1	23001	9889	9125	1	2	23087	9964	9200	2	3	23173	10039	9276	3	4	23259	10114	9351	4	5	23345	10189	9427	5	6	23431	10264	9502	6	7	23517	10339	9578	7	8	23603	10414	9653	8	9	23689	10489	9729	9	10	23775	10564	9804	10	11	23861	10639	9880	11	12	23947	10714	9955	12	1	24033	10789	10031	1	2	24119	10864	10106	2	3	24205	10939	10182	3	4	24291	11014	10257	4	5	24377	11089	10332	5	6	24463	11164	10408	6	7	24549	11239	10483	7	8	24635	11314	10558	8	9	24721	11389	10634	9	10	24807	11464	10709	10	11	24893	11539	10784	11	12	24979	11614	10860	12	1	25065	11689	10935	1	2	25151	11764	11010	2	3	25237	11839	11086	3	4	25323	11914	11161	4	5	25409	11989	11236	5	6	25495	12064	11311	6	7	25581	12139	11387	7	8	25667	12214	11462	8	9	25753	12289	11537	9	10	25839	12364	11612	10	11	25925	12439	11688	11	12	26011	12514	11763	12	1	26097	12589	11838	1	2	26183	12664	11913	2	3	26269	12739	11989	3	4	26355	12814	12064	4	5	26441	12889	12139	5	6	26527	12964	12214	6	7	26613	13039	12289	7	8	26699	13114	12364	8	9	26785	13189	12440	9	10	26871	13264	12515	10	11	26957	13339	12590	11	12	27043	13414	12665	12	1	27129	13489	12740	1	2	27215	13564	12816	2	3	27301	13639	12891	3	4	27387	13714	12966	4	5	27473	13789	13041	5	6	27559	13864	13116	6	7	27645	13939	13191	7	8	27731	14014	13266	8	9	27817	14089	13341	9	10	27903	14164	13416	10	11	27989	14239	13491	11	12	28075	14314	13566	12	1	28161	14389	13641	1	2	28247	14464	13716	2	3	28333	14539	13791	3	4	28419	14614	13866	4	5	28505	14689	13941	5	6	28591	14764	14016	6	7	28677	14839	14091	7	8	28763	14914	14166	8	9	28849	14989	14241	9	10	28935	15064	14316	10	11	29021	15139	14391	11	12	29107	15214	14466	12	1	29193	15289	14541	1	2	29279	15364	14616	2	3	29365	15439	14691	3	4	29451	15514	14766	4	5	29537	15589	14841	5	6	29623	15664	14916	6	7	29709	15739	14991	7	8	29795	15814	15066	8	9	29881	15889	15141	9	10	29967	15964	15216	10	11	30053	16039	15291	11	12	30139	16114	15366	12	1	30225	16189	15441	1	2	30311	16264	15516	2	3	30397	16339	15591	3	4	30483	16414	15666	4	5	30569	16489	15741	5	6	30655	16564	15816	6	7	30741	16639	15891	7	8	30827	16714	15966	8	9	30913	16789	16041	9	10	31000	16864	16116	10	11	31086	16939	16191	11	12	31172	17014	16266	12	1	31258	17089	16341	1	2	31344	17164	16416	2	3	31430	17239	16491	3	4	31516	17314	16566	4	5	31602	17389	16641	5	6	31688	17464	16716	6	7	31774	17539	16791	7	8	31860	17614	16866	8	9	31946	17689	16941	9	10	32032	17764	17016	10	11	32118	17839	17091	11	12	32204	17914	17166	12	1	32290	17989	17241	1	2	32376	18064	17316	2	3	32462	18139	17391	3	4	32548	18214	17466	4	5	32634	18289	17541	5	6	32720	18364	17616	6	7	32806	18439	17691	7	8	32892	18514	17766	8	9	32978	18589	17841	9	10	33064	18664	17916	10	11	33150	18739	18000	11	12	33236	18814	18075	12	1	33322	18889	18150	1	2	33408	18964	18225	2	3	33494	19039	18300	3	4	33580	19114	18375	4	5	33666	19189	18450	5	6	33752	19264	18525	6	7	33838	19339	18600	7	8	33924	19414	18675	8	9	34010	19489	18750	9	10	34096	19564	18825	10	11	34182	19639	18900	11	12	34268	19714	18975	12	1	34354	19789	19050	1	2	34440	19864	19125	2	3	34526	19939	19200	3	4	34612	20014	19275	4	5	34698	20089	19350	5	6	34784	20164	19425	6	7	34870	20239	19500	7	8	34956	20314	19575	8	9	35042	20389	19650	9	10	35128	20464	19725	10	11	35214	20539	19800	11	12	35300	20614	19875	12	1	35386	20689	19950	1	2	35472	20764	20025	2	3	35558	20839	20100	3	4	35644	20914	20175	4	5	35730	20989	20250	5	6	35816	21064	20325	6	7	35902	21139	20400	7	8	35988	21214	20475	8	9	36074	21289	20550	9	10	36160	21364	20625	10	11	36246	21439	20700	11	12	36332	21514	20775	12	1	36418	21589	20850	1	2	36504	21664	20925	2	3	36590	21739	21000	3	4	36676	21814	21075	4	5	36762	21889	21150	5	6	36848	21964	21225	6	7	36934	22039	21300	7	8	37020	22114	21375	8	9	37106	22189	21450	9	10	37192	22264	21525	10	11	37278	22339	21600	11	12	37364	22414	21675	12	1	37450	22489	21750	1	2	37536	22564	21825	2	3	37622	22639	21900	3	4	37708	22714	21975	4	5	37794	22789	22050	5	6	37880	22864	22125	6	7	37966	22939	22200	7	8	38052	23014	22275	8	9	38138	23089	22350	9	10	38224	23164	22425	10	11	38310	23239	22500	11	12	38396	23314	22575	12	1	38482	23389	22650	1	2	38568	23464	22725	2	3	38654	23539	22800	3	4	38740	23614	22875	4	5	38826	23689	22950	5	6	38912	23764	23025	6	7	39000	23839	23100	7	8	39086	23914	23175	8	9	39172	23989	23250	9	10	39258	24064	23325	10	11	39344	24139	23400	11	12	39430	24214	23475	12	1	39516	24289	23550	1	2	39602	24364	23625	2	3	39688	24439	23700	3	4	39774	24514	23775	4	5	39860	24589	23850	5	6	39946	24664	23925	6	7	40032	24739	24000	7	8	40118	24814	24075	8	9	40204	24889	24150	9	10	40290	24964	24225	10	11	40376	25039	24300	11	12	40462	25114	24375	12	1	40548	25189	24450	1	2	40634	25264	24525	2	3	40720	25339	24600	3	4	40806	25414	24675	4	5	40892	25489	24750	5	6	40978	25564	24825	6	7	41064	25639	24900	7	8	41150	25714	24975	8	9	41236	25789	25050	9	10	41322	25864	25125	10	11	41408	25939	25200	11	12	41494	26014	25275	12	1	41580	26089	25350	1	2	41666	26164	25425	2	3	41752	26239	25500	3	4	41838	26314	25575	4	5	41924	26389	25650	5	6	42010	26464	25725	6	7	42096	26539	25800	7	8	42182	26614	25875	8	9	42268	26689	25950	9	10	42354	26764	26025	10	11	42440	26839	26100	11	12	42526	26914	26175	12	1	42612	26989	26250	1	2	42698	27064	26325	2	3	42784	27139	26400	3	4	42870	27214	26475	4	5	42956	27289	26550	5	6	43042	27364	26625	6	7	43128	27439	26700	7	8	43214	27514	26775	8	9	43300	27589	26850	9	10	43386	27664	26925	10	11	43472	27739	27000	11	12	43558	27814	27075	12	1	43644	27889	27150	1	2	43730	27964	27225	2	3	43816	28039	27300	3	4	43902	28114	27375	4	5	43988	28189	27450	5	6	44074	28264	27525	6	7	44160	28339	27600	7	8	44246	28414	27675	8	9	44332	28489	27750	9	10	44418	28564	27825	10	11	

TABLE XV — For Palas

palas	a	b	palas	a	b
1	1	0	31	29	3
2	2	0	32	30	3
3	3	0	33	31	3
4	4	0	34	32	3
5	5	0	35	33	3
6	6	1	36	34	4
7	7	1	37	35	4
8	8	1	38	36	4
9	9	1	39	37	4
10	10	1	40	38	4
11	11	1	41	39	4
12	12	1	42	40	4
13	13	1	43	41	4
14	14	1	44	42	4
15	15	1	45	43	4
16	16	2	46	44	5
17	17	2	47	45	5
18	18	2	48	46	5
19	19	2	49	47	5
20	20	2	50	48	5
21	21	3	51	49	5
22	22	3	52	50	5
23	23	3	53	51	5
24	24	3	54	52	5
25	25	3	55	53	5
26	26	3	56	54	6
27	27	3	57	55	6
28	28	3	58	56	6
29	29	3	59	57	6
30	30	3	60	58	6

TABLE XIV — For Chathids

gh	a	b	c	gh	a	b	c
1	56	6	0	31	1750	187	14
2	113	12	0	32	1806	191	15
3	169	18	0	33	1862	200	15
4	226	24	1	34	1919	206	16
5	282	30	2	35	1975	212	16
6	339	36	3	36	2032	218	16
7	395	42	3	37	2089	221	17
8	451	48	4	38	2145	230	17
9	508	54	4	39	2201	236	18
10	561	60	5	40	2257	242	18
11	621	68	5	41	2314	248	19
12	677	78	5	42	2370	251	19
13	731	79	6	43	2427	260	20
14	790	85	6	44	2483	266	20
15	847	91	7	45	2540	272	21
16	903	97	7	46	2596	278	21
17	959	103	8	47	2653	281	21
18	1016	109	8	48	2709	290	22
19	1072	115	9	49	2765	296	22
20	1129	121	9	50	2822	301	23
21	1185	127	9	51	2878	308	23
22	1242	133	10	52	2935	314	24
23	1293	139	10	53	2991	321	24
24	1351	145	11	54	3048	327	25
25	1411	151	11	55	3094	339	25
26	1467	157	12	56	3151	349	26
27	1524	163	12	57	3207	345	26
28	1580	169	13	58	3273	351	26
29	1637	175	13	59	3331	357	27
30	1691	181	14	60	3386	363	27

TABLE XIII
(Continued from p. 177)

CHITRA

day	10	a	b	c
0	3	24250	488	9089
1	4	27046	851	9117
2	5	31033	1314	9144
3	6	34419	1877	9172
4	0	37805	1940	9199
5	1	41192	2303	9236
6	3	44578	2665	9254
7	3	47964	3528	9281
8	4	51349	3391	9308
9	5	54735	3754	9336
10	6	58121	4117	9363
11	0	61507	4480	9391
12	1	64894	4843	9418
13	2	68280	5206	9445
14	3	71666	5569	9473
15	4	75053	5932	9500
16	5	78439	6295	9527
17	6	81825	6658	9555
18	0	85212	7020	9582
19	1	88598	7381	9610
20	2	91984	7746	9637
21	3	95371	8100	9664
22	1	98757	8472	9692
23	5	102143	8835	9719
24	6	105530	9198	9747
25	0	108916	9561	9774
26	1	112302	9921	9801
27	2	115689	10287	9829
28	3	119075	10650	9856
29	4	122461	10913	9883
VARAṆA OF FOLLOWING YEAR				
0	5	125848	1375	9911
1	6	129234	1738	9938
2	0	132620	2101	9966
3	1	136007	2464	9993
4	2	139393	2827	10020

TABLE XVI—For converting Decimals of the circle into Degrees, Minutes and Seconds

1st Decimal	"	2nd Decimal	" "	3rd Decimal	" " "	4th Decimal	" "	5th Decimal	" "
0 1	36	0 01	3 36	0 001	0 21 36	0 0001	2 10	0 00001	0 13
0 2	72	0 02	7 12	0 002	0 43 12	0 0002	4 19	0 00002	0 26
0 3	108	0 03	10 48	0 003	1 1 48	0 0003	6 29	0 00003	0 39
0 4	144	0 04	11 24	0 004	1 26 24	0 0004	8 38	0 00004	0 52
0 5	180	0 05	18	0 005	1 48	0 0005	10 48	0 00005	1 5
0 6	216	0 06	21 36	0 006	2 9 36	0 0006	12 58	0 00006	1 18
0 7	252	0 07	25 12	0 007	2 31 12	0 0007	15 7	0 00007	1 31
0 8	288	0 08	28 48	0 008	2 52 48	0 0008	17 17	0 00008	1 44
0 9	324	0 09	32 24	0 009	3 14 24	0 0009	19 26	0 00009	1 57

TABLE XVIII—Tithi Table

TABLE XVII—For converting Degrees, Minutes and Seconds into Decimals of the circle

(Argument A = a corrected by eq b and eq c)

Degrees		Minutes		Seconds	
1	0 00277 8	1	0 00004 6	1	0 00000 1
2	0 00555 6	2	0 00009 3	2	0 00000 2
3	0 00833 3	3	0 00013 9	3	0 00000 2
4	0 01111 1	4	0 00018 5	4	0 00000 3
5	0 01388 9	5	0 00023 1	5	0 00000 4
6	0 01666 7	6	0 00027 8	6	0 00000 4
7	0 01944 4	7	0 00032 4	7	0 00000 5
8	0 02222 2	8	0 00037 0	8	0 00000 6
9	0 02500 0	9	0 00041 7	9	0 00000 7
10	0 02777 8	10	0 00046 3	10	0 00000 8
20	0 05555 6	20	0 00092 6	20	0 00001 5
30	0 08333 3	30	0 00138 9	30	0 00002 3
40	0 11111 1	40	0 00185 2	40	0 00003 1
50	0 13888 9	50	0 00231 5	50	0 00003 8
60	0 16666 7				
70	0 19444 4				
80	0 22222 2				
90	0 25000 0				
100	0 27777 8				
200	0 55555 6				
300	0 83333 3				

Tithi	Bright fort- night	Dark fort- night
	A	A
0	0	50000
1	3333	53333
2	6667	56667
3	10000	60000
4	13333	63333
5	16667	66667
6	20000	70000
7	23333	73333
8	26667	76667
9	30000	80000
10	33333	83333
11	36667	86667
12	40000	90000
13	43333	93333
14	46667	96667
15	50000	00000

No 17 —NAVALAKHI PLATES OF SILADITYA I —[GUPTA-] SAMVAT 286

By PROFESSOR H. M. BHADRAKAR

I edit the following plates from two impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Archaeological Superintendent, Western Circle. The two impressions together leave no doubt as to the correct reading of the original with the exception of 170 names at the beginning of the second plate. In the case of these two names, the original itself seems to be damaged.

The plates were first found in 1901-5 at Navalākhi near Shahpūr, a village about 8 or 10 miles from Junāgadh, and are now preserved in the Bahadur Museum, Junāgadh. They are two in number, each inscribed on one side only. The edges are fashioned into rims on the four margins. The plates appear to have been held together by thick rings passing through two holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second. The holes are nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ in diameter, and seem to have been bored before the grant itself was inscribed. The usual seal must have been attached to one of these copper rings but as it is not forthcoming, I presume it has been lost. The plates measure about 10" by 9". The first bears 21 lines and the second 16. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ".

The subjoined inscription is comparatively free from mistakes and differs in this respect from other records of the same dynasty, e.g. the Rājādi Museum plates of the same reign dated in Gupta-Samvat 290, published by Dr. Bühler¹ (referred to in the sequel for the sake of brevity as 'the grant of 290'). The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. As regards palaeography, it is enough to note that the aksaras *pa* and *dh* are hardly distinguished (e.g. *lāryya-phalah*, l. 7, and *pīthōdūha*, l. 11). The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of three imprecatory verses at the end. The rules of *sandhi* are followed in many places but neglected in others. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted —

The letter *gh* is used instead of *h* in *saṃghāṭis* (l. 5), and *saṃghatārālī*² (l. 11). The guttural *n* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *chātārāṇsaṭē* (l. 25) according to the practice of the Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇas in their Vedic recitations, and the dental *n* takes its place in *°bhāsurataransa* (for *°tarāmsa*) as is the practice with the Gujarātīs of the present day. The final *m* of a word is changed only once into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs in *°āmānyāñ=cha* (l. 30), while in other cases it is generally changed into an *anusvāra*. The letters *tri* in *°tridaśaguru*³ (l. 6), and *tri* in *trinavāḍ*⁴ (l. 7) are both wrong and should be corrected by a reciprocal interchange. Consonants conjunct with the *rēpha* are generally doubled (according to Pāṇini VIII, 4.46) except in the case of sibilants, e.g. *darśayitā* (l. 11), and *varsha* (l. 33). When the letter *dh* is conjunct with *ya*, the unaspirated *d* is also prefixed, e.g. *°pādānuddhyāta* (ll. 12-13), in *°sambaddhyamīval*⁵ in (l. 18), and in *°vīddhyāya*⁶ (ll. 19-20). The double *nna* is written as *nna* in *°chandrārkaṇṇara*⁷ (l. 28). The sign of *ṛhiāmūliya*, which, in form, is just the letter *ri*, is written conjunct with *ll* in l. 16, and *l* in l. 17, and to the group so formed the vowel signs of *i* in the first case, and of *u* in the second are added in the way usual with other conjunct letters. These are the only two occasions for this sign in the whole of this inscription, but while there are about half a dozen cases where the *upadhāniya* symbol may be expected, it is written only twice in conjunction with *p* in *mātāpitṛōhpunyāpūyānāya*, l. 19, and *sīdhupunarādātā*, l. 33. This sign is like the letter *chh*. Final *t* is denoted by the usual sign for the syllable *ta* with a slight stroke at the top slanting to the right.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 237, et seq.

The inscription is one of the *Parvamāhēsvara śrī-Silāditya I alias Dharmāditya*, the son of Śrī-Dharmasēna, and grandson of Śrī-Guhasēna who belonged to the royal family founded by Bhatārka. It is dated in the year 286 (A D 605) on the 8th day of the dark half of Āshāḍha. The date furnishes the numerical symbols for 200, 80, 6, and 8. The preamble of the grant, including the description of each one of the kings, is, as is quite natural, exactly the same as that of the grant of 290, referred to above.¹ A comparison of the copper-plate records of the family shows that Silāditya I was the first king who omitted the names of the kings intervening between Bhatārka, the founder, and Guhasēna, the grandfather of the present donor,—a practice which was subsequently adopted in all the later grants of this family.

The subjoined inscription records the gift of a village called Bhōndānaka, situated within the provincial limits of Vatanagara. I am not certain whether this Vatanagara is the same as Vadnagar in the Baroda State, or is the Vatapadra which Dr. Bühler took to be the modern Vadodra or Baroda.² In any case the village cannot be identified. The gift was made to forty-four Brāhmanas who had emigrated from Saṃgapurī, which is believed to be the same as the present Shahūpūr near Junagadh. The cause of the immigration is not recorded. Probably they were induced to settle in this place by the present gift.

The names of the Brāhmanas are curious. Some look like surnames or family names, while others are clearly the names of particular individuals. The name Boppasvāmī may show that he was very likely a Tailaṅga Brāhmana.³ Some are Prākṛit forms of Sanskrit names, e.g. *Khanda=Shanda*, *Sīha=Simha*, *Nattak=Ṇartaka*, *Gōlasarmmaṇ=Gōpasarmmaṇ*, as also *Bhatti* which seems to be derived from *Bhartri*. The last name is familiar as the one borne also by the author of the *Bhatti-līlā*. It is probable that the names Bappataka, Nāvuvaka, Khokkhak, Gimjaka, and Goggala are also similar in origin, though I am unable to suggest the precise derivation.⁴ Other names are pure Sanskrit. *Tāsa* is a gōtra or family name of several Brāhmanas even at present. The names Drona, Bhatti, Aditya, Bhadra, Bappataka and Gōpa appear to belong to more persons than one among the donees of the present grant, and hence the individual of the same name subsequently mentioned is distinguished from the first named person, by prefixing *dri*, *tri* as may be required. The prefixes mean, I believe, the second and the third.⁵

The following officials are mentioned in the grant —

- (a) *Āyuktāla* — This word appears to be very old being found in Pāṇini II 3, 40, where it signifies a person appointed to some small work of a special character, and from the nature of the example given in the *Kaumudī* to illustrate the rule, it seems probable that these may be Brāhmanas employed for religious or charitable purposes, such as the *pūjāris* or the worshippers at temples, etc., or the *āśritas*, i.e. the learned men patronised by the king for holy merit.

¹ [The text follows more closely the Walā plates of Silāditya I dated in Gupta Samvat 286 — Ed.]

² The fact that the grant of 290 records the names of several villages ending in *ānaka*, gives greater probability to the second alternative. The same, however, of Vadnagar as an early residence of Brāhmanas is yet preserved in the name of the local caste of Brāhmanas, and hence one feels inclined to the first supposition. I cannot decide the matter for want of more accurate information.

³ Compare the name of Bōpadāva, the grammarian.

⁴ It is not unlikely that they are derived from the names of the villages to which their families originally belonged. The name *Guhilabhatti* (l. 20) may be traced to Gohilwad pranta of Kathiāwad.

⁵ This leads to the inference that these may be family names. It is worthy of remark that among these names we recognise two of the modern ones of the Kōkanastha families, viz. Bāpat and Bhīnu. These are now met with only amongst the so called Dakhinī Brāhmanas and I believe are not to be found amongst the original residents of Gujarāt or Kathiāwad at present. [In later inscriptions, e.g. the Maudhātī plates (above, Vol. I, p. 106), the abbreviations *dri* and *tri* stand for *dhīrīda* and *trīrīda* — H. K. S.]

- (b) *Vimyuhtaka* —This may be the officer in charge of the village as *pātāl* (the headman), *kulakarnī* (the clerk of the village) or some such village officer
- (c) *Dīṅgha* —The word *dranga* means 'a town' and *dīṅgha* may denote a town officer or merely an inhabitant of it
- (d) *Muha'tura* —This is often used to signify men of special respectability in a place, such as the heads of particular communities. It is also possible that this may form one word with the previous one and the two together may then mean 'the respectable inhabitants of the town'
- (e) *Chāla* —Monier Williams' Dictionary raises the query whether this should properly be *chāra* (a spy). As, however, the word occurs in this form in almost all the grants of this family, this explanation is not tenable. Dr. Bühler renders it by 'fortune-teller' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV, p. 106, note) though he is not certain of it. Yājñavalkya speaks¹ of *chālas* along with thieves, etc., as men who are likely to be injurious to the public. In *Mṛichukhaṭakā*, Act V, the friend of the hero remarks in Prākṛit that "even dogs won't go to a place where the *chālas*, courtisans, etc. reside" (Bombay Sanskrit series, Vol. I, p. 223, line 63). The similarity in sound with *chāla*, 'flattery' which this word presents is so close as to lead one to translate the word by 'flatterer', and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be the servant whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers. [For other explanations of the term *chāla*, see above, Vol. IX, p. 281, note 10, and p. 296.—Ed.]
- (f) *Bhata* means 'a soldier'. Perhaps the word is connected with *Bhāta*—the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises.
- (g) *Kumārāmātyas* is rendered by Dr. Bühler as 'the princes and ministers' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 175). As, however, the word *~ājasthānīya* occurs before the expression under consideration, I believe it should be rendered as one word by 'the princes, the noble lords of *Rājasthāna*'. Dr. Bühler, however, translates the epithet as 'representing royalty'. The princes of the royal blood are even now given the epithet of *kumāra*, and I believe in old times they formed a council of the nobles, and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on points of imperial importance. [For a different explanation of the word *kumārāmātya*, see above, Vol. X, p. 50, note 2.—Ed.]

The requirements of a formal *sāsana* include also an accurate description of the granted land, which should be declared as given free of all dues for ever. The subjoined attributes of the word *grāma*, should accordingly be interpreted as supplying these requirements:—

sūdrangah —The word *ultranga* is given in the Petersburg Dictionary as a synonym of *dranga* (a town) and hence this adjective of *grāma* may be rendered by 'together with the hamlets'

sōparikarah —Possibly means 'together with its appurtenances' as timber, trees, etc. standing on the land. Drs. Bühler and Fleet, however, suggest that all these attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenue. In that case, this adjective may mean 'together with municipal taxes levied on tradesmen, etc. for the management of the town' in accordance with Mann VII, 137². It appears to

¹ चाटनस्तरद्वृत्तसंसाहसिकादिभिः ।

पीडयमाना प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्यैव विशेषतः ॥ Ya. Sm. I. 331-5

² वत्किंचिदपि वर्षस्य द्वाप्येवैवसञ्चितम् ।

व्यवहारिण जीवन्त राजा राष्ट्रे शुभचरन्सु ॥

me, however, that all such dues accruing from the village are mentioned by the adjective *sadhānyahiranyādēyah*. Hence it seems preferable to take the first three adjectives as referring to the description of the gift.

savātabhūtapratyāyah—Several giants read °*pratyayah* instead of *pratyāyah*. The meaning of both seems to be nearly the same. The compound word may be translated by 'as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place'. I am told that this word is actually used in the *Narmadāmāhātmya* to signify the extent of the region on either bank as belonging to the Narmadā, where the distinctive breeze from the river is recognised. The boundary marks are, broadly speaking, described by Nārada,¹ quoted in many other *smritis*, as fivefold viz. (1) huge trees or mountains, (2) rivers or tanks, (3) underground signs, (4) artificial marks made by men, and (5) by the order of the king. It is, I believe, to all these that this adjective refers. See, however, Dr Buhler's note on the word (*Ind Ant Vol IV*, p 106). He understands the word as referring to certain dues from the village. Dr Fleet also, in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 170, note 9, appears to agree with Dr Buhler.

sadhānyahiranyādēyah is clearly 'together with the revenues in grain and gold'.

sadaśāparādhaḥ—'with the right to the fines for the ten offences,' see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 189, note 4.

sōtpadyamānavṛkṣitā—*vṛkṣitā* yields *vēṭha* in Marāṭhī. The adjective means 'with the right to forced labour as occasion for it occurs' as prescribed by Manu VII, 138².

ahastapraśkṣhēpanīyah—This word is equivalent to the Marāṭhī idiom *hāta ghālanē* (lit to put one's hand in a matter). The phrase, therefore, should be rendered 'not to be meddled with' by any of the royal officers.

bhūmichchihdranyāyēna—'according to the principle of a hole in the earth'. This popular maxim is variously explained by Dr Bhandarkar (*Ind Ant Vol I* p 46) and by Dr Bühler (*ibid Vol IV* p 106, note). In the uncertainty thus caused I may propose a third explanation. The word usually occurs after *pūrvapratta-dēvabrahmadēyavarjitāḥ*, though sometimes without it, and is to be connected grammatically with *nisrīṣṭaḥ* that follows. It appears from this that both these words signify the reservations from the gift. The previous attribute having reserved the gifts to temples or Brāhmanas previously made, this word seems to reserve the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasure-trove, etc. The right of the king to these³ is always urged against a gift unless it is expressly transferred. The word, therefore, may reserve this right in favour of the royal donor in spite of the gift of the land.

The word *dūtaka* (1 34) is translated by some as 'messenger'. Seeing, however, that in several cases, princes of the royal blood are styled in this manner, I believe this must be a responsible officer who had to attest such *sāsanas* as required by the *Smritis*. In Manu VII, 63 5 the *dūta* is spoken of as a chief minister in special confidence with the king. His counsel was always sought on matters of utmost importance like peace and war. The word, therefore, should

¹ अजिनी मस्त्रिनी चैव नैधानी भयवर्जिता ।

राजशासननीता च सीमा पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥

² कारकान् शिष्यिनश्चैव शूद्राचारमोपजीविन ।

एकैक कारयेत्कर्म मासि मासि नहीपति ॥

³ See *Anandarāmāyana*, *Sārakāṇḍa III*, 264

यद्भूम्या वर्तते विच तद्रूपस्य न संशय ।

1. translated with Dr Bhandarkar as 'the minister, the executive officer' In this sense the word may perhaps be derived from द्वितीय, a joint officer¹

The word *duirapati*² seems to signify the head-clerk or at the most the chief secretary of the king According to the Smritis a *sāsana* had to be in the handwriting of the clerk whose business was to draft the important orders of peace and war, so it must be such an officer who is spoken of as *duirapati*

TEXT

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति वलभीत. प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणा भैत्रकाणामतुलवल³सपन्नमण्ड-
लाभोगससक्त⁴प्रहारशतलक्षप्रतापा[अ]-
- 2 तापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलमृत[अ]णीवलावासराज्यश्रियः प-
रममाहेश्वरश्री-
- 3 भटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मष. शैश-
वात्मभृति खड्गद्वितीयवा-
- 4 हुरेव ससदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्व⁵निकषस्तत्त्वभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभास-
सक्तपादनखरश्मि-
- 5 सधतिसकलसृतिप्रणीतसार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरजनान्वर्थराजशब्दः रूप-
कान्तिस्थैर्यधैर्यगा-
- 6 श्रीर्यबुद्धिसपद्भिः¹⁰स्मरशशङ्काद्विराजोदधि¹¹तृदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानशरणागता-
भयप्रदानपरतया
- 7 त्रिणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफल¹³ प्रार्थनाधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृदप्रणयि¹⁴हृदयः
पादचारीव¹⁵ सकलभुवन-

¹ See also Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, page 100, note 3

² It is interesting to note that this word *duirā* presents a close similarity to the word *dabīra*, and is possibly a Sanskritised form of the latter *Dabīra*, I learn, is an Arabic word meaning 'inaugurer' or 'secretary' It was the official name of one of the eight ministers of Shivāji and is equivalent to the title *srmanā* of Sanskrit origin This officer was very much the same as a "foreign secretary" and had charge of all the records concerning treaties, &c. with foreign powers

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ For the position, etc. of this city, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 165, and note

⁵ For *Mostrakas* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV p. 361, note

⁶ For 'sampaṇṇa' here and in later grants, the earlier reading is 'sapatna', on which see Dr Hultzsch's interesting remarks in Vol. III, p. 319, above

⁷ For 'prahāra' here and in later grants, the earlier ones of the same family read 'samprahāra'

⁸ Read °सत्त्व°

⁹ Read °सहति°

¹⁰ The word *dhairyya* does not occur in this compound in any of the Valabhī grants except the present one, the grant of 230, and that of Dharaśūna II (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 71) In its absence the word *adrirāja* in the following compound means *Himālaya*, but when the word occurs, the phrase *adrirāja* has to be split into two to correspond to the two qualities *sthairyya* and *dhairyya* In that case *adrī* may mean any mountain as a type of steadiness (*sthairyya*) and *rāja* may perhaps denote *Dharmarāja* as a type of courage (*dhairyya*), as suggested by his name *Yudhishtira*

¹¹ Read °शशङ्क°

¹² Read °त्रिदशगुरु°

¹³ Read °तृणवद°

¹⁴ Read फल The reading *phala* is also found in other grants

¹⁵ Read °सुहृदप्रणयि°

¹⁶ *Pādachārīva* means 'personified as it were', cf. प्रकटस्त्वेव धर्मस्य प्रसादो सूर्यसचर, *Uttararāmācharita*,

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥

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- 8 मण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तान-
विसृतजाङ्ग[वी]जलौघप्र-
- 9 चालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितस्वरभसमा-
भिगामिकैर्गुणैः¹
- 10 सहजशक्तिशिखाविशेषविस्त्रापिताखिलबलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपाल-
यिता धर्मदा-
- 11 यानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवा-
सस्य सघतारातिपक्ष-
- 12 लक्ष्म[ीपरि]भोगदत्तविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंग्रासविमलपार्थिवश्चिः² परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध-
रसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
- 13 द्वातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलस्समरशतविजयशो-
भासनाथमण्डला-
- 14 ग्रद्युतिभासुरतरन्सपिठो³ दूढगुरुमनो[र]थमहाभारस्सर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविम-
लमतिरपि सर्व-
- 15 तस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषस्समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयोपि
सुचरितातिशयसुव्य-
- 16 क्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगन्तपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदयकीर्त्तिर्दम्भानुप-
रोधोज्ज्वल⁴तरीकृता-
- 17 त्सुखसपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः कु-
शली सर्वानेवायुक्त-
- 18 कविनियुक्तकद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटभटकुमारामात्यादीनन्यांश्च यथाभिसंबद्धमानजा-
न्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः
- 19 संविदित यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय सगपुरीविनिर्गतनाना-
गोत्रचरणतपस्स-⁵
- 20 द्वायोपेतब्राह्मणद्रोण-⁶ इन्द्रवसु-वत्स-पण्डि-गुहिला-भट्टिस्त्र्य-दिनभट्टि-
- 21 लुद्रक-आदित्यवसु-दिद्रोण-त्रिद्रोण-कुमारशर्म-भट्टि-आदित्यरवि-

Second Plate

- 22 [गणक⁷]⁸ उ[वृक्ष]⁹ क्र-गोपाव्यक-खन्द-शर्म-भट्ट-आदित्य-द्विआदित्य-बप्पटक-मत्तुश-¹⁰
- 23 म्मा-ईश्वर-बोप्पस्वामि-द्विबप्पटक-गोप-दाम-द्विभट्ट-खोक्खक-केशव-

¹ *Ābhigāmiṁkāḥ guṇāḥ*, 'inviting virtuous qualities', see *Gupta Inscr* p 169, note 2

² Read सघताराति⁰

³ Read पार्थिवश्चि⁰

⁴ Read भासुरतरांसपीठो⁰

⁵ Read वत्स⁰

⁶ Read म्स्वाप्यायोपेत⁰

⁷ Read इन्द्रवसु (?)

⁸ I am not able to make out the name. It may be *Ganaka*, or *Ganarika* (a mistake for *Ganārīka*). But the letter after *na* is more probably *na*, in which case it may be *Ganātna* (a mistake for *Ganaratna*)

⁹ I am not sure whether I have read the name correctly, nor can I make out anything of it

¹⁰ Read मातृशर्मा

- 24 गोवशर्मा-अग्निशर्मा-द्विगोप-नावुव[क]-कुमारभद्र-सीह-नट्टक-गिंजक-गोगक-संगम[-]
 25 द्विमष्टि-भानु-एवं चतुश्चत्वारिंशते¹ ब्राह्मणेभ्यः वटनगरस्थत्यन्तर्गतभोण्डानक-
 ग्रामस्त्रोदङ्ग-
 26 स्त्रोपरिकरस्त्रवातभूतप्रत्यायस्त्रधान्यहिरण्यादेयस्त्रदशापराधस्त्रोत्पद्यम[1]न²विष्टिस-
 व्वर[1]-
 27 जकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय³ पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच-
 28 न्द्रार्काणवर्णितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण
 धर्मदायी
 29 निष्टष्ट, यतः ए[षां] भुजतां [क]पतां कर्षयतां प्रदिशता वा न कैश्चिद्ब्या-
 सेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्र-
 30 नृपतिभिरप्यस्त्र[हं]श्लैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च
 भूमिदानफलम्-
 31 वगच्छद्भिरयमस्त्रदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेति ॥ 'बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
 भिस्त्रग-
 32 रादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ 'यानीह
 दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्विनानि ध-
 33 र्मायतनीकृतानि [1*] निर्भुक्तमात्र्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु⁴
 पुनराददीत ॥ [ष]ष्टि वर्षस-
 34 हस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदेत⁵ भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकथा-
 35 च भद्रादित्ययशाः [1*] लिखितं सन्निविष्टहाधिकृतदिवीरपतिवचनभट्टिना⁶ ॥⁸
 36 सं २०० ८० ६ आषाढ व ८ ॥०।
 37 स्वहस्तो मम ॥

¹ More properly °चत्वारिंशते

² Read °विष्टिस्त्र° or °विष्टिकस्त्र, according to several other grants.

³ Read °एणव°

⁴ This verse is introduced in the grant of 290 by the words *uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna*

⁵ The metre is *Upajāt*, made up of *Upēndravajrā* and *Indravajrā*

⁶ For *mōdēta* many other grants read *mōdāt*, but we have got *vasat*, instead in the Smṛiti passages where it occurs

⁷ The original clearly reads the name as *Vatrabhattinā*, which does not make any sense. The grant of 290 reads *Chandrabhattinā* instead which perhaps is the proper spelling of the name. It should be noted, however, that Dr Bhandarkar's plate (*Ind Ant Vol I p 17*) also appears to read the name as *Vatrabhatti* which the Doctor reads as *Vashabhata*, as it does not look quite clear at the place

⁸ [The symbol here corresponds to the symbol at the beginning and may be read *ōm* — H K S]

No 18 —BANSWARA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA, [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1076

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

Although the approximate period of the reign of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Dhārā is settled from references in contemporary literature,¹ the only inscription of his time which had been discovered so far was the Ujjain copper plate grant of Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021.² The copper-plate inscription now published is dated about two years earlier, viz in the [Vikrama] year 1076, on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha (1 31). The date of the grant was the anniversary of the conquest of Konkana (1 10). It follows from this that Bhōjadēva had undertaken an expedition into the Konkana either in Samvat 1075 or in one of the years preceding it.

The subjoined transcript is based on an ink-impression prepared by Pandit Gaurishankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and transmitted to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. I have received no description of the original, which was found in the possession of the widow of a *thathērā* (copper-smith) living at Banswara.³ But as the impression shows two ring-holes at the bottom of the first side and at the top of the second side, it may be presumed that the inscription is engraved on two copper-plates which are held together by two rings and measure $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth and $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border (before lines 23 to 32) a flying figure of Garuda, facing the proper left and carrying a snake in his left arm.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same type as in the Ujjain plates.⁴ The *avagraha* is used, improperly, for marking the elision of a short *a* after a long *ā* in 11, 10 and 22. The consonant *ṣ* is expressed by *ṣ* throughout. Once *ṣ* is wrongly replaced by *ṣ*,⁵ and *ṣ* by *ṣ* in four cases.⁶ The gerund *कुवा* is twice spelt *कुवा*.⁷

The document is drawn up in Sanskrit prose mixed with verses which are nine in number. Excepting the different date and the particulars of the donee and the object granted, the new grant is practically identical with the Ujjain plates. A short abstract of it will therefore be sufficient for all purposes.

After two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakēśa*, v 1, or *Smarārāṭi*, v 2), Bhōjadēva, successor of Sindhurājadēva, successor of Vākpatirājadēva, successor of Siyakadēva informs all royal officers coming to Vatapadraka included in the Ghāghradōra district (*bhōga*) of the Stāli province (*mandala*) and the Brāhmanas and other inhabitants, that, at the anniversary of the conquest of Konkana, having bathed and worshipped Śiva (*Bhavānīpatr*, 1 10), he granted 100 *nivartanas* (in words and figures, 1 16) of land in the above-mentioned village (viz Vatapadraka) to the Brāhmana Bhāila, son of Vāmana, of the Vasishtha *gōtra* and the Vēji-Mādhyamdina *sālāhā*, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chhūchhā city (*sthāna*, 1 18).⁸

¹ See Bühler's remarks in Vol I pp 230 233, above.

² Published, with English translation, by N J Kirtane, *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 53 ff. The date was calculated by Kielhorn, *id.* Vol XIX p 361, No 169.

³ This fact is very suggestive. If the copper smith had not died, and if Mr Ojha had not rescued the copper plates from his widow, they would have shared the fate of many of their fellows, viz the conversion into copper vessels.

⁴ See the lithograph, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI pp 53 and 54. Instead of °विनिर्गतराक्षस° (1 2 f of plate 11) we may have to read विनिर्गत (11) भूसुर°.

⁵ See note 3 on p 183.

See notes 6 and 11 on p 183.

⁶ See notes 6 and 9 on p 182, and 2 and 5 on p 183.

⁸ Cf *Chimcha kshētra*, above, Vol IV p 207, text line 29.

Line 31 contains the date Samvat 1076 Māgha śu dī 5 A facsimile of the royal signature "this (is) the own hand of śrī-Bhōjadēva" is affixed at the end of either plate (II 15 and 32)

The date does not include any details which admit of actual verification But Dr Fleet tells me that, with the year 1076 taken as expired, as in the Ujjain record, the details which are given take us to 3rd January, A D 1020 The localities named in the grant cannot be identified, because there is no clue as to the exact neighbourhood in which we are to look for them, and because enough of them are not mentioned

TEXT

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 ओ^१ [॥^२] जयति व्योमकेशौसौ^३ यः मर्गाय विभर्त्ति^४ ता । पदवी
शिरसा लेखा ज-
- 2 गद्दीजाकुराकृति^५ ॥ [१^{*}] तन्वतु वः क्षरारातेः कल्याणमनिश जटा. ॥ क-
- 3 त्यातसमयोद्दामतडिहलयपिंगला ॥ [२^{*}] परमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 4 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[भी]यकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
- 5 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाकृतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
- 6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
- 7 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेव कुशली ॥
- 8 स्थलीमंडले घाघ्रदोरभोगांत.पातिवटपद्रके ^६शमुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-
- 9 ^७रूपान्त्राह्मणीत्तरान्प्रतिनिवाभिजनपदादीश्च समादिशत्यसु^८ वः संविदित ॥
- 10 यथाऽस्माभिः कीकणविजयपर्वणि श्रात्वा^९ चराचरगुरु भगवन्तं भवानोपति
- 11 समभ्यर्च्य स[स]ारस्या[स]ारता दृष्ट्वा । वाताभैविभ्रममिद वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमा-
- 12 नमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणागजलविदुसमा^{१०} नराणां (१) धर्मैः सखा
- 13 परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ [३^{*}] भ्रमत्ससारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमा श्रियं ।
प्राप्य ये न
- 14 ददुस्तेषा पञ्चात्ताप पर फल ॥ [४^{*}] इति जगतो विनश्चर स्वरूपमा-
कलयोपरि-^{११}
- 15 स्वहस्तोय श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥^{*}]

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 लिखितग्रामात्^{१२} भूनिवर्त्तनशतैकं नि १०० स्वसीमावृणोचरयूतिपर्यंतं
हिरण्या- (१)

^१ From the ink-impression

^२ Expressed by a symbol.

^३ Read 'केजीसौ'

^४ Read विभर्त्ति

^५ Read जगद्दीजा^०

^६ Read समुप^०

^७ Read 'रूपान्त्रा^०

^८ Read 'त्यसु

^९ Read श्रात्वा

^{१०} Read 'पायजलविदु^०

^{११} This line is continued on the next plate (I 16)

^{१२} Read 'ग्रामाद्

- 17 इयमेत सभागभोग सोपरिकर सर्वादायसमेतं ¹ब्राह्मणभाइलाय वामन-
 18 सुताय ²वशिष्ठसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय च्छिच्छास्थानविनिर्ग-
 तपूर्व-
 19 जाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यसोभिहृद्ये³ अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चंद्राकार्ण-⁴
 20 वल्लितिसमकाल यावत्परया भक्त्या ⁵शाशनेनोदकपूर्व प्रतिपादितमिति
 मत्वा त-
 21 त्रिवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमात्राश्रवणविधेयै-
 22 भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यमिति ॥ सामान्य चैतत्पुण्यफलं ⁶बुध्वाऽस्मदंशजै-
 रन्यै-
 23 रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्पदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमतव्यः⁷ पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं
 च । व-⁸
 24 हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [५*]
 25 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रेर्द्धानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निष्मर्त्यावांतिप्र-
 तिमानि
 26 तानि की नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [६*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि-
 रन्यैश्च दानमि-
 27 दमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचचलाया⁹ दानं फल परयशः-
 परिपाल-
 28 न च ॥ [७*] सर्व्वानितान्भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
 29 सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणा काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [८*]
 इति कम-
 30 लदलाबुविंदुलोला¹⁰ श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवित च । सकलमिदमुदा-
 31 हृतं च बुध्वा¹¹ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ [९*]
 सवत् १०७६ माघ शु दि ५ [१*]
 32 स्वयमात्रा । मगल महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोय श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

¹ Read ब्राह्मण°⁴ Read चंद्राकार°⁷ Read °धर्मादायो°¹⁰ Read °दलाबुविद°² Read वशिष्ठ°⁵ Read शासने°⁸ Read व°¹¹ Read बुद्धा³ Read °यशो°.⁶ Read बुद्धा⁹ Read °बुद्बुद°.

No 19—THE SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHASIVA-GUPTA¹

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

Sirpur is a small village on the right bank of the Mahānadi in the Mahāsāmunda tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is 37 miles north-east of Raipur and 15 miles from Ārang. Sirpur was once the capital of Mahā-Kōśala² and was then known as Śrīpura,³ as given in the stone inscriptions found there, and also in the copper plates found in Rājīm⁴ and Baloda.⁵ The ruins in and around the village indicate that it was once a great city and there are scores of temple sites, the identification of which is now rendered impossible by the removal of the idols they contained to a place near a brick temple, which is the only one now standing as it was originally built. It is popularly known as the 'Lakshmana temple'. Writing of the bricks with which it is built, Mr Cousens who visited it in 1904 remarked⁶ that they were of a finer make than any he had till then seen, either ancient or modern. They are moulded and carved with considerable artistic skill. About a third of the temple tower was gone, while the *mandapa* had totally collapsed and was a heap of ruins when it was taken under Government conservation. It was while removing the debris of this *mandapa* that the subjoined inscription was found and removed to the Raipur Museum where it is at present deposited. Sir A Cunningham visited Sirpur in 1881-82 and noticed all the inscriptions he found there, remarking that one of them must belong to this temple. He was right in supposing that the temple must have had some inscription but it had not come to light then and it was about 2 years⁷ ago that it was accidentally discovered.

It is perhaps the biggest inscription yet found in Sirpur. It is engraved on a thick reddish stone, which is not exactly rectangular, the breadth of the upper corner being 3' 8½" and that of the lower 3' 9", while the height at the right side is 2' 3½" and at the left 2' 1½". The writing covers a space 3' 8" by 2' 1". There are altogether 26 lines of writing, but some parts of the stone coming in contact with others have peeled off, and portions of lines 3, 4, 5, 6 at the left hand top corner and the last 4 lines have been partially damaged. The characters are Nāgarī, beautifully engraved, their average height being ¼". They belong to the Northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or 9th century A D. The most noticeable peculiarities are the antiquated forms of the letters *ī*, *na*, *sa*, *dha*, *tha*, *bha* and *ja*. The *mātrā* of *ā* is represented by a top stroke, and *ē* by a small stroke prefixed to the letter. The sign of *u* is added in the middle of the letter *ra* as usual, but when made long it is bent upwards as in *gurūpacharanē* in line 7 and *-rūpāh* in line 12. In the case of the short *ru* in Purushōttama in line 1, the bend is upwards instead of downwards, but this is probably a mistake as other short *rus* have it in the usual way downwards. The signs for *ñ* and *n* when joined to a class letter appear to be identical compare *puñja* in line 1 and *mandanam* in line 12. Forms of final *m* occur in ll 4, 11, 12, 13 and 14 and of *t* and *n* in ll 6 and 16 respectively.⁸ The language is excellent Sanskrit, highly rhetorical, containing 42 verses in various metres.

The record consists of two parts, viz a eulogy in 23 verses and rules for the temple management from line 16 to the end. The inscription begins with an invocation to Purushōttama, which is in prose. The first three verses are devoted to the praise of the Nrisimha or man-lion incarnation of Vishnu King Mahāśivagupta, his mother and two ancestors.

¹ [This paper was partially prepared for the Press by Dr Sten Konow when he was Government Epigraphist in 1908 and by Mr H Krishna Sastri when he officiated in that post for two months, from 17th July to 17th September 1911—Ed.]

² [On this name and its denotation, see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol XVII p 68 f.—Ed.]

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII p 179, and Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol XVII p 25 ff.

⁴ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 291.

⁵ Above, Vol VII p 102.

⁶ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year 1904*, p 20.

⁷ That is calculating from the date this article was given for publication in 1908.

⁸ [Final *n* occurs in line 6 also.—Ed.]

(father and grandfather), are next mentioned. The historical information which is here furnished is that, in the lunar race, there was a hero whose name is illegible (v 4). His son was Harshagupta (v 9). From him was born Mahāśivagupta (v 12) who was also known as Bālārjuna owing to his proficiency in the use of arms (v 13). He apparently had a younger brother named Ranakēśarin (v 12). We are then informed that his mother, named Vāsata (v 15), was the daughter of Sūryavarmā, king of Magadha (v 16). She became a widow (v 17) and caused to be constructed a temple of Hari (v 20), the same to which this inscription was affixed. She and her acts are praised in seven verses (vv 17 to 23).

The writer of this eulogy who calls himself *praśastikārah kavīh* was Chintāturaṅka Īśāna (v 24)¹, who in the second part proceeds to lay down the regulations for the management of the temple as follows — Five villages, viz Tōḍankana, Madhuvēdha, Nālipadra, Kurapadra, and Vānapadra, were given (v 25) for the maintenance of the temple to which apparently a *sattra* or an almshouse was attached. The villages were divided into four shares, three of which (subdivided into three separate parts) were to be reserved for the maintenance of the almshouse, repairs (to the temple) and for the support of the servants attached to the sanctuary (v 26). The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts, of which twelve were to be enjoyed by a corresponding number of Brahmanas fully conversant with the Vēdas, each of the three Vēdas (Rik, Yajus and Sāman) having four experts. The remaining three parts were to be enjoyed by a sacrificial priest and two others who were Bhāgavatas². The names of these fifteen persons are duly recorded and it is enjoined that their descendants should inherit the gift if properly qualified for it, otherwise the grant should go to some other relatives by their own selection and not by order of the king (vv 27 to 34). An additional village named Vargullaka is stated to have been given separately to the god himself, for meeting the expenses of offerings to him (v 36). The engraver was a certain Ārya Gonna (v 35), the same who wrote the slab built flat into the pavement of the new work outside the court wall of the Gandhēśvara temple at Sirpur.³

Like other inscriptions of Sirpur this is also undated, and therefore its age can only be determined from its characters, which, as stated before, belong to the 8th or 9th century A D. Mahāśivagupta who is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions so far found in Sirpur, seems to have been a temple-builder, or at least he encouraged others to build them. Apparently he was a Śaiva, although his mother was a Vaiṣṇava and so was his father who is described in verse 20 as *upāsītāchryutah*, i.e. by whom Vishnu was worshipped. From an inscription⁴ in the temple of Gandhēśvara (correctly Gandhervēśvara as given in an inscription affixed to the parapet there) we know five ancestors of Mahāśivagupta, so that our inscription gives no additional information about the family, as it only takes us back to his grandfather. But verse 6 leads us to the important inference that Mahāśivagupta's grandfather [Chandragupta] had an elder brother who was the king's commander in chief. This elder brother cannot I suppose be any other than the Tivaradēva of the Rājum and Balodā plates. He was the son of Nannadēva, Chandragupta's father. Tivaradēva's inscriptions were issued from Śrīpura and he is described as being the 'supreme lord of Kōśala'.⁵ He had apparently no issue and his brother probably succeeded him. A second historical fact to be gleaned from our inscription is the discovery of one additional name in the line of Varmā kings of Magadha, viz Sūryavarmā who must have flourished about the 8th century A D. He apparently belonged to the Western Magadha dynasty. He must have been a contemporary of Chandragupta, to whose son Harshagupta he gave his daughter in marriage.

Attention may be called to the name Ranakēśarin (in verse 12) who would appear to have been a younger brother of Mahāśivagupta, although the word has been used in a double sense. Dr Kielhorn⁶ has drawn attention to this name with a view to show that names

¹ [The name intended seems to be Īśāna *alias* Chintātura — H K S.]

² [That these three parts were to be so disposed of, is implied. It is not clearly expressed in the text of the inscription — Ed.]

³ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1904*, p 50

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII p 179

⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 296

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p 257.

ending in Kēsarin were not foreign to this family as a curious coincidence between the Sirpur kings and the Oṛissa Kēsari family. The second name of Bhavadēva who, Dr Kielhorn says,¹ was 'a cousin of Indrabala's son Nannadēva, the father of both Tivaradēva and Chandragupta,' was also Ranakēsarin, but we meet it in the direct line here. In spite of the overwhelming palaeographic evidence² which tends to disprove any connection between the Sirpur dynasty and that of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak (or more correctly of Vinītapura or Yayātinagara), in both of which a Śivagupta occurs, it seems possible that General Cunningham may still prove to have been right in linking them together, although the dates assigned to them by him are all wrong.³ The kings of Sirpur appear to have been ousted by the kings of Śarabhapura,⁴ which place has not been identified as yet.⁵ The inscriptions of the latter have been found in the country round about and in close vicinity of Sirpur, viz. at Ārang, Raipur, Khariār and Śarangarh which enclose Sirpur from all directions, north, south, east and west. I have already identified several of the villages mentioned in them (see above, Vol. IX. p 283) and their position shows that a very large portion of the present Chhattisgarh Division came under their sway. Probably they could not conquer the whole of Mahā-Kōsala which extended from the confines of Berār to the boundary of the Katak District. The Sirpur dynasty having been driven further east settled in some place on the bank of the Mahanadi. They still continued to rule at least a part of Kōsala. That seems to be the reason why they continued to call themselves 'Lord of Kōsala' unwilling to show a reduced front. They had probably lost the western portion of Mahā-Kōsala for ever, and that seems to be the reason why most of the villages granted by them are situated in the Sambalpur District and the adjoining feudatory states of Patnā and Sonpur.⁶ The Sirpur dynasty probably regained its former power but could not regain the lost kingdom, as although the Śarabhapura kings seem to have fallen as quickly as they rose, they were succeeded by another rising power, the Haihayas of Tummāna, who eclipsed the chiefs of the whole of Chhattisgarh and extended their dominions still farther.

Dr Fleet assigns the characters of the records of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak to the eleventh century and says that even if a somewhat earlier period than what has been arrived at, should be hereafter established for Śivagupta and his successors of the Katak line, the palaeographic changes in so many details appear more than can possibly be covered by the lapse of a single generation.⁷ His conclusion is that the kings mentioned in these inscriptions 'are to be placed somewhere between A D 1000 and 1100.'⁸ Since the characters of the Sirpur inscriptions are believed to belong to about the 9th century, it would appear that Dr. Fleet would place an interval of a little more than 100 years to account for the palaeographic difficulties. This is a period which may easily be covered by three generations, and on examining the genealogical table made out from the records of the Sōmavamśi kings as given by Dr Fleet,⁹ it seems to me that a link of two generations is at present missing, which further discoveries might bring to light.

¹ *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p 622

² Above, Vol III. p 333

³ [The date assigned by Prof Kielhorn to Śivagupta Bālārjuna on the 'amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty' is about the beginning of the 9th century, while the Katak king Mahābhavagupta II and his three predecessors belong to about the 11th century (above Vol IV p 257). If these two approximate dates are correct, then we would have two kings, viz. a doubtful Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta, of whom no records have so far been found, for about two centuries.—Ed.]

⁴ [Mahāśudēva of Śarabhapura has been assigned by Mr Hiralal to about the 8th century (above, Vol. IX p 283). And Tivaradēva, Prof Kielhorn has assigned without hesitation to the middle of the 8th century. If these two approximate dates are correct, the usurpation by the Śarabhapura kings would have taken place at a time when the Sirpur kings must have been powerful.—Ed.]

⁵ It may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name, who is believed to be a match for a lion, with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsari (lions).

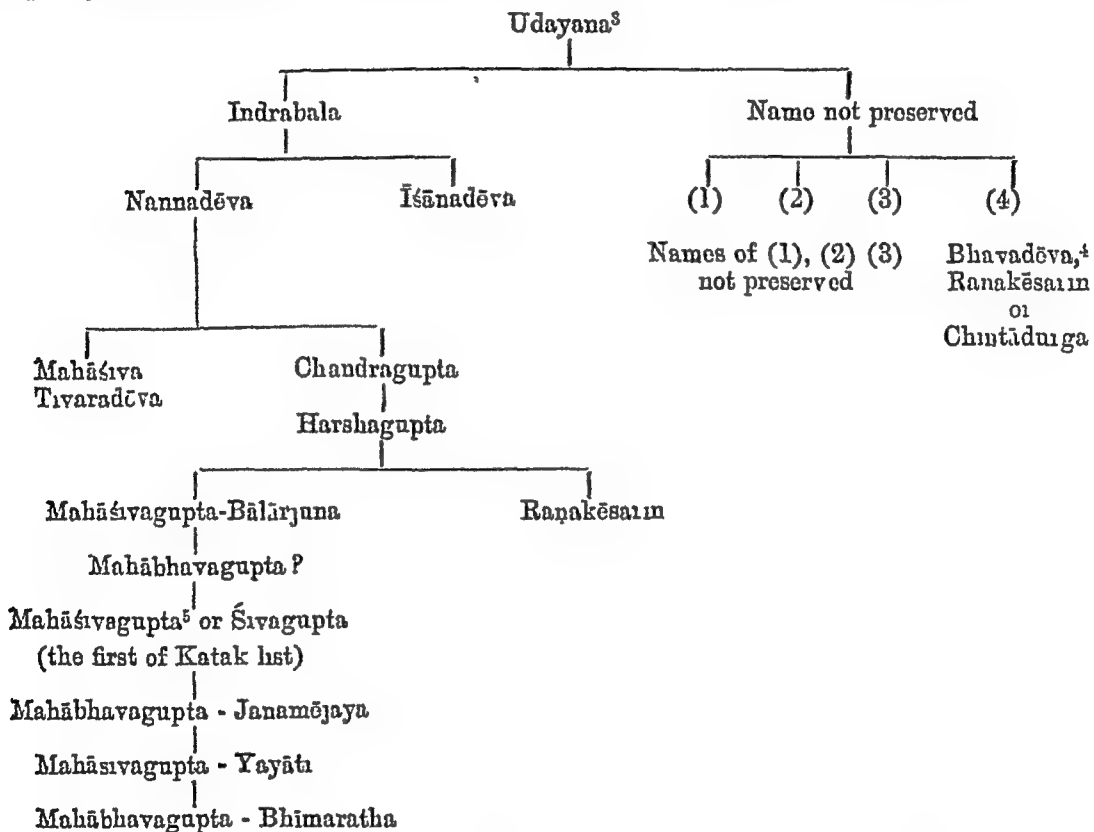
⁶ See tabular statement appended at the end giving the geographical information ascertained by local enquiry or otherwise and map showing the situation of places identified.

⁷ Above, Vol III p 334

⁸ *Ibid.* p 333

⁹ *Ibid* p 323

There are four kings in this list, but there are only two names, viz Śivagupta and Bhavagupta¹ Three of them have a second name which may have been their birth-names or titles The Śivagupta of our inscription had also a second name, viz Bālārjuna This Bālārjuna Śivagupta may possibly be the grandfather of the titleless Śivagupta of the Katak inscriptions By the way it may be noted that his granduncle Tivaradēva who was king was also called Mahāśiva as stated in the Balōdī and Rājūm plates² I suppose that the title of Harshagupta must have been Mahābhavagupta, and any further discoveries giving both the names would, I venture to think, confirm this surmise So we can trace back the official title of Mahāśiva up to Tivarvadēva at least and he was possibly great-great-granduncle of the first Śivagupta of the Sōmavamsī records According to this view the genealogical tree of the amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty would be as under —



¹ These were probably official names, assumed on installation as king, as is still done in some of the states towards Orissa, for instance, the Rāja of Bīmrā is either a Sūdhadēva or a Tribhuvandēva. The present chief whose name was Satchidānanda when he was *yuvārāja*, is Tribhuvandēva, and so was his grandfather, and his grandson will bear the same name.

² See above, Vol VII p 103, and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 296.

³ For sources of information for this genealogy, see *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII p 179, *J R A S* 1905, p 621, Cousen's *Progress Report* of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1904, p 54, and above, Vol III p 327. Note that Mahāśiva Tivaradēva's regal uncle and his possible predecessor at least in one part of Mahā Kōśala was a Bhavadēva, Chuntādurga or Ranakēśarin. Whether the name Bhavadēva was merely fortuitous or otherwise, I leave the reader to consider.

⁴ [From the extracts given by Prof Kielhorn (above Vol IV p 257) it appears that Bhavadēva was the fourth son of Udayana and not the fourth grandson as represented in the genealogical table. But on further examination of the inscription, Prof Kielhorn has stated that "Bhavadēva Ranakēśarin was the fourth son of Indrabala's younger brother whose name has not been preserved," (*J R A S* for 1907, p 621 f —Ed.)]

⁵ Above, Vol VIII p 140.

The Sirpur inscriptions show that Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta must have been in a fairly prosperous state and so it was probably his son, a possible Mahābhavagupta who was ousted from his ancestral capital. If we do not find any of his records, there is nothing to wonder at. A person in calamity driven out of his home would hardly think of bestowing grants or revel in perpetuating his name when his own position was so shaky, and his descendants would hardly be inclined to mention one who was in such a plight, it being better to omit than to record his tale of defeats¹. For the matter of that, they might also have omitted his son Śivagupta's name as he also does not seem to have been in a much better position, but he was the direct ascendant of his renowned son, and it is possible that he might have prepared the way to the conquest of Trikalīṅga of which all his successors are called *adhipati*, though no such title attaches to his name in any of the inscriptions. It appears that it was Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta (I) who retrieved the good name of his dynasty by conquering the Trikalīṅga country. So far as is known, he was the first in his line to take the title of Trikalīṅgādhipati, though it was disputed by the Haihaya kings of Chēdi, as we find the title used by the Kalachuri Karnadēva of Tripuri in his Benares plate of 1042 A.D.² and by other members of the same family up to 1174 A.D. But they were apparently raiders with superior power, the real rulers of Trikalīṅga being the Sōmavamsis. There is little doubt that these two houses came in contact with each other as in one of the Patnā plates (marked H) the donor claims a victory over Chēdi.

With regard to geographical names, the country of Magadha whence the temple builder was brought in marriage is well known. The other places mentioned are 6 villages given to the temple and its accessories. Of these, I think Karapadra is the same as Kulapadar, 15 miles south-east of Supur, and Vargullaka is apparently Gullū, about 10 miles south-west of Supur and 5 from Ārang. Tōdankana may be Turēngā near Kulapadar. About 4 miles from Turēngā there is a village named Madhuban which may be identical with Madhuvēdha of the inscription. As regards the remaining two, Nālipadra and Vānapadra, I could not find any villages answering to their names. Vānapadra must have been quite close to Sirpur, as it is stated to be 'on the spot'.

An endeavour has been made in the appended statement to identify places mentioned in other records of these kings, and it may not be out of place here to discuss the unsettled question of the capital of these kings. In the records of the Sōmavamsis the phrase '*śrīmatō vjaya-Katakāt*' occurs which has been interpreted to mean 'from the victorious Kataka', the capital, in preference to its simple meaning 'from the victorious camp'. That the latter is the real meaning clearly appears from the copper plates³ of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya belonging to the 3rd year of his reign (the oldest of all so far found), in which the word *skandhāvārāt* has been used instead of the usual *katakāt*. It will be observed from other inscriptions that whenever *kataka* is used, the name of the camp (a separate place-name) is invariably⁴ given, but this is not the case when the charters purport to be issued from Yayātinagara or Vinitapura, which Dr. Fleet considers to be fanciful names of Kataka itself. It has been assumed that Kataka was the capital of these kings, but I am

¹ Another reason why his name is omitted may be found in the fact that all the records of this dynasty give only the name of the donor and his father in the ordinary business-like way, and since his son Sivagupta for reasons stated further on in the text probably never made a grant, it seems very doubtful whether he would ever get a direct proof of his existence.

² Above, Vol. II p. 298.

³ These plates were found some 13 years ago at Sōnpur, the capital of the state of the same name. They were shown to me when I visited that place about 12 years ago (i.e. 1896) and I took a copy of the inscription [They have been published by Mr. Mazumdar (above, pp. 93 ff.) —Ed.]

⁴ There is only one exception found in the Patnā plates marked H in which Vinitapura and Kataka are both mentioned, but Mr. Laskar has noted that this record is full of mistakes and gross inaccuracies. See *J. A. S. B.* 1905, Vol. I p. 6.

unable to share this view. The question has already been discussed by other scholars,¹ and the identification of Yayātinagara with the modern Jāpuri has been suggested, but Dr Fleet² has pointed out that this suggestion is untenable as the inscriptions distinctly imply that Yayātinagara was on the Mahānadi, whereas Jappur is only on the Vataani, about 50 miles away from the former river.

The name Yayātinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinitapura during the reign of Yayāti otherwise known as Mahasivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayātinagara does not occur in any inscriptions. In fact he himself used the older name Vinitapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably somewhere between the 15th and 24th year of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayātinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and 25th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th year of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinitapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has usually asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinitapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binkā. This is a small town in the Sōnpur State, 16 miles north of the present capital of that state. It fulfils all the conditions appertaining to Vinitapura. It is on the bank of the Mahānadi, and the river scenery there is as beautiful as described in the inscriptions. From Sirpur it is about 100 miles as the crow flies and about 180 by river—quite a safe distance to which the ousted family might have removed itself. The two places are so situated that if one fled straight to the east he would meet Binkā as the first place on the Mahānadi, as between these two places the river flows in a curve.³ Binkā, moreover, is central to all the camps from which the kings issued their charters. Of the 13 so far discovered, 5 were issued from the capital itself, 3 from a pleasure garden, which must have been somewhere in the big groves still to be seen on the outskirts of Binkā, 3 were issued from Mūrasīma or the present Mursingā in the Pitrā state, about 11 miles from Binkā, one from Sōnpur, and one from Vīmāndāpātī⁴ or Bāmrā, 60 miles to the north-east, but this last was issued by a feudatory from his own headquarters, and he has mentioned his overlord's capital as Yayātinagara. The villages granted so far as they have been identified are situated close to and round about Binkā as a glance on the accompanying map will show.⁵ The existence of a village named Rājpalī (meaning royal hamlet) within a mile of the present Binkā town is significant. There are also remains of a fort close by and a ghāt embankment on the Mahānadi.

¹ See above, Vol VIII p 189 (where Professor Hultzsch prefers to take *kataha* in the sense of 'a camp') and *J A S B*, 1905, Vol I, pp 2 and 3.

² Above, Vol III p 355.

³ My idea is that when Bālārjuna's successor was driven out from Sirpur he fled straight off to the east and settled at a spot where he first met the sacred Mahānadi whose waters had sanctified generations of his ancestors. To this obscure place he in his dejection gave the appropriate name of Vinitapura or the 'town of the humbled'. I feel this is rather fanciful, as at this distance of time it is difficult to read the motives which actuated the founder to name the town in that way, and all that can be said is, that the explanation is plausible.

⁴ It may be noted that Bāmrā is still called Bāmandā by the Oriyā people of Sambalpur.

⁵ It is remarkable that there are amongst the donees Brāhmana immigrants from Madhyadēśa and even distant Śrāvastī in Oudh. Their advent to this remote place may easily be explained by the fact that Binkā lay, as it does now, on the high road to Jagannāth Puri, one of the four *dhāmas* or the most sacred places of India, which Hindus from all corners of the country visited as they still continue to do. Some of these learned Pandits of the celebrated district of Śrāvastī might have been induced to settle there, either by solicitations of the king or by necessity owing to the difficulty of crossing long distances for want of good communications, accentuated by the dangers of the road which was infested by robbers of all description.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री² नमः पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥³ अन्योन्यप्रान्तरान्तर्विचलदुरुमरुत्युज्जगुज्जारवोत्रै-
रङ्गुल्यग्रैरुदञ्चन्नखकिरणशिखास्पष्टदंष्ट्राकरालैः । क्रामन्वः पातु पञ्चानन
इ[व] चरणश्चक्रिणः खे घनौघान्विध्वस्य ध्व[र]-
- 2 न्तधाम्नः करिण इव किरन्मौक्तिकाभानि भानि ॥⁴ [१*] लब्धो निर्भेतुमेभिर्न रिपु-
रिति रसादत्तचक्षुर्नखेषु त्रासात्तत्रोड⁵रन्ध्रोदरकुहरदरीमेव लीन विलोक्य ।
हासोस्त्रासावहेल तदितरकरजाग्रेण निर्भिद्य [सद्यः कोशा] ⁶चिच्छेप तज्जं
मलमिव
- 3 दनुजं यः स वीव्यान्वृत्सिद्धः ॥⁷[२*] वहदिव [रु]चा शा[ङ्ख्या दंष्ट्रां]
सजिह्मिवासिना ज्वलदिव दधच्चक्रेणास्यं गदा मुकुटीमिव । ग्रसितुमसुरा-
न्संभूयेव श्रितान्तकविस्त्रम दुरितमिति [विदोयं⁸ विष्णोः] उ — उ उ
— उ — ॥⁹[३*] [आसीच्छशी]व भुवनाद्भुतभूतभूति¹⁰—
- 4 रुद्रभूतपति[भक्तिसम]प्रभावः । चन्द्रान्वयैकति[ल]कः खलु चन्द्रगुप्तरा]जा-
ख्यया पृथुगुणः प्रथित पृथिव्याम् ॥¹¹[४*] गरीयान्भारोय दुरधिगमिद
वर्त्म - पुरतो न मे प्रष्टः कश्चिन्न च समधुरः काञ्चन सखा । इ —
— — — — उ उ उ उ उ — — उ गणेशः स्वशक्त्या
- 5 निर्व्यूढिं उ उ उ उ उ — — उ उ उ — ॥¹²[५*] दुर्धर्ष[कौर]-
वर[दो] रणदारुणेषु¹³ सीरायुधः स इव कंसनिषूदनस्य । राजाधिकारधवलः
सबलो बभूव यस्याग्रजोप्यनुचरश्चरतो रणेषु ॥¹⁴[६*] कुन्धैरङ्कितमस्तका-
नति[ग¹⁵]दिव्याहारमुग्धात्मनो वक्तव्यस्तवृणानधःक्षतकरा-
- 6 न्मातङ्गकान्मारयन् । श्वेव श्वापदराट् न यस्य नृपतेः शौर्ये जगामोपमां
हन्तुः कोशपराक्रमान्वयनयस्कीतत्विषां विद्धिषां ॥¹⁶[७*] तस्याभूद्वनिभृता-
मधीश्वरस्य प्रख्यातो जगति सुतो यथा हिमाद्रेः । रत्नानां वसति-
रखण्डितोरुप[क्षो] मैनाको गिरिरिव यः [स्व]भावतुङ्गः ॥¹⁷[८*]

¹ From the original stone² Expressed by a symbol³ This stroke is corrected from a *visarga*⁴ Metre Sragdharā⁵ Read °त्रोड or °त्रोष° [On the impression the reading seems to be °त्रोड — H K S]⁶ Read क्रीचा°⁷ Read °सिद्ध Metre Sragdharā⁸ [The reading here intended appears to be वेधोय — Ed.]⁹ Metre Harinī.¹⁰ The *akshara* त of भूत looks as if it had been corrected from ति¹¹ Metre Vasantatilaka¹² Metre Śikharinī¹³ Mr. Kṛishna Śāstri suggests the reading वैरिवरवारणदारुणेषु which gives better sense and is adopted in the translation¹⁴ Metre Vasantatilaka¹⁵ Probably नयच [On the impression the reading appears to be °नतिमट° — H K S]¹⁶ Metre Śārdūlavikṛidita¹⁷ Metre Praharshupī

- 7 स्थानं चिरादुचितमेतदभून्ममेति लक्ष्मीः प्रसूतिसमये यमुवाह हर्षम् । तेना-
हृतः सततमेव शुचामगम्यः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति नाम ततो [य ऊहे] ॥¹[८*]
ससक्ताः सकलोपभोगविपये धर्माध्वनि प्र(प्रा)ध्वराः सङ्गोष्ठेषु निरन्तराः
परवलध्वन्मे²प्यवन्धाः सदा । [अच्युणाः] सतत [गुरु]पचरणे
- 8 यान्ति स्म विस्मापिनो यस्यानेकसुखाक्रियासु युगपत्संभाविनो वासराः ॥³ [१०*]
क्षुण्णा भित्तिरनेकधा विघटिताः सर्वेष्वमी [स]न्वयो वीथ्यङ्गान्यपि विक्ष-
तानि परितः शुष्कोस्थिव(व)न्धक्रमः । चित्रं प्रच्युतमासुखादपि कथं किं
वेक्षितेनामुना यस्येति द्विपता कुनाटकमिव द्विष्ट पुरं
- 9 प्रेक्षकैः ॥⁴[११*] तस्मादजायत महाशिवगुप्तराजो धर्मावतार इति निर्वि-
तयं प्रतीतः । भीमेन यः सुत इव प्र[ध]मः पृथायाः पृथ्वी जिगाय
रणकेसरिणानुजेन ॥⁵[१२*] भावी हन्त पितामहादपि महाना⁶चर्यमप्यो-
जसा जेष्यत्येव रणे बलेन भविता तत्कोस्य वैकर्त्तनः । अस्ता[भ्य]स्तिष
य सम[स्त]-
- 10 जयिन मत्वेति बालार्जुन स्वे देहेपि जह्नु सृष्ट्यामरिगणाः प्रागीव
सम्पत्तिपु ॥⁷[१३*] यः प्रहेषवतां वधाय विह्वतीरास्थाय मा[य]ामयोः
कृष्णो [योव]तरन्नभूद्दिह स खल्वव्याजलूनद्विषः । नासीदेव समो
हरिर्धवलतामात्यन्तिकीं विभ्रतो यस्याकल्कमतेर्न चापि भविता क[ल्की]
भविष्यन्पुनः ॥⁸[१४*]
- 11 तस्योरुजन्यजयिनो जननी जनानामीशस्य शैलत[न]येव मयू[रके]तोः ।
विस्मापनी विबुधलोकधियां वभूव श्रीवासटेति नरसि[ङ्गत]नोः⁹ सटेव ॥¹⁰
[१५*] निष्यङ्गे भगधाधिपत्यमहता जातः कुले वर्मणां पुण्याभिः
कृतिभि कृती कृतमनः कम्पः सुधाभो[जि]नाम् ।
- 12 यामासाद्य सुता हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्मा नृपः प्राप प्राक्परमेश्वर-
श्वश्रुतागर्वानिखर्वं पदम् ॥¹¹[१६*] गतेपि पत्न्यौ दिव[मेक]रूपैः सद्गो-
पवासव्रतकर्षितैरपि । न सुक्तमेवावयवैर्यदीयैः स्वभावलीलामयमात्ममण्डनम्
॥¹²[१७*] या वरुणाग्रिमिणां त्रयीव शरणं राज्यस्य नीति[र्य]था
- 13 प्रज्ञेव प्रविवेचनी सदसतोस्तृणावता श्रीः स्वयम् । उत्खाताखिलकल्मषप्रसरया
किञ्चिच्चलन्ती स्थिते सन्धानाय यया सखीव पृथिवी भूयः कृत स्मारिता ॥¹³

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁷ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁹ Metre Vasantatilaka¹² Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita² Read चक्षे⁰⁵ Metre Vasantatilaka⁸ Read नरसिङ्ग वनुमूर्धो वपि स्त्री स्यात् चिखले विरले कृशे—इति मेदिनी¹⁰ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁶ Read चार्ध⁰¹¹ Metre Upajāti

- [१८*] दमयन्त्या [ह्य'पि] पुरा यः स्थलं प्राप्य गर्वितः । स
क[लिः] खेपि समये हतमानः कृतो यया ॥^१[१९*] तया निजः
- 14 प्रेत्य पतिर्यथाविधे वसत्यसौ नित्यमुपासिताच्युतः । प्रकाशितुं तादृशमेव
कारितं विभोरितं धाम हरे सनातनम् ॥^२[२०*] दिव्यादेः सकलस्य
जन्तुनिवहस्योच्चावचैः कर्मणा वैचिन्यादयमद्भुतो बहुविधावस्थैवेपुःपञ्चरैः ॥
[यः*] प्रासादह[ह]च्छलेन क-
- 15 धितः संसार एव स्फुटं पश्यन्तस्तदिमं मनः कुरुत भो पापेषु मा
सूक्ष्मिषाः ॥^३[२१*] क्षणमधः क्षणमुत्पतितैर्नभः पवनलील[त]या [ध्वज]-
पल्लवैः ॥ (१) हरणपालनयोरुचिते गती कथयति स्वयमेव महोभुजा
॥^४[२२*] तट एव भवान्बुधैस्तरुतुं निहि-
- 16 तो धर्ममयः प्लवो महान् । परिपालयितव्य एष भूपैरवदोर्णो हि निमज्ज-
यत्यधः ॥^५[२३*] इति वः प्रशस्तिकारः कविः स चिन्तातुराह ईशानः
॥ यत्पालनार्थमर्थयति पार्थिवास्तां स्थितिं शृणुत ॥^६[२४*] तोडङ्गण-
म[धु]-
- 17 [वेढी] नालीपदश्च कुरपदश्च^७ [१*] स्थानेन वाणपदश्च पञ्च दत्ता इमे ग्रामा
॥^८[२५*] एषां भागास्त्रयः सत्रे खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कृतौ । पादमूलपरीवा-
रपोषणे च त्रिधाकृताः ॥^९[२६*] यस्तु [च]तुर्थो भागः स पञ्चदश-
धाकृ-
- 18 तो विभागेन ॥ तत्र द्वादश विप्राः प्रतिवेदं प्रतिचतुष्केन ॥^{१०}[२७*]
ब्रह्मत्रिविक्रमोर्कश्च विष्णुदेवस्तथापरः ॥ तथा महिरदेवश्च चत्वारो
बह्वचोत्तमाः ॥^{११}[२८*] एव कपर्दीपाध्यायो भास्करो मधुसूदनः ॥ वेद-
गर्भश्च चत्वार-
- 19 रो यजुर्वेदस्य पारगाः ॥^{१२}[२९*] तथा भास्करदेवश्च स्थिरोपाध्याय एव
च ॥ त्रैलोक्यह[न्तो] मोडङ्ग[श्च]त्वारः सामपारगा ॥^{१३}[३०*] भाव्य
तत्पुत्रपौत्रैश्च साग्नि[हो]त्रैः षडङ्गिभिः ॥ द्यूत[वि]श्याद्यनासक्तैरपि द्वाकैरसि वक्तै
॥^{१४}[३१*] य[स्तु]
- 20 नवविधो^{१५} स[हो] यश्चापुत्रो विपत्स्यते ॥ तयोरङ्गे प्रवेश्योन्मत्तः पूर्वोक्तगुण-
वान्निज ॥^{१६}[३२*] स चैषामेव सम्बन्धी सविद्यत्वे वयोधिकः [१*]

^१ [On the impression the reading seems to be अपि —H K S]

^२ Metre Anushtubh

^३ Metre Vamśasthāvā

^४ [On the impression the reading seems to be ब्र instead of ह —H K S]

^५ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

^६ Metre Drutavilambita

^७ Metre Vaitāliya

^८ Metre Āryā

^९ Read पद

^{१०} Metre Āryā

^{११} Metre Anushtubh

^{१२} Metre Āryā

^{१३} Metre Anushtubh

^{१४} [On the impression the reading appears to be भावी —H K S]

एभिरेव च साम्प्रत्याश्वेशो न नृपा[ज्ञ]या(तु) ॥¹[३३*] ततो वास-
वनन्दोति [वि]प्रः

21 पु[स्थाह]²वाचकः ॥ द्वौ च भागवती नाम्ना वामनः श्रीधरस्तथा ¹॥
[३४*] एते पञ्चदशाङ्गा विवर्जिता दानविक्रियाधानैः ॥ सर्व्वेपि
[च] सङ्गोज्याः (॥) लेख³कश्चार्यगोण्ण इति इति⁴ [॥३५*] यस्तल ए[व]
ग्रामो वर्गुल्लकसंज्ञितः स [दि]-

22 वस्य [॥] बलिचरुनिवेद्यसत्रो[प]करणहेतोः पृथग्दत्तः ॥⁵[३६*] अत्र च
साधिष्ठानैः सपादमूलैश्च सर्व्वकार्याणि ॥ सम्भूय विप्रमुखैः करणीयान्यै-
कमत्येन ॥⁶[३७*] स्थितिरिय क्षितिपाः परिपात्यतां च[ल]तु

23 ⁷सैष कृतोपकृति[क्र]मः ॥ [न]नु भविष्यति का पुनरुत्तरा[] गतिरहो
भवतामपि की[र्त्ति]षु ॥⁸[३८*] [ग]जस्नानं जातं [खलु] चरणकुहाल-
नमिद स्वयं पुण्योस्थानं⁹ यदिह परकीर्त्तिक्षतिक्षतां ॥

24 ¹⁰भदक्काम्यत्तन्वीनयनतरलान्वीक्ष्य विभवानतः श्रेयः ¹⁰शुद्धं व्रतम[नुचर]न्कीर-
[नु?]दिरं ॥¹¹[३९*] भवाब्धि[र्म्म]ज्ञवक[र्ण]धारी बभूव देव्याः कुलशील-
शाली ॥ केदारनामा स [इ]दं समय-

25 मकारयत्युत्थमहानिधानं [॥¹²४०*] श्री शिवगुप्तो राजा क्तिवा वैलीक्य --
७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — — — — — त्येन प्रादा[त्गो]णा-
[र्थ]भट्टाय ¹³[४१*] भागमिहैक स्या[नं]¹⁴ गुणवद्भि¹⁵जभोज्यमुत्तमगु-
[णाय] ॥

26 शास्त्रव्याख्याविदुषे विदुषे [॥¹⁶शास्त्रेषु वेदेषु] ॥¹⁷[४२*]

¹ Metre Anushtubh. [The letter, read नु, resembles a floral device which was perhaps inserted to indicate that the main part of the grant ended here —H K S]

² [On the impression this word looks like पुस्तक^o—Ed].

³ [The metre requires this syllable to be long, perhaps we have to read लेखाङ्गश्च—H K S] [On the impression the reading appears to be लेखकश्च—Ed]

⁴ इति is repeated a second time by mistake It must be cancelled Metre Āryā

⁵ Metre: Āryā

⁶ सै looks like सै

⁷ Metre: Drutavilambita

⁸ [On the impression the reading is पुण्योस्थान —H K S]

⁹ [On the impression the reading seems to be °क्काम्यद्वारी^o—H K S]

¹⁰ [On the impression the reading seems to be शुद्ध कुरुत ननु भी क्षीरमदिर—H K S]

¹¹ Metre Śikharinī

¹² Metre Upajāti

¹³ Metre Āryā [On the impression

the reading seems to be प्रादागोलायभट्टाय —Ed]

¹⁴ [On the impression the reading seems to be स्थाने.—Ed]

¹⁵ [Read गुणवद्भि^o.—H K S]

¹⁶ [On the impression the letter looks like सा.—Ed.]

¹⁷ Metre Āryā.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Ōm¹ Salutation to Parushōttama (Vishnu)

(Verse 1.) Let the discus-holder's (*Nṛsiṃha's*¹) foot protect you—the foot whose sharp claws emitted a sound like that of *guñjā* berries (*shaken*) by the gust of strong winds passing through the long spaces between each other, and (*looked*) terrific (more so) with the jaws shining with the flame of rays (*emanating*) from the nails, when they being lifted up, tore through the mass of dark clouds in the sky and revealed the stars with pearly brilliance, like a lion who, having overcome that storehouse of darkness,— the elephant, jumps about scattering brilliant pearls (*torn from his temples*)

(V 2) Let that Nṛsiṃha protect you, who looking with eagerness at (*his own*) nails, for the enemy (*Hiranyakaśipu*) who had not been secured for being torn with these (claws), happened to see him hiding through fear in the cavern-like cavity in the interior of the deep hollow of those (*nails*) With a laugh (*at his foolishness in taking shelter in the place where he could be easily crushed out*), joy (*at finding him out*) and contempt (*at the miserable creature*) he split the demon at once with the point of the other claw and threw him away with wrath like dirt that had collected there

(V 3)² As if bearing the jaws like a beautiful conch and the tongue like a sword, with the face burning like the discus (*and*) with the eye-brows (*as if carrying*) the mace, this form of Vishnu born for devouring, like sins, the demons, presented the appearance of the god of death

(V 4) There was the unequalled crest-jewel of the lunar race, whose wealth was wonderful on earth, just as the origin of the moon was miraculous and whose dignity was commensurate with his devotion to the lord of goblins (Śiva) He was indeed of manifold virtues, (*and*) famous on the earth by the name of [Chandraguptarāja]

(V 5) This task is very difficult, this path before (me) insurmountable I have no guide nor (*have I*) any friend (*who can*) share the burden (*with me*) I accomplish this single-handed

(V 6) Even his elder brother shining with regal power,³ became his follower in battles and (*through him*) mighty, like him whose weapon is the plough (Balarāma), who likewise followed the killer of Kamsa (Krishna) in tearing up the mighty elephants of his unassailable enemy⁴

(V. 7) In bravery, a lion killing the elephants with (*swelling*) frontal globes,—rendered dull by the ories (*due to*) excessive rut,—with fodder placed in their mouths, or the trunks hanging down, is like a dog and cannot stand comparison with the king destroying (*his*) enemies blooming with the prosperity of their treasures, prowess, race and statesmanship⁵

¹ [There seems to be a reference here not to Nṛsiṃha but to the Trivikrama-avatār of the god Vishnu — H. K. S.]

² The poet here seems to show that the terrific face of Nṛsiṃha bore the symbols of Vishnu as also of Yama. The jaws being white bones were like the conch, the tongue like the sword which is also one of the weapons of Vishnu, the round face, the discus and eye brows the mace Yama's attributes are projecting jaws, long tongue, red hot face and a club

³ [Perhaps Adhikārādhavaḥ was a name or surname of his elder brother — H. K. S.]

⁴ [As the reading in the text is clearly *°dārnnēṣhu* (not *dāranēṣhu* as Mr Hiralal seems to take it) the compound ending with that word is evidently an attribute of the word *ranēṣhu* — Ed.]

⁵ [The passage कुम्भेऽद्वितमसकान्तिसद्व्याहारमृधात्मनो वक्रत्यसद्व्यापव क्रतकरान् admits of two meanings, one applicable to the subdued kings and the other to elephants — H. K. S.]

(V 8) Of him, the lord of the rulers of the earth, was born a son famous in the world (*who was*) a very treasure of jewels, (*who had*) a large number of undivided allies and (*who was*) high in character, (*thus*) resembling the high Maināka hill which is the offspring of the lord of mountains, viz the Himādri (mountain), has extensive wings which are unclipped and is a mine of jewels

(V 9) At the time of his birth, the goddess of wealth was transported with joy saying 'It is a long time since I found such a suitable place for myself' Ever filled with joy (*harsha*) and verily inaccessible to grief he accordingly bore the name śrī Harshagupta

(V 10) His precious days passed in enjoying all the sensuous objects, (*they were*) indefatigably applied in the path of virtue, and unceasingly (*spent*) in good assemblies, they never went fruitless (*when employed*) in the destruction of hostile power and were uninterruptedly devoted in the service of the elders Thus they always caused wonder in (*the performance of*) many pleasing duties simultaneously.

(V 11) His enemies' town is hated by the spectators as the walls are crushed to powder, all the joints are separated in various ways, the limbs of the streets are also torn asunder, and on all sides there is an exhibition of dry bones (*They exclaim*) 'what is to be seen here? How has the variegated appearance even of the entrance (*of the town*) disappeared?' Thus (*saying*) (*the spectators*) hate it like a bad drama destitute of interest even in the prologue, with torn curtains (*blitti*), disjointed incidents, broken dialogues and dry plot

(V 12) From him was born king Mahāśivagupta truly renowned as an incarnation of virtue (*dharmāvatāra*)¹ who conquered the earth with (*his*) younger brother Ranakēśarin as did Prithā's first son (Yudhishtira) with the aid of his younger brother Bhīma who was like a lion in battle

(V 13) Indeed 'greater than even his grandfather (*as he is*) he would beat even his teacher in battle with his prowess and strength, who would therefore be his vanquisher (*karttana*)? The crowd of enemies considering him Bālārjuna, (*to be*) an all-conqueror amongst practisers of arms, gave up the hope even for their lives (*as they had done*) already for their wealth [like the foes of Arjuna (*ie* the sons of Dhṛitarāshtra) who first gave up their hope for wealth when they found that young Arjuna promised to excel Bhishma and surpass Drōṇa in prowess What was Karna before him in the practice of weapons']

(V 14) He who took deceptive forms for destroying the enemies, who was born black (Kṛishna) on this (*earth*) and who again becomes in the future also sinful (Kalki)—that Hari (Viṣṇu) could not really stand comparison with him who kills his enemies without practising any deception, who bears the utmost whiteness² and who has no sinful motives

(V 15) Of that lord of men, the conqueror in fierce battles, the illustrious Vāsatā was the mother, like the very mane (*śatā*) of the man-lion form (of Viṣṇu) bewildering the minds (*even*) of wise men (and of the gods), just like the mother of him who rides the peacock (Kārttikēya), the daughter of the mountain (*viz* Pārvatī)

(V 16) Born in the unblemished family of the Varmanas great on account of (*their*) supremacy over Magadha, the illustrious (and) pious king Sūryavarmā who had caused trembling in the hearts of the gods by his virtuous acts, having got this daughter, obtained the very proud honour of being the father-in-law of the great lord (*Paramēśvara*) of the East, like Himāchala (who obtained before a similar honour by marrying his daughter Pārvatī to the great god (*paramēśvara*), Śiva)

¹ [Dharmāvatāra may have been a *biruda* of the king — H K S]

² [Perhaps the king had the surname Atyantadhavala — H K S]

³ [It is worthy of note that the Sarabhapura kings Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudōva granted villages in the Eastern country (Pūrva rāshtra), Gupta Inscriptions, pp 192, 195, 197 and 199 — Ed.]

(V 17) Even after (*her*) lord went to heaven, in spite of her always observing fasts and austerities, which cause leanness (*of the body*), her unaltered limbs retained their natural charming grace

(V 18.) She, like the Vēdas, was the shelter to the people belonging to the four *varnas* (castes) and *āśramas*¹ (or) like Policy to a kingdom, like Wisdom (*herself*) in deciding between truth and falsehood, (*and*) the goddess of Wealth herself to the greedy. The spread of all sins was checked by her and the earth that was about to abandon her fidelity (*by wooing, so to speak, the Kali age*) was again reminded by her, as a friend, of the *krīta* (*age*) for the sake of reunion [as a lady's maid reminds her mistress of (*her husband's*) acts to bring about a union (*between them*) when somewhat disturbed]

(V 19) By whom Kali during his own regime (*i.e.* the Kali age) was dishonoured, that Kali who boasted of having access even to Damayanti² in olden times

(V 20) By her this eternal abode of the lord Hari was caused to be made, to show exactly (*the abode Vāikuntha*) where her deceased lord lived worshipping daily the imperishable (*Vishnu in the heavens*)

(V 21) Oh kings! do not turn your minds to sins, seeing what has been clearly described of this wonderful world (*samsāra*) under the guise of the temple (*i.e.*) the diversity of acts of all creatures high and low— with cage-like bodies (*passing*) through various stages of existence—from the celestial beings (*downwards*)

(V 22) This itself tells the kings the appropriate fate of destruction and protection (*of charity*) by (*the waving of*) its flags (*tossed*) by the unsteady wind, in one moment going down, and in another rising up towards the sky

(V 23) On the very bank of (*this*) ocean of the world, the great boat of *dharma* has been placed to cross it. This must be protected by kings. Neglected (*it*) would sink down

(V 24) O (*future*) kings! (*Now*) listen to the perpetuation which the poet Chintā-tūrāṅka Īśāna, author of the *prasaṅga*, submits to you for the protection of it (*i.e.* the charity)

(V 25) Tōḍankana, Madhuvēdha, Nālipadra, Kurapadra and in this place (*sthāna*) Vānapadra,— these five villages are given

(V 26³) Of these (*villages*) three shares have been divided in three ways (*for the maintenance of*) the almshouse, the repair of breaks and cracks (*in the temple*) and the support of the servants of the sanctuary (*one share being allotted for each of the purposes*)

(V 27) The fourth share has been divided into fifteen parts. These are (*for*) twelve Brāhmanas, four for each Vēda

(V. 28) Brahma-Trivikrama, Arka and another Vishnudēva, as well as Mahiradēva (*are*) the four best learned in the Rīgvēda

¹ The Sūtras cannot study the Vēdas and have no *āśramas*.

² Damayanti pretended that she would remarry, thinking that hearing this news, her husband Nala would come forward and dislodge himself, and although her intention was most noble, she nevertheless committed a sin by procuring an unholy wish, and Kali thus secured a victory over this exemplary chaste lady, who was free from sin by act, thought or speech. The 19th verse alludes to this occurrence, and I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda, M.A., Officiating Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, for pointing it out to me and for his kindness in going over the manuscript

³ I am indebted to Mr. Krishna Śāstri for pointing out that खड्गकुटिल has a technical sense here. पादमूल he thinks means 'the sanctuary', both of which I have adopted in the translation

(V 29) Similarly, Kapardōpādhyāya, Bhāskara, Madhusūdana and Vēdagarbha (are) the four fully conversant with the Yajurveda.

(V 30) Again, Bhāskaradēva, Sthirōpādhyāya, Trailōkyahamsa and Mōuddha (are) the four accomplished in the Sāmavēda

(V 31) Their sons and grandsons (*who succeed them*) should be such as offer sacrifice to fire and know the six supplements of the Vēdas, who are not addicted to gambling, prostitutes and such other (*bad associations*), who have their mouths clean (*apittaka*) and who are not servants

(V 32) If one does not answer to this description, (*he should be abandoned*), also one who dies sonless—in their places must be appointed other Brāhmanas possessing the foregoing qualifications

(V 33) He should be their relative, advanced in age while being learned. He should be appointed by their consent alone and not by order of the king

(V 34) Further, (*there are*) the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin who at sacrifices declares holidays¹ and the two Bhāgavatas by name Vāmana and Śrīdhara

(V 35) These fifteen parts, (*the alienation of which is*) prohibited by gift, sale and mortgage, must all be (*thus*) enjoyed by virtuous men The writer of this is Ārya-Gonna.

(V 36) The village which is on a low level² and is known as Vargullaka is separately given (*as a supplementary contribution*) for the maintenance of the almshouse, for *balī*, *charu* and *nivēdya* to the god

(V 37) All the transactions should be performed unanimously by the principal Brāhmaṇas (resident there), and the worshippers (*pādamūla*) meeting together

(V 38) Oh Kings! protect this organization Let this arrangement of mutual obligation continue (*for ever*) Alas! what indeed, will be the future of your fame!

(V 39) The establishment of (*the places of*) *punya* (*i.e.* almshouses, etc) by those who destroy the (*deeds of*) glory of others is just like an elephant-bath (*throwing dust on one's own head*) or an axe for (*cutting one's*) feet Therefore, seeing that riches are as fickle as the eyes of an intoxicated woman, it is better to follow the path of virtue and ³

(V 40) He who was distinguished for the nobility of his character and family and whose name was Kēdara, became the helmsman of the boat of virtue in the ocean of existence for the queen and got this great receptacle of religious merit built completely.

(V 41) The illustrious king Śivagupta . . . the three worlds, gave to Gōnārya-Bhatta . . .

(V 42) One part of this (*gift*) which is to be enjoyed by a virtuous Brāhmaṇa is reserved for one who is well read in the *Śāstras* and (*their*) commentaries, as well as the Vēdas and is of excellent character

¹ [*Puṇyāha tāchaka* (as Mr Hiralal has read) is a priest who officiates in all auspicious ceremonies and proclaims by certain *mantras* a happy day to the ceremony and its performer —H K S]

² [*Tala ēra* may be more appropriately translated 'close at hand' —H K S]

³ [Following the note 10 on page 193 above, I translate —'O men! keep therefore (your) virtue, which is lovely as milk, unsullied' —H K S]

Geographical names in the records of the Somavamsi kings of (Kaśak) Vinīapuri, with identifications where ascertained

Designation of the record and reference to its publication	Place of find.	Name of place whence issued	Villages granted.	Name of country in which the village granted was situated	Grantee's residence and place from which he emigrated	REMARKS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A — Patnā copper plate grant of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I Above, Vol III p 341	Patnā State	(1) Mūrasīma = Mursingū, in Patnā State, about 13 miles south west of Bolangir, the present capital of Patnā State	(1) Vakaveddā = probably Bakti, 15 miles north of Bolangir and 4 miles south of the Ongā river	(1) Ongātata viśaya — District on the bank of the Ongā river which flows in Patnā forming the boundary between it and Sonpur in the north	(1) Lāśringā = Loisingā, the headquarters of a Zamindār of the same name in Patnā State, 11 miles north of Bolangir (2) Khandakāśhātra = Khandapara? in the tributary state of the same name touching the south-western boundary of Cuttack district	In all the inscriptions of these kings they are invariably recorded as lords of Trikalinga, which is identified with Telhāgā and is believed to have included the whole of Orissa.
					(3) Lapatungā = probably Lepta (?), 6 miles south east of Bolangir (4) Pampāsarsī (5) Odayāśringā = probably Udayagiri in Cuttack district, 4 miles from the celebrated Bhuanīcār (6) Konkaledha = probably Kōkara in Bora Sambhar Zamindārī of Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Narasinghāth (7) Kalinga = country on the coast of Bay of Bengal Kalinganagara = Mukhalīngam in the Ganjam district	

B—Katak copper-plate grant of the 31st year of Mahābhaya Gupta I Vol III Above, p 345	Chaudwār oppo- site Cuttack on the other side of the Mahā- nadī	(2) Ārāma or Pleasure garden	(2) Randā = Rendā in Patnā State, 6 miles east of Bolangir (3) Alindalā = Alandā, 3 miles east of Bolangir	(2) Pāvī vishnaya = Pow in Sonpur State, 19 miles south of Binkā, 12 miles north east of Bolangir and 8 miles north east of Rendā (3) Kōśala dīśa = country between Berār and Cuttack afterwards limited to Chhattāsgarh	(8) Turvunā (9) Takārī = possibly the one, 16 miles north-west of Gya
C—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year Above, Vol III p 345	Chaudwār oppo site Cuttack	Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No (2)	(4) Arkagrāmā	(4) Turvunā Khandā = Turum on the Mahānadī, 27 miles south of Sambalpur Kōśala dīśa same as No (3)	Turvunā, same as No (8)
D—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year Above, Vol III p 345	Chaudwār oppo- site Cuttack	Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No (2)	(5) Tūlendū or Trūlendū = Tulendū?, 6 miles north of Bolangir in Patnā State	(5) Sandānā-vishaya = probably Sandā, 11 miles east of Sonpur Kōśala-dīśa, same as No (3)	Turvunā, same as No (8) Takārī, same as No (9)
E—Katak copper-plate grant of the 9th year of Mahāsiva Gupta Above, Vol III p 351	Found among the official records at Cuttack	(3) Vinitapura = Binkā on the Mahānadī in the Sonpur State, about 16 miles up	(6) Chāndagrāma	(8) Marada-vishaya (9) Dakṣiṇa Kōśalā, i.e., southern Kōśala	(10) Śilabbāṅga pāṭi (11) Ōdra dēśa = Orissa (12) Śrīvallagrāma = probably Bulgrāma, 20 miles from Ayōdhya (13) Madhya dēśa = The country lying between the Himālya, the Vindhya, Vināśana in the west and Prayāga in the east. Fakkāra, probably same as No (9),

In plates issued from Vinitapura or Yayātānagara, the well-known river Mahānadī which rises in the Raipur District and falls into the Bay of Bengal is mentioned.

Onomographical names in the records of the Śāmanvānī kings of (Kāśh) Pāṇḍya, with identifications where-ascertained—contd

Designation of the record and reference to its publication	Place of find	Name of place whence issued	Villages-granted	Place of country in which the village granted is situated	Grantor's residence and place from which he emigrated	REMARKS
I	2	3	4	5	6	7
F—Kāśh copper plate grant of the 3rd year of Mahāśāhā Gupta II Above, Vol III p 355	Believed to have been found somewhere close to Cuttack	(1) Vāṇḍanagara, apparently another name of Vintapura No (3)	(7) Gūṇḍasamullā	(10) K. d. v. k. h. a. n. g. a. n. h. (Kudgānā?)	(11) Sīnḍā grāma = probably Singha in the Kharir Zāwādārī in the extreme south of the Raipur district (12) Dēvānaga vishaya = Dehānag in the Bādārī Nāṅḍārī Zāwādārī in the extreme south of the Raipur District Kōśa la[de-a] = Chhattisgarh (13) Kāsūlī (14) Śrīnāṭī māyāḍala in Oudh, round about the present Sāhet Mahet. Lōṅṅṅā, same as No (1) (15) Kōmmāpura	The plates mention the Chāḍī country which is south of the Jāmū and extended at least up to the Bilāpur District of the Central Provinces; also Pāṇḍya, probably another name of Pāṇḍya, or Jubbulpore country
G—Pāṇḍya copper plates of the 8th year of Mahāśāhā Gupta I J A B 1905, Vol I p 1	Patnā State	Mūrasīma, same as No (1)	(8) Pātālā = Pōntālā, 2 miles east of Bōlaugir	(11) Pātī? probably same as No (2)	(19) Jalayādī = Jalayōdī near Taligāya, 10 miles south east of Bōlaugir (20) Madhvilā	
H—Pāṇḍya copper plates of the 8th year of Mahāśāhā Gupta J A B 1905, Vol I p 6	Patnā State	Vintapura, same as No (3)	(9) Talakajā = Tālāgrā, 10 miles south-east of Bōlaugir (10) Dīśīnārī anadī This is probably now known as Nīmarutī river to the north of which is Jalayōdī and to its south Tālāgrā, the distance between the two villages being only 3 miles	(12) Samīlī—Sāmūlā in Patnā State, 20 miles south of Bōlaugir and 22 miles south-west of Taligāya Kōśāḍī-dīśā, same as No. 3		

L.—Patnā copper plates of the 24th year of Mahāśivagupta J A S B 1905, Vol I, p 7	Patnā State	Yayātnagura, same as No (3)	(11) Hūāhōli or Dāā dōli	(13) Telātata = country on the bank of the river Tel, a tributary of Mahānadi rising in Kālā-hendi and joining it at Sonpur	(21) Antaradi (22) Lāvādā viśaya = Lebda?, 48 miles south-west of Bolangir Kāshi, same as No (16) Śrīvastī, same as No (17) Antaradi, same as No 21 Lāvādā, same as No 22 Kāshi, same as No 10 Śrāvastī, same as No 17 (23) Hastipada.	Lōhapura is mentioned as the writer's residence.
J.—Patnā copper plates of the 28th year of Mahāśivagupta J A S B 1905, Vol I, p 8.	Patnā State	Yayātnagura, same as No (3)	(12) Luttarumā	Kōśala, same as No (3) Telātata, same as No (13) Kōśala, same as No 3		
K.—Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta II Above, Vol IV p 256	Kudopali in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district	(5) Vāmandā pūti = Bāmrā, a feudatory state in Bengal still called by the Oriyas Bāmrā. Bāmrāgarh (old capital of Bāmrā) is 60 miles north east of Bunkā	(13) Lōstrā, a village of the same name in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur District, 13 miles south east of Bargarh and 16 miles south west of Sambalpur It is 9 miles south of Sarandā and 3 miles south of Kudopali	(14) Gūfāndā (correctly, Sidāntā) mandala, is the same as Sarandā in Bargarh tahsil, 11 miles south-west of Sambalpur town	(24) Murujungī (25) Purnashramādāpa in Odari dōśa (same as No 11)	
L.—Nāgpur Museum plates of the 8th year of Mahābhavagupta I Above, Vol VIII p 188	Satlāmā in Sambalpur district	M[ū]raima, same as No 1	(14) Satlāmā = Satlāmā, in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur District, 15 miles south of Bargarh and 33 miles south west of Sambalpur	(15) Kāśalōdā viśaya = Kusardā, 15 miles south west of Bargarh and 34 miles south west of Sambalpur It is 10 miles north west of Satlāmā	(26) Mōrandā = Mendā, 17 miles west of Sonpur (27) Kādhāphamvallikan dāra = Rairāhol, a feudatory state contiguous to Sonpur, the village Rairāhol being 45 miles from Sonpur	
M.—Sonpur copper plates of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta I Above, p 93 ff	Sonpur	Suvarnapura = Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the capital of a feudatory state of the same name in Bengal	(15) Vāratantali = Bāratentuli in Sonpur State, 16 miles west of Sonpur town			

No 20—THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE

By F E PARGITER, M A, I C S (RRTD)

The Wardak vase or urn was found by Masson in the topes of Khawat in the district of Wardak in Afghanistan during the years 1834-7. He called the place Kohwāt and gave this description of it —“These topes are situated on the course of the river, which, having its source in the Hazarajat, flows through Lōghar into the plain east of Kabul, where it unites with the stream passing through the city. They are distant about 30 miles to the west of Kabul” (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117). The map of Kabul and its neighbourhood compiled by the Survey Department of India shows the district as “Khawat or Wardak,” and as lying from 34 to 50 miles south-west of Kabul. Khawat therefore and not Kohwāt is the correct name of the spot where the vase was found in the Wardak district. Masson’s description of the finding of the vase is this —“There are five or six topes, strictly so called, with numerous *tumuli*. . . I found that three or four of these structures had been opened at some unknown period, and before the present Afghan inhabitants had dispossessed the former occupants, Hazārias, about one hundred years since. . . In the principal tope an internal cupola was enclosed, or rather had been. I directed certain operations to be pursued, even with the opened topes, and pointed out a number of *tumuli* which I wished to be examined, as they were very substantially constructed. The results proved successful, in great measure, and comprised seven vases of metal and steatite, with other and various deposits. One of the brass vases was surrounded with a Bactro-Pali inscription, of which I did not take a copy, as to have done so I must have cleansed it. I was averse to take this liberty, being aware that the characters being firmly dotted in could by no chance be obliterated” (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117-8).

The inscription was copied and published in a plate, which is numbered X in E Thomas’s Edition of *Prinsep’s Essays*, vol 1, and E Thomas there says —“I have devoted plate X to the exhibition of the inscription on the brass urn discovered in a tope about 30 miles west of Kabul in the district of Wardak. This urn, which in shape and size approximates closely to the ordinary water-vessels in use in India to this day, has originally been thickly gilt, and its surface has in consequence remained so excellently well preserved, that every puncture of the dotted legend may be satisfactorily discriminated” (*ibid*, 161-2). He tried to decipher the inscription and published his results there. Mr E C Bayley then took the inquiry up but was not satisfied with his endeavours, and the elucidation was then entrusted to Babu Rajendralala Mitra. He published his rendering of the inscription together with the same plate in J A S B, 1861, p 337, to which Mr Bayley added a note (*ibid*, p 347). Prof J Dowson next undertook the decipherment of this and other records in the Kharōshthī character and published his results together with the same plate in J R A S, 1863, vol XX, pp 221-68. His scrutiny left many parts of this inscription still undeciphered, and so the matter rested. Other scholars have given some attention to this inscription lately but were unable to complete the investigation¹. Dr Fleet then asked me in November 1910 to undertake the work, and supplied me with excellent ink-impressions. I now publish the results that I have been able to obtain².

This vase is now in the British Museum, and I have inspected it and compared the ink-impressions with the inscription. The vase is 6.9 inches high and 6.6 inches broad at its

¹ See for instance M. Senart’s rendering of part, *Journal Asiat*, sér 8, vol XV (1890), p 121, and sér 9, vol VII (1896), p 8 and Prof Luders’, *J R A S*, 1909, p 661.

² I have to thank Dr F W Thomas for valuable suggestions and criticisms on my results; and for the convenience of scholars I have mentioned many of them, at his desire, when they differ from my results.

widest part Dr Read tells me that it bears no traces of ever having been gilt, but that parts of the brass might have presented a brilliant appearance like gold, if they had been protected by remaining in contact with certain earth while buried in the tumulus

The inscription is in the Kharōshthī script and consists of two portions The first is written in three lines encircling the shoulder of the vase, and the second consisting of one line is written around the broadest part of the vase below the former and separated from it by three lines, and occupies not quite half the circumference The first is the main portion and is in letters varying generally from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height In the fourth line or second portion the letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch longer and correspondingly broad They are formed of minute dents pricked into the metal, and the dents are so close together that from 8 to 10 are generally contained in $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in the first three lines, and from 7 to 8 in the last line

The two plates annexed hereto, giving a facsimile of the record, have been prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision from the ink-impressions which also were made under his direction The shape of the part of the vase where lines 1 and 2 lie is such that ink-impressions of them cannot be made without introducing a gap at some point or another, the place selected was naturally that where the record begins, and a supplementary ink-impression was made of that part of the record and has been reproduced below the complete lines It shows how the lines run right round the vase without any blank space in line 1, and with only a small space at the end of line 2, and gives in their complete forms the final *ti* of line 1 and the initial *z* of line 2, which are not perfect in the circular impression To have reproduced line 3 in one piece would have entailed a somewhat cumbrous folding plate, hence it has been treated in three parts overlapping each other, thus 3-B repeats the last six syllables of 3 A, and 3 C repeats the last five syllables of 3 B and also shows at its end the *bha* with which 3 A begins A fourth piece 3 D has been added to show how this line also practically runs quite round the vase, and contains the last seven and the first eight letters of the line

The style of the script is that of the Kushana inscriptions portrayed by Bühler in Table I of his *Indische Palæographie*, cols x to xii Further specimens of the script have been published lately, namely, the Taxila plate by Bühler (E I iv, 54), the Taxila vase by Prof Lüders (E I viii, 296) and the Mathurā Lion capital by Dr F W Thomas (E I ix, 135) Mr E. Thomas in discussing this inscription spoke of "the little care that has been taken to mark the nicer shades of diversity of outline which, in many cases, constitute the only essential difference between characters of but little varying form" (*Prinsep's Essays*, vol I, p 162) But it seems to me after a careful and detailed comparison of the letters, that the inscription has been carefully made, the letters are generally well-formed, only a few clerical errors occur, and the distinctions between letters which are similar in shape are generally expressed clearly¹ except as regards two particular letters, *y* and *s* For instance, *t* and *r* have the same general shape, and are fairly well distinguished, in that the downward stroke of *t* is usually of about the same length as the horizontal stroke, while in *r* it is generally about twice as long, and in only one or two places is the difference neglected No distinction is made between long and short vowels, and the only special form that need be mentioned is *nē* in *munē* (l 1)

The exception just referred to occurs in the letters *y* and *s*, and these are the only letters that cause real uncertainty Ordinarily *y* has a pointed top and *s* a flat top, but the distinction is very far from being observed here and is indeed more often ignored, especially since sometimes the top has an intermediate roundish form and sometimes the letters are distorted by

¹Characters should primarily be read as what they strictly appear to be, and the resultant words accepted and scrutinized This is essential in dealing with the endless diversities in the different kinds of Prākṛit To read characters so as to agree with the commoner forms of the Prākṛit words intended seems to be almost certain to obscure Prākṛit modifications that may be important critically and linguistically See p 208, note 3

being tilted over to the right. We may confidently read *y* in *īya Khavadamri* (I 1), and *ś* in *Śakya* and *sarira* (I 1), *śava* (I 3 A) and *saphatiga* (I 3 B), but in all other instances it is hardly possible to say positively, solely from the shape of the letter, whether it is *y* or *ś*, and regard must be had to the meaning. This is well illustrated by the word *puyae* which occurs thrice in I 2 and once in I 3 B. The *y* has a different shape in each of these places; in the last place it has undoubtedly the form of *s*, and in all the other places its appearance is far more that of *ś*, than of *y*. In all these instances then what looks like *ś* is really *y*. Hence it is clear we must be prepared for similar confusion in other passages where one or other of these letters is intended, and the decision must rest mainly, if not entirely, on the sense. Thus we can read without doubt *y* in *Arlamisiyasa* (I 1) and in *padiyamsam* (II 2 and 3 C), and *s* in the words *lusala* (I 2), *mahisa* (II 2 and 3 B) and also in *padiyamsam*. There remain some words in which *y* or *s* is combined with a vowel mark or another consonant, and, since *y* is written sometimes with a flat or rounded top, there would be nothing surprising if its top is made wide in order to find room where the vowel marks *i* and *ō* have to be inserted, so that *yi* and *yō* would then look like *si* and *sō*. Accordingly *y* and not *s* appears to be the correct reading in *kadalayigra* (I 1), *paryata* (I 3 A), *jalayuga* (I 3 B), and *yō adra* (I 3 A), while *ś* is right in *śōcha* (I 2), while what looks like *asamśrana* (I 4) is doubtful. These words will be discussed in the Notes *infra*.

The characters for *b* and *v* require some notice. *V* proper approximates to the character for *b*, but they are distinguished in that the top line is flat in *v* and is curved upwards on the left side in *b*. Thus we have *v* initial in *vagra* (thrice, II 1, 2) and *īhara* (II 1, 4) and medial in *bharagra* (I 3 A) and *avashatri* (I 3 C), while *b* occurs in *bhradaba* (I 2) and *nabagira* (I 3 A), and in conformity therewith it is proper to read *b* rather than *v* in *paridhabēti* (I 1). Another character is found for what is properly *va*, which occurs only as a medial and is evidently distinguished from *va* proper, for it is always small and without the stroke to the left at the bottom. It is used in *bharatu* always, also in *bhagravada* (I 1) and *parivāra* (I 3 C), and apparently in *Khavadamri* (I 1). This difference in shape may denote a difference in value, and this small form may perhaps have had the sound of *w*.

No distinction appears to be recognized between the letters *n* and *ṇ*. A slight difference may be perceived between the character in *imēna* (I 1) and *mulēna* (I 2) and that in *Hashtuna* (I 2) and *avashatrigana* (I 3 C), and that constitutes the difference which Buhler has shown in his Table I, cols x and x1, but his form of *n* occurs here, not only in words where it should properly appear as in *sarima* and *Rōhana* (I 3 B), but also in words where it is inadmissible as in *imēna* (I 1), *mulēna* (I 2) and *satvana* (I 3 A). There appears therefore to be no real distinction observed between *n* and *ṇ*, and this is what Prof. Lüders has noticed in his paper on the Taxila vase (E I viii, 297).

A letter that presents some difficulty is that which I read as *di* in *gadigrēna* (I 1) and *padiyamsam* (twice II 2, 3 C). It is one and the same in all three places, for its form in the first and second places is identical, and, though it varies somewhat in the third place, yet it occurs there in precisely the same expression *agra bhaga padiyamsam* as in the second, and must be the same in these two places¹. Hence it must be read the same in all. It is certainly

¹ The letter has a tail or stroke to the right at the bottom, in the first two places the stroke is a straight line and in the third an upward curve. The difference seems to be intentional. In discussing the *r* stroke *infra* (p. 206) I have pointed out the difference made in it in the two portions into which the inscription must be divided, namely, the straight *r* stroke does not denote a real *r* in the first portion but does so in the second. The first two instances of this letter occur in the first portion, and its tail being made straight there like the unreal *r* could not create a misunderstanding, but in the third instance, which occurs in the second portion, that straight stroke might have suggested a real *r* stroke, and misunderstanding has been avoided by turning the tail into a curve, which has no special significance in the second portion (though it does represent a real *r* in the first portion).

not as *M*. Sonart has taken it as *ti* and Prof. Lüders as *tri*, thus they read the word as *prāṇam* and *prāṇam* respectively,¹ but I do not think it is *ti* or *tri*, because the right shoulder of the character is carried upwards far higher than in all other instances of the letter *t*² and it differs from the genuine *ti* found in *pradhātī* (l. 1), *rajatibaga*, *natigra*, *śaṅkhātī* (l. 2), and *śaphatī* (l. 3B) and from the *tri* found in *atashatī* (l. 3C). There is no other letter that it resembles except *den* and *dñ*, which are figured in Bühler's Table I and in Dr. Thomas's Table IV (E. I. ix, 146). The word is evidently the same as in *agrapatiśaṭ* on the Manu yāla stone, in *agrapatiśaṭ* (E. I., i, 390, n° XVIII) and in *agrapatiśaṭ* (E. I., i, 240) as noticed by M. Sonart and Prof. Lüders.³ Since this letter corresponds to the first *t* in those words, it cannot be *dñ* and can only be *ti*, which in this Prākṛit represents that *t* as will be explained (p. 208). This then is a modified or new form of *d*.

A character occurs, which must apparently be a final anuvāra, in the word *padīyamāṇ* (ll. 2, 3C). M. Sonart and Prof. Lüders have read it as *ṭ* as noticed above, but *ṭ* occurs in *bhagaṭ* and *paṇṭ* (ll. 2, 3B) and *darśanaṭ* (l. 3A) and is wholly different from this letter, so that it cannot be *ṭ*. Moreover, it is quite different from the *ṭ* in *agrapatiśaṭ* on the Manu yāla stone.⁴ All the letters in the Kharoṣṭhi script have been figured by Bühler in his Table I and by Dr. Thomas in his Table IV (E. I. ix, 146) except *n*. This character is like none of these, nor can it be *n* which never occurs as a final in Prākṛit. The only other sound for which no separate character has been met with is *m* standing by itself as a final. Anuvāra is generally denoted by a leftward curve added to the bottom of a consonant, as in *śm* (l. 1), *śmāṭ* (l. 2), *śmāra* (l. 3A) and thrice in l. 4, but, if it should be difficult or inconvenient to add the curve to certain characters, such as *lu*, *bu* or *hu*, final *m* could only be expressed by some independent sign, so that presumably there must have been some character to denote it in such cases, and it appears to be this character. The construction of the sentence supports this inference. It is not necessary to suppose that the dative is intended after *bharaṭ* here, for the construction with *bharaṭ* is clearly changed afterwards to the nominative, as in *agrapatiśaṭ* (l. 3C), and here the construction is evidently similar. *Padīyamāṇ* is obviously the nominative to *bharaṭ* which follows it in both places, and, as its termination is not masculine nor feminine, it must be a neuter nominative ending in *m* (see p. 209). This character can hardly denote a final *m*, because *m* does not occur as a final in Prākṛit, as far as I know, except in poetry where a short syllable is required or before a vowel,⁵ and neither of these conditions exists here, yet it would come practically to the same result if this character be read as final *m*.

A letter occurs which appears to be a new form of *ph*. It is discussed in the note on the word *śaphatī* (l. 3B), *n* *fra*, p. 217.

As regards compound letters, we have *ṛ* in *Arṣa* (l. 1), *ry* in *paryata* (l. 3A), *śr* or *ry* in *asamirana* (l. 4), *śh* in *Hārāśhāya* (l. 2) and *śh* in *Hashtina* (l. 2). *Rv* occurs plainly in *sarva* (l. 3A) and the first *sarvina* (l. 3B), and is apparently intended by the similar character without the loop in the second *sarvina* (l. 3B). *Tv* appears to be meant by the *t* with the upright line added in *atrana* (l. 3A), and a new letter which I take to be *mḥ* in *tumbimri* (l. 1) is discussed in the Notes (p. 213).

¹ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII (1890), p. 10. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

² This seems to me a most important feature and constitutes a strong reason why the letter cannot be read as *t*, besides which the arguments mentioned in note 3 on p. 208 militate against its being read as *t*, and this character, if taken as *t*, would add a fourth form to the three noticed there. Dr. Thomas however would read it as *t*.

³ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, pp. 8-10. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

⁴ See plate in Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 8.

⁵ See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 348, 349.

The letter *y* as the second member of a compound letter is well illustrated here, being formed by a rightward hook added to the tail of the first member as in *arupyata* (I 3 B). Since the tail is often curved to the left, the addition of the hook gives the appearance of a double curve as in *Kamagulya* (I 1) and *tya* in *Mityagasya* (I 3 C), or even a triple curve as in *Sakya* (I 1). This conjoint *y*-mark is added to another letter which resembles *d* or *n*, but the compound can only denote *sy* in the genitive termination *syā* because of its position. It is best formed in *masya* (I 1), *Hōvēshkasya* (I 2), *Vagra Marēgrasya* (I 2) and *Mityagasya* (I 3 C), somewhat variant in *Hashtuna Marēgrasya* (I 2), and badly shaped in *Marēgrasya* (I 1).

The mark for *r* as the second member of a compound letter is a stroke to the right attached to the lowest point of the first member. It occurs often and raises some interesting questions. Dr Thomas found on the Mathurā Lion-capital that conjunct *r* is so represented and also in two other ways, namely, by a similar stroke to the left and by a dot (E I ix, 137). The dot is not so used in this inscription. The stroke to the left occurs often, but has no significance, thus (to cite only a few instances) it is added to an initial *a* sometimes as in *Arlamisiyasa* (I 1), *agra* sometimes (II 2, 3) and *arupyata* (I 3 B), to the first *ya* but not the two others in *maharaja rajatnaja* (I 2) and to *bhr* in *bhratu* sometimes but not always (II 2, 3). These illustrations also shew that it cannot denote the doubling of a letter, nor a distinction between the vowels *a* and *ā*, nor the vowel *u* or *ri*. It seems to be a mere flourish in finishing the tails of letters written from right to left.

This stroke to the right occurs chiefly with the letter *ga*, which represents the suffix *ka* and is thus a very common termination¹ and a very useful criterion for dividing the words. It occurs with *t* in *avashatri* (I 3 C), thrice with *d* in *pudra* (I 1), *midra* (I 2) and *adra* (I 3 A),¹ and once with *bh* in *bhradaba* (I 2). In all these words, except perhaps the first, this *r* stroke represents a real *r*, and it is only in conjunction with *g* that uncertainty arises.

The letter *g* occurs both with and without this *r* stroke. The downward line of *g* ends straight in *jalayuga* (I 3 B) and *bhaga* (twice in I 3 C), and has the slight leftward flourish in *arōga* (I 3 A), *śaphatiga* (I 3 B), *avashatrigana* and *Mityagasya* (I 3 C), and *samghigana* (I 4). In all other places the rightward stroke appears, and in discussing it we must divide the inscription into two parts, the first part down to *bhānagra* (I 3 A) and the second comprising the remainder. In the first part it has two shapes, first a horizontal stroke more or less straight, as in *gaḍigrēna*, *kadalayigra*, *Marigra* and *bhagravada*² (I 1), *Marēgrasya* (II 1, 2), *bhagraē*, *natigra*, *sambhatigrana* and *bhagra* (I 2), *nabagra* and *bhavagra* (I 3 A), and secondly, an upward curve which appears always in *Vagra* (II 1, 2) and *agra* (I 2 twice). In the first part then the curved form represents a genuine *r* in *agra* and apparently also in *Vagra*, and the straight form is used in all the other cases and always incorrectly, for even in *Marēgia* and *Marigra* the *gra* probably does not contain a real *r*. In the second part, however, the *r* stroke is never added to *g* except where there is a real *r*, as in *agra* (I 3 C) and *parigraha* (I 4), and then it is denoted by the straight horizontal stroke which is the correct form.

It appears therefore that it was discovered while the record was being inscribed on the vase, that the straight *r* stroke was being improperly inserted, and that the fault was corrected after the word *bhavagra*, hence the difference between the first and second parts. The horizontal form, which is the correct sign, is used with *g* in the second part, and with all other consonants throughout the inscription, wherever a real conjunct *r* occurs, but in the first part a distinction was made in the case of *g*, the horizontal stroke being improperly employed to represent an unreal *r*, and the curved form being used to denote a real *r*. This peculiarity was discovered and rectified after the word *bhavagra* as mentioned. That word occurs in the middle of what seems to be a poetical quotation (see p 218). Was it some discussion about the quotation that

¹ See p 208, note 3

² Compare *bhākratā* (A II, line 12, in E I ix, 141) where Dr Thomas styles the *r* stroke otiose (p 142)

raised the question of orthography? Thus it might have been noticed that the addition of the unreal *r* vitiated the metre, as it certainly does in that word. Whatever be the explanation, it is certain that there is a difference in the use of the *r*-stroke with *g* in the two portions.

The persistent and incorrect addition of the horizontal *r* stroke to *g* throughout the first part cannot however be accidental, but must have some significance, and suggests that it denoted a modification of *g*. Such a modification could hardly be anything else than to give *g* the sound of *ḡ*. After I came to this conclusion, I found that Dr. Thomas had put forward a similar suggestion with regard to the peculiar *hr* which is employed on the Mathurā Lion-capital (E I ix, 137). There is however an important difference between this inscription and those on that capital, namely, that there an original *g* is hardened to *h*, as in *bhagravatō* (= *bhagavatō*) and *nalraraasa* (= *nāgarakasa*), while here an original *h*, when not initial and not compounded, is (as will be explained, see below) softened to *g*. It seems probable therefore that *gr* in the first part here had the sound of *ḡ*, and that *hr* on that capital had a sound like *ḥ*. It will be convenient to transliterate this diacritical *r* as an italic *r*.

Similar to the *r* stroke is a straight stroke to the right, attached to the lowest point of the character for *m*. It obviously denotes something different from plain *m*, which occurs in *Artamisiyasa* (I 1), *mīdra* (I 2) and *Mityagasya* (I 3 C). All the instances in which it appears are singular locative cases, and as the locative singular in the Prākṛits ends in *mhi* or *mmi*, we may justly take this character *mr* as meaning *mhi*. It can hardly denote *mmi*, because this means a doubled *m*, and letters are never written double in this script. It will however be convenient to transliterate this stroke also as an italic *r*.

It seems therefore from this examination that the straight *r* stroke was used as a diacritical sign to denote a modification of the main consonant in certain cases, certainly with *g* and *m* here and with *k* on the Lion-capital, in the way of giving that consonant a rougher, thicker or doubled sound.

The language is a form of Prākṛit and in discussing its character the phonetic changes may be noticed first, and the inflectional forms afterwards. Vowels remain the same as in Sanskrit except that *au* is reduced to *ō*, and *ri* is replaced by *a* or *i*. There is no clear instance of the elision of consonants (except a final *t* once), not even of the semi-vowels *y* and *v* which are so liable to suffer in Prākṛit, except *y* of the genitive termination sometimes. Speaking generally the only changes that occur among consonants are, first, a uniform softening of all single tennues or hard consonants of the five classes to their corresponding mediæ or soft consonants, and secondly, the assimilation of the more difficult compound consonants. The changes may be conveniently set out in the form of rules.

Rule 1—Sanskrit tennues or hard consonants, when not initial and not compounded, are changed to their corresponding mediæ or soft consonants. This holds good for *k*, *t* and *p* throughout,¹ except *t* in verbal terminations. Thus *d* represents an original *t*—*bhagravada* = *bhagavata* (I 1), *mada-pidara* = *mātā-pitara* and *bhradaba* = *bhrātāba* (I 2). *B* represents an original *p*—*paridhabēti* = *paridhāpēti* (I 1) and *nabagra* = *napagra* (I 3 A). And *g* represents an original *k*, and thus the common suffix *ka* appears here as *ga*² or (with the diacritical *r* stroke discussed above) as *gra*—so *natigra* = *natika* and *sambhatigra* = *sambhatika* (I 2), *nabagra* = *nripaka* (I 3 A), *jalayuga* = *jalāyuka* (I 3 B), and *samghiga* = *samghika* (I 4). Whether this corrective applies to the name *Marēgra* and its variant *Marigra* is doubtful, yet it does probably because the stroke in them is that of the unreal *r*. One exception occurs, *rajatiraja* (I 2), in which the original *t* has been preserved, probably because it is a special royal title.

¹ Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 192.

² *Ibid* § 202.

This rule applied also to *t*¹, thus *paṭiyamsam*=*vatiyamsam* (ll 2, 3 C) for which see rule 6. Only one case of medial *ch* occurs, namely, *śōcha* (l. 2), and there the rule did not hold good if *śōcha*=Skt *saucha* (but see rule 4). The rule probably applied to aspirated tenues², but no instance occurs.

As mentioned above, an original *t* in verbal terminations remains unchanged; thus we find *paridhātē* (l. 1) and *bhavatu* (ll 2, 3).

Rule 2—Rule 1 applied also where an original medial *t* was compounded with *r*—thus *puḍra*=*putra* (l. 1), and *miḍra*=*mitra* (l. 2). The akshara in these words is clearly *dr* and not *t* or *tr*, for it has exactly the form of *d* (as in *dachhinaē*, l. 3 A) with the *r* stroke, and there is no instance here where an undoubted *t* approximates to *d* in shape as it appears to do at times on the Lion-capital³. But *t* combined with any other consonant was not softened, e.g., *amīara*=*antara* (l. 3 A), and see note on *arupyata* (p. 217). The *t* in *Artamisiyasa* (l. 1) remains unchanged, but this is a Greek word.

Rule 3—Consequently in reading this inscription it must be noted that, where a media or soft consonant occurs as a non-initial, it may represent an original media or (since consonants are never written double here) a doubled media, or the corresponding tenuis; thus *d* can represent original *d* or *dd* or *t*, and similarly *g* and *b*. So *d*=original *d* in *sada* (l. 3 B), and=original *t* in *maḍa* (l. 2), and *b*=*bb* in *bhradaba* which=*bhātābba*.

Rule 4—Where a tenuis or hard consonant appears here singly (or combined with *r* or *t*) and as a non-initial (except *t* in verbal terminations), it represents a doubled letter, for otherwise it would have been modified according to rule 1. Thus as regards *t*, *natigra*=*nattigra*=*nattika* (by rule 1), and *sambhatigra*=*sambhattigra*=*sambhattika* (l. 2), *satia*=*sattia* (l. 3 A), and *arupyata*=*arūpyatā* (l. 3 B). *Śōcha* would follow this rule if we read *śōchcha*=a possible Skt form *sauchya*, but see rule 1. So also in the case of aspirated tenues, thus, *dachhinaē*=*dachchhinaē* (l. 3 A), and *saphatiga*=*sapphattiga* (l. 3 B).

Rule 5—Conjunct *y* appears only where respect required the full form of the word, as in the personal names whether in the nominative or in the genitive case, *Kamagulya* (l. 1), *Marēgrasya* (ll 1, 2), *Hōvēshkasya* (l. 2), and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), and in the special term *arupyata* in a quotation (l. 3 B). Elsewhere it is assimilated, as in *Artamisiyas(s)a* (l. 1), and *bhradaba* (l. 2) which=*bhrātābba* (by rule 3)=Skt *bhrātriva* (*vy* turning to *bb* as in *labba* and

¹ Fischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 198.

² *Ibid* §§ 192, 200.

³ EI ix, plate IV at p. 146. Having regard to the forms used there, Dr. Thomas thinks that this letter *dr* is *t*, but there appear to me to be grave objections thereto. First, as handwritings varied, each writing must primarily be scrutinized by itself as urged in p. 203, note 1, here the writing is minute, neat and well formed, so that the presumption is that the differences between characters were made deliberately and have their special significance. Secondly, *t* proper appears in the words *pariyata*, *amīara*, and *arupyata* (ll. 3 A and B), as well as in *paridhātē* (l. 1), *rayatibaya* (l. 2) and *saphatiga* (l. 3 B), and if this character *dr* is really *t* also, then *t* is made in two ways markedly different, and moreover without any reason, as we see especially in the compound words *natigra miḍra sambhatigra*, where there was no reason to write the *dr* in *miḍra* different from the *t* in the two other words, if they are all alike *t*. Thirdly, if this *dr* is *t*, all distinction between *t*, *tr* and *dr* would be obliterated, a conclusion that seems to me highly improbable, considering how important and significant these three letters *t*, *d* and *r* are in the different kinds of Prakrit. Fourthly, Sanskrit *t* medial and uncompounded is certainly changed to *d* in this Prakrit as shown under Rule 1, and the same change would be natural when *t* is compounded with *r* which is only a liquid, so that we should by analogy expect the *t* in Sanskrit *putra* and *mitra* to appear here as *d*. My readings of the three characters as *t* (as in the words cited above), *tr* (as in *avashatī*, l. 3 C) and *dr* (as in *puḍra*, *miḍra* and *adra*) give each character a consistent value throughout, a value which accords fully with definite phonetic changes, whereas, if we read all these characters as *t*, we should have three different forms for *t* (with none apparently for *tr* or *dr*) and thus Prakrit would become chaotic in its modifications. The confusion would be still further increased, if the letter which I read as *d* (see p. 204) be treated as a fourth form of *t*.

bhabba); or is resolved into *iy* as in *padīyamśam* from Skt *pratyamśa*, but it remains when combined with *r* as in *pariyata* (l 3 A), see rule 6, and also note on *asamāna* (p 218)

Rule 6 —Conjunct *r* as the second member of an initial consonant is dropped, thus *pad yamśam*=*pratyamśam* (by rule 1)=Skt *pratyamśa*, where the disappearing *r* has cerebralised the following *t* (ll 2, 3 C) and *śata*=*śāta* (l 3 A), except in *bhāḍaba* (l 2) where it has persisted perhaps in consonance with the old Pers in *bhātar*, "brother" In a medial akshara *r* is retained, whether as the first member as in *śarva* and *pariyata* (l 3 A) and *śarīna* (l 3 B), or as the second member, as in *ayra* (ll 2, 3 C) and *parigraha* (l 4), and see Rule 2

The changes in the consonants then, it will be seen, are not random (if one may use the word) as so often seems to happen in Prākṛit, but follow a consistent plan, so that, if any word be re-adjusted according to these rules, it appears at once as actual Sanskrit or but one step removed therefrom

In considering the inflectional forms, it will be convenient to cite the words as they would appear in their more correct Prākṛit form when re-adjusted according to the foregoing rules, that is, to cite them from the reading in italics (p 210 f)

The Prākṛit of this inscription has more affinities with Ardha-Māgadhī than with Śaurasēnī, if we compare the grammatical terminations that occur with those given by Pischel¹ The dative singular ends in *āṭ*, both for the masculine as in *bhāḍāṭ* (l 2) and for the feminine as in *pūyāṭ* (ll 2, 3 C) and *darśahhāṭ* (l 3 A), and these are Ardha-Māgadhī forms The locative singular ends apparently in *mhi* for the masculine and neuter, if we read *mī*=*mhi* in *khavatamhi* and *vihāramhi* (l 1), and it is only in Ardha-Māgadhī (as I understand) that the locative sing ends in *mī*, from which easily comes the form *mhi*, that is found in Pali but not in any other Prākṛit, I believe The genitive plural ends in *āna*, as in *sambhattikīna* (l 2), *arashattikīna* (l 3 C), etc., and this termination is found in Ardha-Māgadhī as well as other dialects, but not apparently in Śaurasēnī

There are other peculiarities which mark this Prākṛit The nomin singular masculine of nouns ending in *a* appears as *a* and not *ō*, as *puta*, *katālaya* (l 1), *bhāga* (l 3 O) and *parigraha* (l 4), except in the poetical quotation in l 3 A, B, where the *ō* form appears in *yō* and *amdayō* The neuter nomin ends in *um* as in *padīyamśam* (ll 2, 3 C) and *vihāram* (l 4) both which words appear to be considered neuter instead of masculine, but *vōcha* (l 2), which should be neuter, does not support this rule and suggests that the nomin also ended in *a* and the accus ends in *a*, as in *śarīra* (l 1) The genitive masculine has its ordinary ending *sa* as in *Arlamūyasa* (l 1), but when used honorifically has its full form *syā*, as in *Maiḍgasya* (ll 1, 2), *Hōṣshasya* (l 2) and *Mityagasya* (l 3 C) From other noun bases may be noticed the genitive *bhagavata Śāl jamunē* (l 1), which=Skt *bhagavatah Śālyamunēh* without the visarga which disappears in Prākṛit,² and a form *ra* of the genitive singular of noun-bases ending in *ā*, that is, Skt *ri*, as in *mātā-pitara* (l 2), which is discussed in the Notes (p 215) Among pronouns we find *ēsha* used as a neuter nomin (l 4)³, and from *idam*, not only the instrumental singular *imēna*⁴ (ll 1, 2), but also probably a new base *īya*⁵ Among the very few verbs that occur may be noticed *bhūyā* the apocopated form of Skt *bhūyāt* (l 2)⁶

The inscription records that in the year 51 and in Huvishka's reign, Kamagulya (or perhaps Kamakulya, by rule 1), son of Vagra Marēga (or perhaps Marōka, by rule 1), interred a relic of

¹ Prākṛit Grammar, §§ 363-76

² I do not find *munē* mentioned as a genitive by Pischel, it is given in Dr E Muller's Pali Grammar, p 70, citing Oldenberg, hZ. xxv, 316

³ Noticed in Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 426

⁴ This is found in other inscriptions

⁵ See note on *īya Khavadamī* (p 212)

⁶ Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, §§ 459, 461

Buddha at the Vagra-Mariga monastery, and enunciates a series of pious aspirations in favour of the Emperor Huvishka, his own father and relatives, a neighbouring Rāja and other persons and all creatures generally. The last line states that the monastery was bestowed on the Mahā-saṅghika sect among the Buddhists.

The dedicator Kamagulya does not say he has founded the monastery, nor does he imply that he dedicates the relic at the time of the foundation, but he simply declares that he places the relic in this vase inside a small vault within the monastery¹. The natural inference therefore is that his father Vagra Marēga founded the monastery before and named it after himself, and that Kamagulya afterwards interred the relic within it. The last line does not conflict with this inference, because it seems, both from its purport and also from the larger letters in which it is written, to be a separate declaration, recorded no doubt as a safeguard for the Mahāsaṅghika sect on this sacred vase which would be sure of reverent preservation, and because it may be read in the past tense just as well as in the present, there being no verb.

The father Vagra Marēga is styled a *mahīsa* or local Rāja. He bears the name or title Marēga and so does his grandson (Kamagulya's nephew) Hashtuna, but Kamagulya does not use this name for himself, and only says that he has fixed his residence at Khavata, the very place where the monastery was. One is tempted to infer that Marēga is an appellation derived from some town or district, that Vagra had his home there or was ruling there, and that Hashtuna was also living there, perhaps as Vagra's son-apparent (for Hashtuna's father is not mentioned and may have been dead). Kamagulya speaks of his grandchildren (son's sons) but not of his son, hence it would seem that his son was dead.

None of the names mentioned, except Rōhana who was also a *mahīsa* or neighbouring Rāja, appears definitely to be Indian. Vagra might be read as Vakra (by rule 1), and this name and Kamagulya (or Kamakulya) may have Indian affinities, but Hashtuna seems more like an Iranian name². Moreover Marēga (or Marēka) is not Indian, but suggests Marē, the old name of Merv, or other places of similar name which exist southward of Khawāt. It seems probable that the dedicator and his family were Persian. The only other name mentioned, Mityaga (or perhaps Mityaka, by rule 1), appears almost certainly to be Greek³.

I will now set out the transliteration of the inscription and interlineate with it in italics the more ordinary Prākṛit forms of the words, as they would appear if re-adjusted in the light of the foregoing rules and of the discussion on the diacritical *r* stroke. As I read the inscription, all the different characters are treated as distinct and each has the same value consistently throughout, and the supposition that there are errors in it is reduced to the smallest limits, in fact, only three words appear to have mistakes, namely *rajaṭibaja* (l 2), *aviya* (l 3 A) and *asamśrana* (l 4)—with perhaps *avashatṛi* also (l 3 C)⁴.

TEXT.

1	Sam	20	20	10	1	masya	Artamisiyasa	stāhi	10	4	1	Imēṇa	gadigrēṇa
	<i>Sam[vatsarē]</i>				51	<i>māsasa</i>	<i>Artamisiyasa</i>	<i>stēhi</i>		15		<i>Imēṇa</i>	<i>gaddikēṇa</i>
	Kamagulya					puḍra	Vagra-Marēga'sya					iya-Khavadamṛi	kadalayigra
	<i>Kamagulya</i>					<i>putra</i>	<i>Vagra-Marēgasya</i>					<i>iya-Khavatamhi</i>	<i>kaṭālayika</i>

¹ This is clear, whether we read *paridhātē* or *patīṭhātē* in l 1. See notes, p 214.

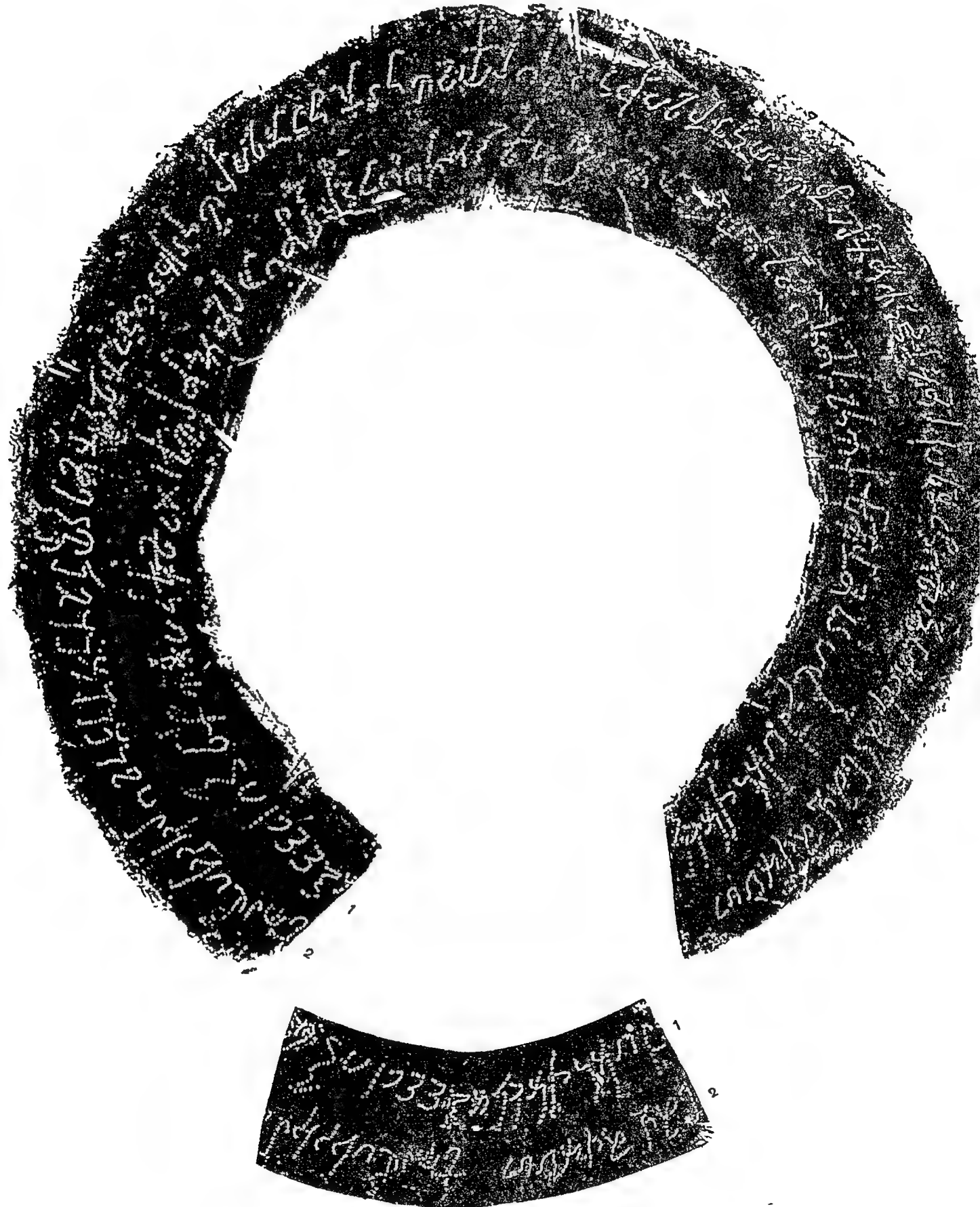
² It seems hardly possible to derive Hashtuna from *hṛishṭa*. Dr Thomas suggests O P *ba-ya* 'god' as the derivation of Baga (or Vagra), and compares Hashtuna with *Histanes* and *Bisthanes*, and Marēga with the termination *bara* in *Sanabares*, etc (J R A S, 1906, p 214). The *r* in *Vagra* is real.

³ See Notes, p 218.

⁴ Dr. Thomas would add to this list the words *bhṛadaba*, *śōcha*, *nabagra*, *paryata*, *śaphatiga* and *arupyata*.

Inscription on the Wardak vase

Lines 1 and 2



Inscription on the Wardak vase

Lines 3 and 4

4

5

3B

3C

3D



- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|------------|------------|--------|
| Vagra-Marigra-viharamri | tumbimri | bhagravada | Śakya-munē | śarira |
| Vagra-Mariga-vihāramhi | tumbimhi | bhagavata | Śākya-munē | śarira |
| paridhabōti | | | | |
| paridhīpēti | | | | |
- 2 Imēna kusala-mulēna maharaja-rajatibhaya¹-Hōvēśhkasya agra-bhagra² bhavatu
 Imēna kusala-mulēna mahārāja rajatirāja-Hōvēśhkasya agra-bhāgāē bhavatu
 Madā-pidara mē puyāē bhavatu Bhadrabhi mē Hashtuna-Marēgrasya puyāē
 Mā'ā-pitara mē pūyāē bhavatu Bhadrabhi mē Hashtuna-Marēgrasya pūyāē
 bhavatu Śōcha mē bhaya Nattigā-midira-sambhatigana puyāē bhavatu
 bhavatu Śōcha mē bhāyā Nattigā-mitra-sambhattikāna pūyāē bhavatu
 Mahisa cha Vagra-Marēgrasya agra-bhagra-padiyam³am
 Mahisa cha Vagra-Marēgrasya agra-bhāga-patiyamsam
- 3 * bhavatu Sarva-satvāna arōga-dachhinaō bhavatu Aviya²-nabagra paryata-śava-
 bhavatu Sarva-sattvāna arōga-dachchhināō bhavatu Aviya-napaka paryatta-śava-
 bhavagra yō adā-tamtaia-amda-jō⁴ jalnyuga śaphatiga arupyata sarvina
 bhāgala yō āddra-antara-anda-jō jalāyuka sapphattika arūpyattā sārvinā
 puyāē bhavatu Mahisa cha Rōhana † sada-sarvinat avashatrigana
 pūyāē bhavatu Mahisa cha Rōhana sada-sāvinā avashattrikāna
 sa-parivara cha agra-bhaga-padiya(m)sam bhavatu Mityagasya cha agra-bhaga
 sa-parivāra cha agra-bhāga-patiyamsam bhavatu Mityagasya cha agra-bhāga
 bhavatu †
 bhavatu
- 4 Ūsha viharam asamsrann Mahasamghigana parigraha
 Ūsha vihāram asamsaya or āchīryāna³ Mahāsanghikāna parigraha

TRANSLATION

In the year 51, on the day 15 [of the first half?] of the month Artemisios. By means of this vase Vagra Marēga's son Kamagulya, who has fixed his residence in this place Khavata, intends a relic of the Lord Śakya-muni inside a vault within the Vagra Mariga monastery

By means of this meritorious foundation—may it (the relic) tend to the pre-eminent lot of the great king, the suzerain of kings, Hōvēśhka! May it tend to the veneration of my parents! May it tend to the veneration of my brother's son Hashtuna Marēga! May there be purity for me! May it tend to the veneration of my grandsons, friends and associates! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Vagra Marēga! May it tend to the bestowal of perfect health on all beings! May it tend to the veneration of all these, namely, the saintly king,⁴ him who has obtained the condition of having mastered the doctrine, the creature which is born from moisture, from a womb (?) or from an egg, the creature whose life is in water, the gaminivorous animal and the incorporeal soul! And

¹ The *ba* is a mistake for *ra*

² to * including the next letter *ga* is line 3 A

† to † excluding the first letter *am* and including the letter *a* of *avashatrigana* is line 3 B

‡ to ‡ excluding the first letter *sa* is line 3 C

³ The *vi* is probably a mistake for *ri*, see p 216

⁴ This word is very difficult, see note on it *infra*

⁵ Or perhaps "the saint, the king" (see p 216)

combination with *b*, and hardly probable in combination with *v*, for *uv* would be a doubled *v* and letters are not written double here. Only *m* therefore seems possible, and the character is presumably *mbi* (or *mi*). In support of this it may be observed, that *m* could hardly be expressed by the usual curve for *m* (see p 205) added to *tu*, and could therefore be only indicated by some addition to the letter *b* (or *i*) to form the compound *mb* (or *mi*). The word therefore is *tumbimā* (or *tumimā*), the locative case of *tumbi* (or *tumi*). No Indian word seems possible, and the only inference that arises is that *tumbi* (or *tumi*) is a foreign word adopted and Prākṛitized. Since the cerebral *t* is used to denote the Greek *t*, as in *Arfamisīya*, *tumbi* suggests the Greek word *tumbion*, the diminutive of *tumbos*, "a sepulchral chamber or vault." *Tumbion* would become *tumbiya* in Prākṛit and might be shortened to *tumbi* in ordinary parlance. Greek influence was strong in this region, and *tumbion* would be an appropriate word to denote the substantially constructed cavity or cupola in the tumulus in which the vase was found (see p 201). This rendering is surprising, yet none other seems to me possible from the scrutiny.

Bhagavāda Śalya-munē has been discussed above (p 209)

Paridhābēti=*paridhāpēti* (by rule 1)=Skt *paridhāpayati*, causal of *pari-dhā*, and means "encloses." The usual term to express the installation of a relic-shrine is *patitthābēti*, and this suggests itself as the word intended here. *Th* and *dh* are similar and the third akshara might be read either way, but *patitthābēti* (as *patitthābēti* might appear here by rule 4) does not appear to be intended for three reasons based upon the writing, the grammar and the sense. First, the second akshara is certainly not *t* but *r*, for it agrees exactly with the two *r*'s which immediately precede in the word *śurira*, secondly, if it were intended, it would presumably appear as *paditthābēti* or perhaps *paditthābēti* (by rules 1 and 4) and *di* or *ḍi* could hardly lead to an erroneous *ri*, and thirdly, this word must be taken with *imēna gadigīṇa*, in which the relic was enclosed, and *paridhābēti* suits the context better than *patitthābēti*.

Line 2

Kusala-mūlēna—This expression occurs on the Mānikyāla stone,¹ and is also a technical Buddhist term. As a technical term—"The three Kusalamūlas, "roots of goodness or groundwork of merit" are *alobho*, *adoso*, *amoho*, freedom from covetousness, from anger, and from ignorance"² but this interpretation is unsuitable here, and the expression here presumably means something different, as Prof Lüders also apparently holds when dealing with the Mānikyāla stone.³ It may mean "well-conceived foundation," "virtuous endowment," if *kusala* be taken as an adjective, and "root of well-being," "source of meritorious action," if *kusala* be taken as a noun.⁴ Here from its general adaptability it may imply all these meanings with reference to the relic.

Agra bhāga—*Agra* means "foremost, pre-eminent," and *bhāga* "portion, lot, destiny." The word might be read *bhagga* (by rule 3), which would=Skt *bhāgya*, "fortune, lot, destiny." The meaning is the same either way. M. Sonartha has pointed out that *agrabhāga* here corresponds to *agrēbhāva* in the inscription of Tōlamāna Shāha of Kura (E I, 1, 240), which has *agrēbhāva-pratyamsatīyāstu*.⁵ *Agṛēbhāva* denotes a state or condition, and *agrabhāga* here must presumably imply the same, "a pre-eminent lot," and not "a first share." I do not understand

¹ See J. R. A. S. 1909, p 645

² See Childers' Pali Dictionary, s. v. *kusalo*, and Angut Nik vol I, p 203. Dr. Thomas takes it to mean 'a work of merit,' 'a pious work.'

³ Prof Lüders explains it as equivalent to the phrase which is found at Mathurā, *anena* (or *imēna*) *deyadharmapariyāgena* (J. R. A. S. 1909, p 660). Is not that a parallel rather than an equivalent phrase?

⁴ See Childers' Pali Dictionary

⁵ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, p 10. See note to *padiyasāsaṃ* infra

to what *bhāga* as a "share" could refer,¹ whereas a condition is intelligible and natural. He first translated *agrabhāga* as "prosperity," but afterwards agreed with Buhler to seek in it a direct allusion to the acquisition of *bodhi*.² I would rather suggest that, since the expression appears to denote a condition, it refers to Buddhahood. With the word *pratyamsā* added (see note to *padīyamsam*, *infra*), "a share of Buddhahood" seems to be as appropriate as "a share of *bodhi*." The expression can hardly refer to any worldly blessing, because in that case is it not rather witless to utter such a wish on behalf of Huvishka, who enjoyed already the highest position on earth?

Bhavatu is used here with the dative, as *agra bhāgāḥ* and *pūyāḥ*. Since the dative implies 'purpose, intention, aim,' *bhavatu* with the dative means "may it be for the purpose of," "may it be with an aim towards," that is, "may it tend towards," "may it operate towards."

Mada-pīdara = *mātā-pitara* (by rule 1). This must be the genitive of *mātā-pitā* treated as a singular noun,³ and it is so treated in the Taxila plate, where the accus. *mata-pitarām* occurs (E I iv, 55). The genitive must be employed here after *pūyāḥ* as in all the other similar sentences. This appears to be a new form of Prākṛit genitive, and the nearest approach to it is *piaraha* which is a genitive of *pitā*.⁴ Its real formation appears to be this—*pitara* = *pitaraḥ* (the visarga disappearing in Prākṛit) which would be correctly formed as a genitive from *pitar* (which is the essential base of *pitri*),⁵ just like *gṛah* from *gṛ* and *charaḥ* from *char* in Sanskrit.⁶ The declension of *pitri* in Sanskrit shows similar forms from the base *pitari*, as *pitaram*, *pitarau*, *pitaraḥ* and *pitari*.

Pūyāḥ — *Pūjā* means more than "honour" and implies some degree of veneration or reverence, hence *pūyāḥ bhavatu* means "may it tend to the veneration."

Bhradaba as the word clearly is and not *bhradara*. *Hashtuna Marēgrasya* is in apposition to this word and not to *mē*, for the declarant is Kamagulya and *mē* refers to him, and the meaning is that *Hashtuna Marēga* is the *bhradaba* in relation to *mē*, that is, Kamagulya. *Mē* is inserted parenthetically, like *cha* in *mahiṣa Vagra Marēgrasya* (I 2) and in *mahiṣa Rōhana* (I 3 B). *Bhradaba* cannot well be treated as a mistake for *bhradara* on the analogy of the preceding *mātā-pitara* and so taken as the genitive of *bhrādā*, because (1) it is contrary to the general practice to inflect two words in apposition as would happen if we read *bhradara Hashtuna-Marēgrasya*, and (2) it is unnecessary to suspect any mistake. Indeed one should hesitate to suppose there is an error in spelling, unless the mistake is patent (as in *rajatibaja*, I 2) or the word actually written appears impossible (as in *aviya*, I 3 A, and *asamsraṇa*, I 4), and one should presume that what has been written is what was intended, if it has an intelligible

¹ Unless we adopt a valuable suggestion by Dr Thomas. Taking *agrabhāga* in its literal meaning "chief share," he thinks that it denotes a chief share in the merit resulting from this donation. To my mind the addition of the word *pratyamsā* makes a difficulty in this rendering.

² Journ Asiat, sér 8, vol XV, p 123, and sér 9, vol VII, p 10.

³ Dr Thomas is inclined to think it may be a genitive plural in *rām*.

⁴ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 391.

⁵ This explanation is supported by the exactly analogous use of the genitives *bhagavata(h)* *Śākyamunī(h)*, see p 209.

⁶ The word *bhratara* appears in the Taxila plate, and Buhler takes *bhratara sarva* there as = *bhrātṛin sarvān*, but finds the construction irregular, as it occurs in the middle of several genitives. It is really the genitive, exactly analogous to *mātā-pitara* here, and as such accords fully with the other genitives there. That passage would then run thus — *sa putra darasa (ayu bala-vardhī) bhratara sarva (cha)-natiga [bam]dhavasa cha*, the first *cha* being inserted parenthetically (like *cha* in this inscription, see note on *bhradaba*) with reference to *sarva natiga*, and the second *cha* being in its correct place grammatically but referring specially to (*sarva*) [*bam*]dhava. These *cha*'s are used more with regard to the sense than strict grammar. *Bhratara* also occurs on the Mānikyāla stone inscription and is treated as a genitive by Prof Luders (J R A. S., 1909, p 666). *Natiga* there must = *natigra* here, see note on it.

and appropriate meaning¹ Nor can the word be read as *bhrada* *ba*, treating *ba* as=Skt *iā* or *ēva*, because (1) Skt *v* when single is not changed to *b* here, and (2) neither word would suit the context but only *cha* *Bhradaba* is therefore one word and=*bhrātabba* (by rules 1 and 3), which=Skt *bhrātrivya*, "nephew," and the whole phrase = Skt. *mad-bhrātrivya-Hashtuna-Marēgasya*

Śocha has been discussed above (p. 205)²

Bhuya=Skt *bhūyāt*, the final *t* being dropped in Prakrit³ This word is well chosen here to convey a less positive meaning than *bhaviat* Where the declarant expresses his desire on behalf of other persons he uses the imperative tense, but here in uttering his desire on his own behalf he modestly uses the precativ

Natigra=*nattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt *naptri*+*ka*

Sambhatigra=*sambhattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt *sambhakti*+*ka*, "sharer, favourer" here no doubt "partisan, associate"

Mahisa=*mahisa*, Skt *mahī*+*īva* It occurs again in l. 3 B,⁴ and, as the persons named are inferior to the Emperor Huvishka, it evidently means a local Rāja There were apparently two Rājas in this part of the country, Vagra Marēga and Rōhana

Padiyamsam—This word occurs again in l. 3 C It has been fully discussed above (pp. 204 f., 209, 215), where the similar expressions found elsewhere have been mentioned, *agrēbhāva pratyamsatāyīstu*,⁵ *agra-pratyasatāyē bhavatu*,⁶ and *bhatara Svarabuddhiḥ agra-patrasaē*.⁷ It=*patiyamsām*, (by rule 1)=Skt *pratyamsa* "division, share," as M. Senart and Prof. Lüders have pointed out I would translate *agra-bhāga-padiyamsam* as a "share in a pre-eminent lot" It is to be noticed that this phrase is used only with reference to the two local Rājas, Vagra Marēga here and Rōhana in l. 3 B, whereas full *agra-bhāga* is applied to Huvishka and Mityaga

Line 3

Arōga may=Skt *a-rōga*, or stand for *ārōgga* (by rule 3) and=Skt *ārōgya* The meaning is the same, and the latter is probably preferable because *ārōgya duḥshināyē* is said to occur on an inscription at Mathurā⁸

Ariya-nabagra—*Ariya* is no doubt a mistake for *ariya*,⁹ for the *v* is as large as the usual size of *r* and only the small stroke at the top of *r* is wanting These words then=*ariya-*

¹ Dr. Thomas however thinks that there must be a mistake, and that the word intended is *bhradara*, genitive of *bhrada*, that is *bhrātā*, 'brother', *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*

² Dr. Thomas suspects that it is really an error for *sō cha* and = *tat cha* *Tat* appears as *tam* in Prakrit (Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §425)

³ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 459, 464

⁴ This word might also be read as *mahiya*, because *ś* and *y* are often made alike here (see p. 203), and Dr. Thomas would read it so and take it as = *māhyam* or *mama*, referring to the donor, but if so, the two passages seem tautological as regards the donor

⁵ Bühler read this as *śatāyās tu*, and translated it "(their) share being a preferential one" (E. I., i, 241), but Prof. Lüders takes it as *śatāya astu*, and I agree with him I would translate it thus, "may it tend to the condition of (their obtaining) a share of a pre-eminent existence"

⁶ Which Bühler translated as, "may, (the merit of this gift) be by preference for their parents" (E. I., i, 390) but I would suggest that *agra* is short for and = the full phrase *agrēbhāva* or *agrabhāga*, for *agra* is a noun and means the "foremost or topmost point", and that the translation should be, "may it tend to their parents' having the condition of (obtaining) a share in a pre-eminent position"

⁷ Which Prof. Lüders translates "for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi", but I would suggest it means, "(let it tend) to my brother Svarabuddhi's (having a) share in a pre-eminent position"

⁸ Referred to in I. A., vol. 33 (1904), p. 155

⁹ I have to thank Dr. Thomas for this suggestion He thinks further that *nabagra* may be a mistake for *naragra* and = *nāraśa*, "beings in hell," *ś* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*

napaka (by rule 1)=Skt *ārya-nṛpa+ka*, "the saintly king" They might be taken separately as "the saint, the king," if it is probable that the dedicator would have invoked a blessing not only on the saintly king, but also on kings generally If so, the *ārya* must be distinguished from the *ś-āryaka* who is mentioned next

Paryata-sava-bhāgrā=*paryatta śiva-bhāvaka* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt *paryāpta-śrāva-bhāva+ka*¹ *Śāva* which means "hearing" appears to signify "learning, instruction" here and the whole phrase to be a circumlocution for *śrāvaka*

Yō adra ambara amda-jō—The first letter might be read as *śō*, but that could only represent Skt *śvas*, "tomorrow," and is meaningless here The *jō* at the end clearly answers to *yō* at the beginning, so that the whole is one long phrase, and, as no sandhi blends the intervening words as in the following words *jalāyuga*, *saphatiga* and *arupyata*, the intervening words are obviously distinct and must each be read with *jō*, otherwise they would have had the same termination *ō* instead of ending in *a* The whole phrase therefore becomes *yō adra-jō ambara-jō amda-jō*, and as *amda-jō* clearly means an "egg-horn creature" and the following word *jalāyuga* means "a creature that has its life in water," *adra-jō* and *ambara-jō* must denote other great groups of living creatures *Adra* (as the word appears to be, though the second letter is not clear even in the original)=*āddra* (by rule 3)=Skt *ārdra*, "moist", and this adjective is evidently used substantively here,² so that *adra jō* means "a creature born from moisture," and=Pāli *samsēda-jō* *Ambara*=Skt *antara*, "the interior," and *antara-jō* may mean "born from the interior," and=*garbha ja*, that is, "mammalian"

Jalayuga=*jalāyuka* (by rule 1)=Skt *jala + āyu + ka*, "a creature which has its life in water" The word might be read as *jalāyukā* or *jala śuka*, which mean "a leech," but such a narrow and unsatisfactory allusion is out of the question

Saphatiga—The word looks like *śasētiga* or *śasvētiga*, or we might read *y* instead of *ś* in either or both places, since these two letters are not well distinguished (see p 203), but no such reading gives any sense, because the latter part whether read as *ētiga* or *ettika* (as it should be by rules 1 and 4) is an impossible ending, however we attempt to restore the word in Sanskrit The first letter certainly seems to be *ś* The second letter however differs markedly from the first and diverges from *ś* or *y*, in that its left limb is prolonged unusually downward as in *p* and *ph* I am led therefore to think that it is not *ś* or *y* but is a badly formed *p* or *ph*, and that the stroke which resembles the vowel mark *ē* is really the top part of *p* or *ph* shifted slightly to the right³ Of these two letters *ph* is preferable, because the right limb has an upward curve which *p* does not possess and which is not the mark of *r* in *pr* As *ph* it is a new form, yet *ph* has two different shapes in Bühler's Table I, so that its character was not rigidly settled Taking the second letter then as *ph*, we obtain a reading which is appropriate *Śaphatiga*=*śapphattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt *śashpātrika + ka* "an animal feeding on grass" This is no doubt a pretentious word,⁴ but it accords with the contiguous words and occurs as will be seen in a poetical quotation

Arupyata=*arūpyattā* (by rule 4), "incorporeal soul"⁵ This may represent Skt *arūpin + ātmā*, but not *arūpya + ātmā*, because *arūpya* does not have the meaning "incorporeal" Pāli

¹ Dr Thomas would read *paryata* as = *paryamta*

² *Adra* might=a possible noun *ārdra*, "moisture", but the general character of this Prākṛit seems against it Dr Thomas would read *adra ambara* as *atra ambara* and as = *atrāntara*, but as regards the character *ār*, see p 208, note 3

³ Dr Thomas however would read the word as *śa(ṛ)śētiga*, that is *sāmsvēdika*, equivalent to Pāli *samsēda-ja*, from Skt *sam* and *svēda*, but there is no instance here where an original *s* is turned to Prākṛit *ś*, or an original *ḍ* to Prākṛit *ṭ* (see rules 1 and 3, pp 207, 208)

⁴ *Śashpa bhuj* is in the dictionary

⁵ Dr Thomas would take this word as = *arūpyāmta*

has *arūpī* and *ārūppa* (=Skt *ārūpya*, formed directly from *a-rūpa*), both meaning "incorporeal" *Arūpyata* might represent the latter word, if read as *ārūpyattā*, but *ārūpyattā* seems preferable, because the first syllable is probably short since we have here presumably a śloka quoted

All these words from *ariya* to *arūpyata*¹ have a particularly literary style and rhythm, and here alone occurs the nomin termination *ō* These features suggest that we have a poetical quotation here, in which all the words were in the nomin singular as shown by the *ō* form and the word *arūpyattā* If then these words be adjusted according to the rules set out above, and the nomin form *ō* be restored, and *jō* be added to the two words from which it has been omitted, the passage falls into the śloka metre —

.. .. *ariya-napakō paryatta-sāva-bhāvako*
Yō āddra-jō antara-jō anda-jō [cha] jalayuko
*Śapphattako arūpyattā*²

Sariva=Skt *sārvinām*, genitive plural of *sārvī*,³ a feminine collective noun formed from *sarva*, precisely like *sāmagrī* from *samagra*, and with the same meaning It is used in the plural, because it applies to each of the preceding terms

Sada=Skt *sādas*, "residence, dwelling", *sada-sārvī* means "household" It is used in the plural, probably honorifically, with reference to all the houses that composed the residence of the Rāja Rōhana

Avashatriga=*avashattriḥa* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt fem form *avasattri* + *hā* But perhaps the *ri* is a mistake for or a reminiscence of the vowel *ri* of the masc form, and the word intended would be *avasattri* + *ka* *Avasattri* is not actually found in Sanskrit, but would be a legitimate formation from the root *ava-saṇj* (which does occur) and would mean "an adherent" The preposition *ava* sometimes changes a following *s* to *sh* as in *avashtambh* and *avashvan*, and, though it does not so modify the root *saṇj* in Sanskrit, yet it might do so in Prākṛit, especially when there is a closely allied root *siaṇj*, "to embrace," which would I imagine be modified after *ava*⁴ Both roots would be alike in Prākṛit

Padiyamsaen is discussed above (p 216) The medial *m* is not so clear here as in that earlier place

Mityaga (or perhaps *Mityaka* by rule 1) seems to be Greek both from its appearance and also from the use of the cerebral *t*, see *Artamisya* (p 212), but the only Greek words I can suggest after enquiry are *mētōkhos*, which means "a foreign settler" but is hardly a name, and *mētōkhos*, in which the *kh* could hardly be represented by *k* It is noteworthy that the dedicator expresses the same wish for full *agra-bhāga* for *Mityaga* as for *Huvishka*

Line 4

Esha viharam — *Vihāra* appears to be treated as a neuter noun, because *vihāram* is clearly the nomin case *Esha* is used as a neuter in Prākṛit⁵

Asamśrana is a difficult word. The second akshara is like *sam* at the beginning of the inscription, and the third appears to be *ś* or *y* compounded with *r*⁶, and if the former is *sam*,

¹ Dr Thomas would put a different meaning on the text, thus—"I propose (tentatively) to understand all creatures to be referred to, 'from *āryas* to the beings in hell, and all the *andajas*, etc in between (*atrantare*) including the invisible (*a-rūpa*)'"

² Can any Pali scholar identify these verses?

³ *Sārcīyār* occurs in a Skt quotation in Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 16

⁴ See Pāṇini viii, 3, 68 9

⁵ Pis hel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 426

⁶ It differs from the usual forms of *ś* and *y*, in that the left limb is extended unusually downward.

the only tenable reading for the latter is *śra*, and the whole word would be *asamśrana*, but this seems impossible, if taken as one word, and if it is divided into *asam śrana*, we only obtain two difficult words, and initial *śr* is inadmissible since it drops its *r* as shewn in *śrīa* (see p 217). There seems to be a clerical error in the word. Two emendations may be offered. First, it may be a mistake for *a-samsraya*, "having no asylum or habitation," the gift of a *vihāra* to *Mahāsanghikas* who had no sanctuary would have been a natural act of piety. Or secondly, as Dr Thomas suggests, the *sam* may be a mistake for the somewhat similar letter *cha*, and then the next letter may be read as *rya*,¹ so that the word would be *āchāryāna*, genitive plural of *āchārya*, "teacher." On the whole this seems preferable,² and I have adopted it in the translation.

No. 21 — SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA, THE YEAR 241.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D., HALLE (SAALE)

In my article on the Pārdī plates of the Traikūtaka king Dahrasēna³ it was stated that the late lamented Mr A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., had in his hands an unpublished copper-plate grant of Dahrasēna's son and successor Vyāghrasēna⁴. At my request Rai Bahadur Venkayya obtained the original plates on loan through the Government of Bombay, who were good enough to permit them to be sent to me for inspection.

As stated by Mr Jackson, the copper-plates come from Surat. They are two in number, each measuring between $9\frac{1}{4}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārdī plates, there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. The *Jihvāmūliya* occurs once (l 1) and the *Upadhmanīya* five times (ll 4, 5, 6 (twice), and 14). In three instances (*mā*, l 9, and *lā*, ll 13 and 18) the secondary form of *ā* is expressed by a hook at the bottom of the preceding consonant. The date at the end of the inscription contains the abbreviation *sam* (for *samvat*) and the numerical symbols 1, 5, 10, 40, and 200.

The language is Sanskrit prose, but two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end. The rules of grammar and of *sandhi* are carefully observed, only ll 10-14 contain a few blunders, and l 8 two clerical mistakes. *Anusvāra* is replaced by *n* in *vanśa* (l 5) and *vanśya* (l 12).

The inscription records a grant of land to a Brāhmana by the *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* (l 7 f) of the Traikūtaka family (l 1), who issued his order from "the victorious *Aniruddhapurā*" (l 1). This city, which appears to have been the capital of the Traikūtaka kings, is mentioned also in the slightly different form "the victorious *Aniruddhapurī*" as the place of residence of the donee in the Bagumrā plates of [Kalachuri-] Samvat 406⁵. *Vyāghrasēna*.

¹ This *ry* is different from the *ry* in *pariyata* (l 3 A) in that the left limb extends downwards here much further than in *pariyata*. Whether this difference is accidental or implies a distinction is doubtful.

² Though, on this interpretation, one would have expected *Mahāsanghika āchāryāna*.

³ Above, Vol. X p 52 f.

⁴ *Journ. Bombay Br. & As. Soc.* Vol. XXIII. p 6 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p 270.

claims to have ruled the Aparānta country¹ (l. 2). This statement furnishes an interesting confirmation of two verses of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (iv. 58 f.), where the mountain Trikūta, from which the designation of the Traikūṭaka family must be derived, is placed in the territory of the king of Aparānta.² According to the *Vaiṣṇavāntī* (ed. Oppert, p. 37, verse 35), which is quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, iv. 53, the chief place of Aparānta seems to have been Śūrpāraka, the modern Sōpārā, with which I feel tempted to identify Anuruddhapura, the capital of the Traikūṭakas. The object of Vyāghrasēna's grant was the hamlet Purōhitapallikā in the Iksharaki district (*nāhāra*, l. 8), which I am unable to identify. From the name given to the hamlet we may perhaps infer that the donee, Nāgaśarman (l. 10), was the king's family priest (*purōhita*).

The date of the grant was the 15th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 241 of an unspecified era (l. 18). As we know from coins that Vyāghrasēna was the son of Dahrasēna,³ whose Pāṇḍi plates are dated in [Kalachuri-]Samvat 207, the date of the new inscription must be also referred to the Kalachuri era of A. D. 249, and the specified month places the record in A. D. 490 or 491.

The following short pedigree comprises all that we know from coins and inscriptions regarding the Traikūṭaka kings of Aparānta, residing at Anuruddhapura.—

Mahārāja Indradatta
|
Mahārāja Dahrasēna
(A. D. 456 or 457)
|
Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna
(A. D. 490 or 491)

TEXT.⁴

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयानिरुद्धपुराक्षैकूटकान[१] मातापितृपादानुद्धातो भगवत्पादकर्मकरक्कर-
गतक्रमागत-
- 2 स्त्रीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकमलस्वभुजपरिपालनप्रता-
- 3 पाधिगतप्रचुरद्रविणविश्राणनावामसर्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्तयशाशारदरजनिकररुचिरवपु-
- 4 रन्वद्यदास्त्रीलपुरुषविशेषमदृशोदारचरितस्मृचरितनिदर्शनार्थसिव निर्मितप्रति-
- 5 षट्सामन्तारातिरन्ध्रनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्त्वङ्गालङ्कारभूतप्रभूतप्रवीरसाधना-⁵
- 6 विष्टितदुर्गनगरमागरस्यागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिप्रकृतिजनमनोहरप्राञ्च-

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII p. 173, and Prof. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. xxxii.

² *Op. cit.* p. clix and note 3.

⁴ From the original copper plates.

⁵ See above, Vol. X p. 52 and note 5.

⁶ Read °वशा°.

- 7 सञ्चितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृश्यन्त्रणोपगृहीतस्रृष्टृणीयश्रीश्रीसहा-
 8 राजव्याघ्रसेनः ¹सर्वानवेक्षरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपत्निकाप्रतिवासिनो-²
 9 स्वमाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्भार्तापिचोदात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभि-
 हृदये

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 भारद्वाजसगोत्रब्राह्मणनागशर्मणे³ इयं पत्निका चौरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज⁴ अचाटभट-
 11 प्रावेश्या सर्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणोग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या⁵ आचन्द्रार्काणव-
 12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनोतिष्ठिष्टा⁶ [1*] तदस्मद्विद्वत्पराजभित्तये⁷ विभवानभावानुव-
 दानायुर्वि-
 13 योगानुगतद्गुणाश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगण्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान-
 14 मिति प्रमाणोक्त्य शशिकरश्च रुचिरश्चिराय यश्चिचोपुभिर्य⁸ पत्निकादा-
 योनुमन्तव्यपा-
 15 लयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्मादुक्तभगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पूर्वदत्तान्विजा-
 तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रुच युधि-
 16 छिर [1*] महोन्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन [॥ १ ॥'] पट्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गे मोदति
 17 भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [॥ २ ॥']
 प्रतिपृच्छ लिखितं मया महासान्धिविग्र-
 18 द्विकर्केण हालाहलद्रुतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! From the victorious Aniruddhapura, the glorious Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna,— (who belongs to the family) of the Traikūtakas, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is the lord of Aparānta and other rich countries, annexed or inherited (by him), to whose lotus-feet innumerable kings are bowing, who has obtained bright fame, pervading all directions, by distributing the vast treasures acquired with his own arm by ruling (his kingdom) and by conquest, whose body is as brilliant as the autumnal moon, whose conduct is as noble as that of excellent men of former times, who has been created, as it were, as an example of good conduct, who has repelled neighbouring enemies, who is more distinguished than other kings, who has become the ornament of his family, who has occupied forts, cities, and oceans by armies of many great heroes, whose nature is as deep as the ocean and as firm as the chief of mountains (Himālaya), who ravishes the hearts of men by nature, whose wealth is shared

¹ Read सर्वनिवे² Read वासिन³ Read शर्मण⁴ Read वर्जस.⁵ Read परिहीणाग्रहार and भीमयावद्रा

Read कालीनाति

⁶ Read दृष्ट⁷ Read मिरय

by scholars, refugees, elders, relatives, and devotees, (and) who has acquired desirable glory by practising self-restraint in a manner worthy of (his) descent,— commands all residents of Purōhitapallikā included in the Iksharakī district (*āhāra*) —

(L 9) “Be it known to you, that, in order to increase the merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, we have granted to the Brāhmana Nāgaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* this hamlet (*pallikā*), not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, unless (in order to arrest) robbers or persons guilty of high-treason, exempt from all taxes and from forced labour, to be enjoyed, under the rules of an *agrahāra*, by (the donor's) descendants, (and) to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist

(L 12) “Therefore kings belonging to Our lineage and others, considering that sovereignty is liable to cessation, that life is followed by separation, and that (only) virtues are lasting a long time, admitting the principle that gifts to virtuous men are noble achievements, and desirous of accumulating for a long time brilliant fame, as bright as the rays of the moon, must approve and protect this grant of a hamlet

(L 15) “For the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken —

[Here follow two of the customary verses]

(L 17) Having enquired (regarding the necessary details of the grant?), (this edict) was written by me, the great minister for peace and war (*mahāsāndhivigrahika*) Karka, Halāhala being the messenger (*dūtaka*), in the year 241, on the 15th (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika

No 22 — FIVE BANA INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUDIMALLAM¹

By V VENKATYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR

Gudimallam is a village in the Kālahasti Zamīndārī of the modern Chittoor District, about 8 miles from Rēngūta Junction, and 13 miles south-west of Kālahasti town. On a hurried visit to the village which I paid in August 1903, I found important inscriptions, and subsequently a member of the Madras epigraphical establishment was deputed to examine the place more leisurely. In all 26 inscriptions were copied in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at the village.² They belong to the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar (No 229 of 1903), the Ganga-Pallava kings Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (No 226 of 1903) and Nripatunga (No 228 of 1903), the Bāna prince Vijayaditya (Nos 223 and 224 of 1903), the Chōla kings Parāntaka I. (No 225 of 1903), Rājakesarivarman (No 222 of 1903), Vikrama-Chōla (Nos 212 and 213 of 1903) and Rājārāja III (Nos 201-11, 214, 216-21 and 227 of 1903). The village is called Tiruvirperumbēdu in Śilai-nādu, a sub-division of Vēngada-kōttam in Perumbānappādī, a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandalam. In the earlier records (Nos 226, 223, 225, 229 of 1903) the forms Tiruvippirambēdu and Tiruvirpirambēdu (Nos 228 and 224 of 1903) and Tiruvirperumbēdu (No. 222 of 1903) occur. In three of them, the village is mentioned without the district to which it belonged (Nos 223, 226 and 229 of 1903). In four others Śilai-nādu and Vēngada-kōttam are added. If we accept the form which occurs in the earliest inscription, viz. Tiruvippirambēdu, the name may be analysed into Tiruvippiran and pēdu. Vippiran is apparently a *taḍḍila* of the Sanskrit *vipra*, ‘a brāhmana’. Consequently, the name would signify ‘the sacred village of the brāhmana’. The temple receives the names— Paraśurāmīśvarattu-Mahādēva (A. below), Paraśurāmīśvaragarattu-Perumānāḍigal (D below), Paraśurāmīśvaragarattu-Pirāpār (E

¹ My thanks are due to Dr Fleet who very kindly read two proofs of this article at my request and made a number of valuable suggestions, almost all of which I have adopted.

² Nos. 204 to 229 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

below), Paraśurāmiśvarattu-Perumānadiḡu (No 222 of 1903) and Paraśurāmiśvaramudaiyāi (No 221 of 1903). Thus the temple is invariably called Paraśurāmiśvara from the time of the earliest inscriptions down to the present day. None of the epigraphs, however, furnishes any clue as to the circumstances which led to the choice of this name.

The subjoined inscriptions A to E¹ are the earliest records of the temple and are selected for publication as they throw some light on the history of a feudatory family, that of the Bānas, the members of which appear to have played an important part in Southern India in ancient times. A general note on the history of this family is given on pp 229 to 240, below. Most of the stones on which these inscriptions are engraved were found lying in the court-yard of the temple. The fact that three of them register gifts to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple may be taken to show that the stones belonged originally to it, perhaps they became detached from the temple when it was built (or rebuilt) during the reign of the Chōla king Vikrama-Chōla.²

The palaeography of these records does not call for any special remarks. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that two dots placed one above the other are used as a sign of punctuation in line 10 of A³. The initial vowel *i* is written in line 31 of B and line 25 of D, exactly as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākudī plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the more common form of the letter occurs in line 52 of the former record. Less important peculiarities are noticed in the footnotes to the text of each of the records. As regards the language, which is Tamil, the only point that deserves to be noted is the use of the phrase *chandrādityagatam* (ll 32 to 35 of B, and l 10 of E) instead of the more common *chandrādityavat*.⁴

A records a gift of land for a lamp to burn in the Paraśurāmiśvara temple by a certain Mulliṟkīlār who was one of the members of the committee administering the village of Tiruvippirambēdu. The land granted was purchased by the donor from another member of the same committee. In B a third member of the same committee granted land for removing silt from the tank called Vellēri at Tiruvippirambēdu. Out of the produce of this land were to be met the charges for digging pits in the tank and depositing the silt on the tank-bund. In C the stone is mutilated on the right side, so that the writing has suffered on three sides of it. The missing letters on the first side can be restored with some certainty, while on the third side restoration is not possible. The object of the grant is consequently not clear, but it probably registers the gift of a lamp. In D the Bāna queen Mādēvi-adigal granted 30 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold from the interest of which was to be met the expenditure on account of twilight offerings and lamps to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple at Tiruvippirambēdu. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēdu accepted the endowment and undertook to provide twilight offerings and lamps. E registers a gift of gold by a native of Viramangalam for a perpetual lamp. The amount consisted of twenty *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, and the interest on it was calculated at the rate of four *maṇṇādi* per year for each *kaḷaṇṇu*. Out of the interest amounting to 4 *kaḷaṇṇu*, 180 *nāḷ* of ghee was to be purchased at the rate of 45 *nāḷ* for each *kaḷaṇṇu*. At one *uri* of ghee per day, 180 *nāḷ* would be enough for the whole year. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēdu took charge of the endowment and agreed to provide the ghee required every day.

¹ These five inscriptions have also been published by Mr T A Gopinatha Rao, M A, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XL pp 104-114. It will be seen that there are some differences both in the readings and in the translations. Further, ll 46 to 58 of B are altogether omitted by him and ll 18 to 43 of C are left out as they are fragmentary.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903-04, p 24, No 212 of 1903.

³ Compare *South Ind Insers*, Vol II p 111, note 1.

⁴ The expression *chandrādityagatam* occurs in an inscription of the Chōla king Parakāśavarman at Kudimiyāmalai (No 350 of 1904).

The relationship which the members of the committee or commissioners (*ganattār*) bore to the village assembly is not clear. In other words, their respective jurisdiction is not known. The commissioners are said to be ruling the village. Two other villages besides Tiruvipirambēdu are at present known to have possessed this constitution, viz. Uttaramérūr, the modern Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district¹ and Aimbāpdi, the modern Ammārdi near Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District². These seem to have been pretty large villages. Perhaps the commissioners were expected to represent the interests of the king.

A —Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya Māvali-Vānarāya : dated in the 23rd year of Nandippōttaraiyar³

TEXT

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Svasti [*] Śri-Nanti(ndi)- | 13 r Vēppamboḷa- |
| 2 ppō[t*]taraiyark- | 14 ppāḷ ivv-ūr=ālu- |
| 3 ku yāndu iru- | 15 n-ganattāruḷ Ku- |
| 4 battu-mūṇṇā ⁴ | 16 ḷaippa[ḷ]ūr-Kka- |
| 5 vadu Vikkiramā- | 17 niyar [A]gnisā[r]mma- |
| 6 ditte(tta)-Māvali- | 18 ṇ vilāśrāva[ṇ]ai- |
| 7 Vānarāyar Vadu- | 19 yāl viṇṇa kon- |
| 8 gavaḷi-mērku | 20 ḍu ivv-ūr Paraśu- |
| 9 prithivirājyañ= | 21 ra(rā)miśvarattu Mahādē ⁵ - |
| 10 jeya : ⁶ Tiruvi[p*]pira- | 22 varkku tiruvilak- |
| 11 mbēd=ālu=gana- | 23 ku-ney-ppuṇai=[ā]- |
| 12 ttāruḷ Mulliṇ-ki[ā]- | 24 ga kudattār [*] |
| 25 ivv-ūr sabhaiyōmmuṇ i-nmilattē ivv-ūr=ch[che]kk-nl[ḷa]ṇa cllām | |
| 26 nattu=tiruvilakkukkēy vāya ennai kolvadāga=ppaṇittōm ⁷ [*] | |

TRANSLATION

Hail ! In the twenty-third year (of the reign) of the glorious Nandippōttaraiyar,—while Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya was ruling over the Vadugavaḷi-mērku (province), Mulliṇ-kiḷār, (one) of the members of the committee (*gana*) administering (the village of) Tiruvi[p]-pirambēdu, purchased by a deed of sale⁸ (the field called) Vēppamboḷappāl (from) Kaniyar Agnisarman of Kuḷaippalūr, (one) of the members of the committee administering this village, and gave (it) to (the god) Mahādēva (Śiva) of (the temple of) Paraśurāmiśvara at this village, as an endowment for (supplying) ghee to the sacred lamp.⁹ The assembly of this village

¹ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 3

² *Ibid* p 113 [Vēlachcheri in the North Arcot district was another such village, see Nos 302, 308, 312 and 315 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911 —H K S]

³ No 229 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photographic plate, ll 1 to 24 are engraved on one of the broad sides of the stone and ll 25-26 on one of the narrow sides

⁴ The secondary ā of rā is a separate symbol

⁵ The *visarga* is used here as a sign of punctuation, compare *South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 111, note 1

⁶ The *aksharas hādē* are much smaller than the rest of the inscription

⁷ The *pulli* which is conspicuous by its absence in the whole inscription is marked on the last letter m

⁸ The term *vilāśrāvaṇai* occurs twice in a similar context in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 105, text-line 5

⁹ With *tiruvilakku-ney ppuṇam* compare *ambala-ppuṇam* (above, Vol III p 285, text line 7), *nandarāṇa-puṇam* (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 5, text-line 5), *puḍukku-ppuṇam* (*ibid* p 7, text-line 8) and *uṇṇāḷiyā-ppuṇam* (*ibid* p 19, text-line 6)

ordered that all the oil mills (*śekku*) of this village shall be set up on this land¹ and the oil required exclusively for the sacred lamps shall be procured (*from them*)

B —Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya dated in the 49th year of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman

TEXT ²

On one of the broad faces of the stone

1 [Sva]stī [*] Śri-kō-Vi-	9 jyañ=jeyya Ti-	17 ullai Nandiku-
2 ś[ai]ya-Dantivikki-	10 ruviṇṇiramb[ē]-	18 ndil=[ā]na śer[u]
3 [ra]maparumarku y[ā]-	11 d=ālon=ganat-	19 ivv-ūr Ve[ī]-
4 ndu nārpatto-	12 tāruḷ Kaḷiyama-	20 lēriyṅku ā-
5 nbadāvadū Vi-	13 ngilan=giḷār	21 riṇṇoṇṇuṇ-āga
6 jaiyāditta-Ma-	14 Ayyappō[r]-	22 vaṇṇiṇ [i*] i-
7 hāvali-Vā[na]-	15 riṇṇiṇ enga-	23 dīr=bhōga[n]=
8 rāyar prithivirā-	16 l Tūmbanēri	24 gondu i-v-

On one side of the same

25 [ve]l[ī]ē-	32 rmmañ=cha-	39 luttī-
26 riṇṇi[ī]ē	33 ndiādi-	40 nān 1000 ⁴
27 kuḷi kut-	34 tyagata-	41 āśvamē-
28 ti attu-	35 ñ=jel-	42 dhañ=jey-
29 vadāga	36 vadāy-	43 da palan
30 vaṇṇiṇ-	37 ttu [i*] i-	44 peruvā
31 n [i*] i ³ -ddha-	38 ddharmañ=jē-	45 r [i*]

On another side of the same ⁵

46 id=aḷi-	51 tu=ppadu-	56 n mudī-
47 ttān	52 vār [i*] i-ddha-	57 mēli-
48 Vāraṇāśi ⁶	53 rmmam rakshī-	58 ṇa [*]
49 aḷittā-	54 ttān	
50 n pāvat-	55 adi e ⁷ -	

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the forty-ninth year of the glorious king Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman,—while Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya was ruling over the earth,—I, Ayyappōrri, the headman (*kiḷār*) of Kaḷiyamangalam, (one) of the members of the committee administering (the village of) Tiruvippirambēdu, gave the field called Nandikundil in (the tank) Tūmbanēri of our

¹ It is also possible that the reading is *śekk uḷḷana* (instead of *śekk uḷḷana*), in which case the translation would be "all (the crops) for which the fields of this village are (fit) shall be raised on this field, and the oil required for the sacred lamps shall be purchased (out of the produce)."

² No 226 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

³ This initial vowel *i* is written as in the Grantha portion of the Kaśākuḍi plates. The more usual form occurs in li 37, 46 and 52 below

⁴ This symbol for one thousand occurs in one of the Nānāghāt inscriptions. This line has been read by Mr Gopinatha Rao as *°nāra*, which is probably a printer's mistake for *°nāra*. The reading *°nāra* is unlikely as the symbol for *a*, in other cases where it occurs in the inscription (li 6, 22 and 30), is not separated from the consonant to which it belongs. Besides the accusative *°nāra* would be wrong and would have to be corrected into *°nān* or *°nār*

⁵ This side of the stone is damaged, but no letters have suffered on that account

⁶ The length of *nā* is added to the right of *n* and goes up, compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I, p. 114 and Vol II p. 200, note 1

⁷ The vowel *e* is almost a semicircle with a loop at the left end.

(village) to (the tank called) Vellēri of this village, as the tank-field (*ērichchoru*). I gave (it) so that (they) may dig pits in this Vellēri (tank) and deposit (the silt on the bund)— (paying the charges) from the produce (*bhōga*) of this (field)

This charity has to last (as long) as the moon and the sun endure. One who maintains this charity shall obtain the merit of having performed one thousand horse sacrifices. One who destroys it shall incur the sin of slaying Vānasa. The fact of one who protects this charity shall be on my head.

C—Inscription of the time of Vānavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vānarāya dated in the 24th year of Nīpatunga¹

TEXT

On the first side of the stone

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Sva[-t]i ['] [śrī']- | 9 12-pratibhārikṛta |
| 2 Nri[pa][tun*]- | 10 sri-Mahābali- |
| 3 gar[ku v][ān*]- | 11 kul-ōtbbhava(ōdbhava)- |
| 4 du iruba[ttu-nā*]- | 12 sri-Vānavi- |
| 5 l[ā]vadu [śrī][kālī*]- | 13 Vyādhara-Mah[ā]- |
| 6 jagat-ti [v][y]-bh[ī]*- | 14 bali-Vāna- |
| 7 vandita-[śn]i [śrī]-ā*]- | 15 rāyar Vaduga- |
| 8 dhiśa-Param[ā]ya]- | |

On the second side of the stone

- 16 vaḷiyin mēṛku pi[ī](pi)thiruvāyañ=jeṇṇa=Ttiruvēngada-k-
17 kōttattu=[Ch]ehalai-nāttu=Ttiruvirppirambēttu sabhai-

On the third side of the stone

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 18 . rkk ³ | 30 ga 1-pparu- |
| 19 m vi[n] | 31 lāsada=muttamā- |
| 20 . d[a]va[nā]r | 32 r[pa]du yōttuv[ō]- |
| 21 . nariyuḷā | 33 [m]ānōm sabh[ai]- |
| 22 [la] tēya | 34 yōm [*] ippa[ra]- |
| 23 pon | 35 ādit[t]anu= |
| 24 . ti oru-vi | 36 n̄=jandiranu- |
| 25 . . na[n]- | 37 mm=alla[va]- |
| 26 [yu]m[m]o | 38 m uduvōmā- |
| 27 [n]ayya[n] | 39 nōm 1-ppa- |
| 28 . mōium o- | 40 ru[ś]u muttinai[u]- |
| 29 . yum yu | |

On the fourth side of the stone⁴

- | |
|------------------------------------|
| 41 . 1van uttaman dha[ī]mmamāva- |
| 42 . mbōttu sabheyēm' [i'] 1-ddha- |
| 43 . ttin pādām en talai mēlā [i'] |

¹ No 228 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photographic plate, ll 1 to 15 and 18 to 40 are engraved on the two broad sides of the stone and the rest of the inscriptions on the two narrow sides.

² The secondary ā is added to the y at the bottom.

³ One or more lines of the inscription are completely broken at the top of this side of the stone.

⁴ A few *akṣaras* are lost at the beginning of each line on this side of the stone.

⁵ Read *sabhaiyōm*.

•

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the glorious Nripatungan,—while the illustrious Vānavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vānarāya, born in the prosperous race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the west of Vadugavali, (the members of) the assembly of Tiruvirpurambēdu in Śilai-nādu (a subdivision) of Tiruvēngada-kōttam

[The rest of the inscription is too fragmentary to be translated]

D —Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Māhābali-Vānarāya dated Śaka 820¹

TEXT.

On the first side of the stone

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 [Sva]sti śrī [*] Saka- | 11 [r Vī*]jayāditta-Mahā- |
| 2 [la*]-jagat-tray-ā- | 12 [ba*][h]-Vānarāyar pri[thi]- |
| 3 [bhiva*]ndita sur-ānu- | 13 [virā*]jyañ=jeyya Śa- |
| 4 [r-idhi*]śa-Paramēśva- | 14 [kar*] [y]āndu en- |
| 5 [ra-pra*]tibhārikūta-Ma- | 15 [nū]rr-irubadāvadu |
| 6 [hā*][ba]li-kul-ōtbha- | 16 [Ti*]ruvippirambēt- |
| 7 [va*](ōdbhava)-[śrī]-Vānavi- | 17 [tu*] Paraśurāmīśva[ra]ga- |
| 8 [dyā*][dha]rar Mahādēvi- | 18 [rat*]tu=pperumānadi- |
| 9 [adiga*]l=iyina Māraka- | 19 [ga*]lukku sandhyā ² -kālattu |
| 10 [m]madigal maganā- | |

On the second side of the stone

- 20 [tira]va[mu]dukkum nandivilakku onrukkum-āga=kkudutta śembon
 21 muppadin kalañju [||*] i-ppon Mādēvi-adigal pakkal ivv-ūr sa-
 22 bb[ai]yōn=gondu i-pponnukku=ppoli-ūttaga tiruvamudukku mśadam¹

On the third side of the stone

[One or more lines are mutilated here]

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 23 [da]ñ=jeluttu- | 29 [tōm*] [sa]bhañyōm [*] |
| 24 [vō*]mānōm sa[bh]ai- | 30 [id=a*]nr=enñōm ⁵ Ga- |
| 25 [yō*]m [*] śi-ddha | 31 [n*]gai-idaī=Kkuma- |
| 26 ⁴ | 32 [ri-i*]daī=chcheydā |
| 27 [ko*]ndu [se]lu[ttu]- | 33 [se*]yda pāpattu=[p]- |
| 28 [vadā*]ga otṭi-kkudut- | 34 [padu*]vārānār [*] |

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas, eight hundred and twenty, when [Vī]jayāditya-Mahā[ba]li-Vānarāya, son of Mahādēvi-Adigal alias Māraka madigal,

¹ No 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

² The secondary ā is added to the right of y

³ If my reading be correct, the old form of i is used here as in the Grantha portion of the Kūśakūṭi grant, *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol II plate facing p 351, text line 103

⁴ This line is doubtful Perhaps the reading is

25 śiddharmam patmā

26 hēśvararēy=kkatik

⁵ The ā of rō is a separate symbol instead of being added to the r as in modern Tamil, compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol III p 90

(queen)¹ of the glorious Vānavi[dyā]dhara, born from the race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramāśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the earth,— thirty *kaḷaṇḍu* of pure gold were given for a perpetual lamp and offerings at twilight to the god (*perumāṇḍigal*) of (the temple called) Paraśurāmiśvaragaram at Tiruvippirambēdu We, (the members of) the assembly of this village received this gold from (the queen) Mādēvi-Adigal . . . every day for offerings as interest for this gold

[A portion of the inscription is here lost]

We, (the members of) the assembly shall pay We, (the members of) the assembly agreed and gave [that we] shall pay . . . Those who deny this shall be guilty of the sins committed by all sinners between the Ganges and Kumari

E — Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Vānarāya dated Śaka 827²

TEXT

- 1 Svasti Śri [||*] Śa[kar] yān-
- 2 du 8[2]7 [āva]du Vi-
- 3 jayāditta-Vā[na]rāya-
- 4 [r] pri[th]uvirājyaṇ=[j]eyya=
- 5 Tiruvēngada-kkōt[ta]ttu=Chchilai-
- 6 nāttu=Tiruvirpirambēttu
- 7 [sabhaiyō]m [a]dig[āri] Viramanga-
- 8 lan=[g]i[n]=Rāli-pakkal [e]ngalar(lūr)=P-
- 9 paraśi[rāmi]śvaragaratt[u]=ppir[ā]nārkkku=
- 10 ch[cha]nduādittagata[m] na[nd]āvilak-
- 11 [ku o]rip[padar]ku ko[n]da pon
- 12 [i-p*]pon mudal [i]rubadin ka[r]-
- 13 [ā*]jinnāll=āndavarai [nā]lu maṇḍ[ā]-
- 14 [dī]=ppaliśaiyār=pon [n]ār=kaḷaṇḍi³.
- 15 nār=kaḷaṇḍukku nārpatt[ai]y-nnāli-
- 16 ppadi nūreṇbadī=nāli n[e]yyāl
- 17 nīśadi uriy ney ko[n]du nandā-
- 18 vilakku muttāmai⁴ erip[pō]mānōm [||*]
- 19 muttīr=Kangaiy=idaī=Kkuma[rī]y=idaī-chcho-
- 20 ydār śeyda pa(pā)vam pa[du]vōmānō-
- 21 m sa[bhaiyō]m ||—

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas 8[2]7, while Vijayāditya-Vānarāya was ruling the earth,— we, (the members of) the assembly of Tiruvirpirambēdu in Śilai-nādu, (a subdivision) of Tiruvēngada-kōttam, received gold from the magistrate (*adigāri*) Tālī, the headman of Viramangalam, for burning (one) perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, to the god (*pirāṇār*) of (the temple called) Paraśurāmiśvaragaram in our village The interest on this gold—the capital of twenty *kaḷaṇḍu*—is four *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold annually, at the rate

¹ Another translation of the passage is "Son of Māraka madigal, who was the great queen *mahādēvi-Adigal*) of the glorious Vānavidyādhara."

² No 224 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

³ The *akṣhara* śi (ḡ) is corrected from śu

⁴ Above the *akṣhara* tīā is a secondary i which seems to have been erased by the engraver himself

of four *mañjādi* (for each *kaḷaṇṇu*) One hundred and eighty *nāḷi* (may be purchased annually) for (this amount) at the rate of forty-five *nāḷi* of ghee for (each) *kaḷaṇṇu* We shall without obstruction burn a perpetual lamp with one *uri* of ghee daily If there be any obstruction, we (the members of) the assembly shall incur the sin committed by sinners between the Ganges and Kumari

Note on the history of the Bāna princes

Of the foregoing records, the inscription A is dated during the reign of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar¹ whose feudatory was the Bāna chief Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya. B belongs to the time of the Ganga-Pallava king Dantivikramavarman, who had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya for his feudatory, and C to that of Nripatunga, who probably belonged to the same family, though the characteristic portions of the names of the kings of that line are here missing The grant recorded in the latter was made while Vānavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vānarāya was governing the Vadugavali-merku (province) D and E are dated in the Śaka era² and belong to the time of the Bāna chief Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya The tract of country in which Kālahasti and Gudimallam are situated belonged to the Pallavas,³ and it is therefore no matter for surprise that an inscription of that dynasty and two of the Ganga-Pallavas have been found there

The identity of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Gudimallam inscription A with Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāsākudī plates remains doubtful, though not unlikely As regards Dantivikramavarman, another inscription of his reign dated two years later than his Gudimallam record has been found at Tiruchchānūr near Tirupati,⁴ and we may, for the present, identify him with the first Ganga-Pallava king Dantivarman of the Bāhūr plates, and Nripatunga with his grandson Nripatunga-Vikramavarman Earlier inscriptions of the former, ranging from the 10th to the 21st year, have been so far found in the vicinity of Conjeeveram⁵ and may be taken to show that his territory was limited Why the two later inscriptions are found in a different part of the country is a point on which no information is at present forthcoming His son Nandivikramavarman, too, seems to have been ruling a limited country, to judge from his inscriptions found

¹ Mr Gopinatha Rao identifies Nandippōttaraiyar with Kō-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman and accordingly concludes that B is older than A It will be seen that the photo-lithographs of these two records issued with this paper do not bear out this conclusion Apart from his wholesale identification of all kings in whose names the word *nandi* is found as well as of those with *danti* as part of their names, both of which I consider untenable, even Mr Gopinatha Rao cannot deny that there were at least two kings with the name Nandivarman, viz Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Kō Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman or Nandivarman Surely it cannot be contended that Nandivarman Pallavamalla has left no stone inscriptions And as he is called Nandipōttarāja in the Kāsākudī plates, Nandippōttaraiyar of A may for the present be identified with him This initial mistake of Mr Gopinatha Rao has led him to other errors in the chronology of the Bānas

² The fact that the Śaka era is used in them is probably due to the fact that the Ganga-Pallavas had completely collapsed and the overlordship of the Chōlas had not yet been recognised in that part of the country The Bānas who had been feudatories of the Ganga-Pallavas had probably not yet made up their minds to transfer their allegiance to the Chōlas Similarly, in a Tiruvallam inscription, we find the Śaka date 810 given and no overlord of the Bāna chief is mentioned (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 95) Other Tamil epigraphs which are dated in the Śaka era are Nos 338 and 356 of 1902 (*Ep Ind* Vol VII pp 136 and 137) and No 426 of 1903 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903 04, paragraph 20) One of the inscriptions of the Chōla king Virarājendra I is dated in the Śaka year coupled with the cyclic year (No 273 of 1904) A record of Parāntala I found at Grāmam in the South Arcot District is dated in the Kalyuga era and gives the number of days that had actually elapsed on a certain day during the reign of the Chōla king (*Ep Ind* Vol VIII p 261) Another of Parakōsarivarman Uttama Chōla found at Tiruvīdisamarudūr in the Tanjore District is also dated in the Kalyuga era (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1907 08, paragraph 53)

³ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906 07, Part II, paragraph 38

⁴ No 262 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904

⁵ See the Director General's *Annual* for 1906 07, Part II, p. 238, note 7

so far Nandivarman's son Nripatunga was evidently the most powerful king of the family, as his inscriptions are found both in the ancient Pallava territory and in the Chōla country.¹ In fact, it may be presumed that the Ganga-Pallavas occupied a comparatively insignificant position during the reign of the first two kings. This partly accounts for the fact that the descendants of the original Pallavas of Conjeevaram continued until a very late period side by side with the Ganga-Pallavas.²

Apart from the Pallavas and the Ganga-Pallavas, the five subjoined records throw considerable light on the history of a feudatory family which played an important part in the ancient history of Southern India. These are the Bānas, who traced their descent to the demon Mahābali. They claim to be lords of Nandagiri, i.e. Nandidurg in the Chik-Ballāpur taluka, Kōlār District, Mysore State, and their traditional capital, the place of origin claimed by them, was Parivipura, regarding which place see p. 231 below. The inscriptions of this family have been found in the northern portion of the North Arcot District and in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State.³ They seem to have been the guardians of the Palava and Ganga-Pallava territories in the north and often figure in cattle-raids and similar frontier wars.

The earliest mention of the Bīnas is in the Tālgund pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kīkustharvarman. Here it is said that Mayūrasarman, the first Kadamba king, who may be assigned roughly to the 5th century A.D., levied tribute from 'the great Bāna'⁴ who was perhaps a Pallava feudatory. We are not told definitely where the great Bāna's dominion lay.⁵

The country ruled over by the Bīnas is called *Āndhrāt pathah paschimāt kṣatīh*, 'the land to the west of the Āndhra road (or of the country called Āndhrapatha),' in Sanskrit in the Udayāndu grant of Vikramāditya II,⁶ Vadugavali-mērku in A above, Vadugavaliyū mērku in C above, the Vadugavali twelve-thousand in a Tiruvallam inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman,⁷ Vadugavali 12,000 and Manne 200 in a record from the vicinity of Punganū in the North Arcot District⁸ and "the twelve-thousand villages in the Āndhra-Mandala" in the Mudinur plates, professing to be dated in A.D. 338.⁹ The last mentioned record is spurious but there seems to be no objection to admit its evidence on the geographical point.

Perumbānappiḍi, which occurs in later Tamil inscriptions, was apparently another name for the Bīna territory. This province seems to have extended from Punganū in the west to Kālāhasti in the east. The river Pālū probably formed the southern boundary of the province in ancient times.¹⁰ None of the foregoing terms make it clear if the Bīna dominions formed part of the Āndhra country, or were situated to the west of it, or should be looked for to the west of a road running from the Tamil to the Vaduga, Āndhra or Telugu, country. The question is further complicated by the absence of any definite boundaries of the Āndhra country that could be

¹ See above Vol. VIII p. 293.

² See the Director General's *Annual* for 1906-07, Part II, p. 239 f.

³ *Madrās Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, paragraph 15.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII p. 35. The *Bṛihad Bāna* of verse 15 corresponds to the term *Perum Bāna* of the territorial term *Perumbānappiḍi* which appears to denote the Bīna dominions.

⁵ From the way in which he is here mentioned it looks as if his dominions were not very far from Śrīparvatam, i.e. Srirangam in the Kurnool District.

⁶ Above, Vol. III p. 76, text line 21.

⁷ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III p. 90.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 45.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV p. 175. Dr. Fleet has told me that the real reading is not *Andhramandalā dvādaśa* but *Andhramandalā dvādaśasahasagrāma sampādita*, etc., "lord of the seven and a half lakh country supplied by the Andhramandala twelve thousand villages."

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II paragraph 45.

easily recognised and identified. On the analogy of the terms *Paṭa hīṇṭpatha* and *Uṭṭarāpatha*, *Āndhrapatha*, which actually occurs in the Muzdavōlu plates with Dharmārkada or Amaraṇṇa as its capital (or one of its towns),¹ may be taken to be a synonym of *Vadugavali* occurring in Tamil inscriptions. In this case, it is not clear why the Bānas ruled in some of the records to be ruling the western portion of it, and not the whole of it as the others make us believe. Besides, Perumbānappādi, which seems to have been another name of the Bāna territory, and which has been tentatively located in the northern portion of the modern North Arcot District, could not have formed part of the Āndhra country. On the other hand, we have reason to suppose that it was included in Tondai-nādu or -mandalam, also called Drāvida.² The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-Tsang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. locates Āndhra in the modern Gōdāvari and Kistna districts.³ Varāhamihira's location of Āndhra in the 6th century A.D. also takes us to the same locality.⁴ The tract of country in which the inscriptions of the family have been found, i.e. the northern portion of the North Arcot District and a part of the Kōlār District of the Mysore State, would correspond to the Perumbānappādi of Tamil inscriptions, but cannot be in the west of the Āndhra country, nor form any part of it, as implied in the term *Vadugavali-mērku*, *Vadugavaliyin mērku* and *Āndhrāt puthaḥ paśchimatch*. Consequently we have to suppose, at least provisionally, either that there was a road leading to the Āndhra country (perhaps from Drāvida) or that the country which lay between Andhra and Drāvida was called Vadugavali, as the road to the Āndhra country lay through it, and it was the country to the west of this road or the western portion of it that was ruled by the Bānas. There is still a third possibility. It may be supposed that the name Vadugavali-mērku or its equivalent was the name correctly applied to the Bāna dominions in very early times. Then they were probably ruling, as Pallava feudatories, a portion of the modern Ceded districts which would be situated to the west of the Āndhra country. That this is not altogether a wild conjecture is shown by the fact that the Pallava dominions originally extended into the Ceded districts and that the Bānas were also ruling some frontier province in that part of the country during the time of the Kadamba king Mayūrasarman. With the rise of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the 7th century, the Pallavas appear to have been driven out of the Telugu country and it may be supposed that the Bānas were forced into the northern portion of the North Arcot District. This province they continued to call Vadugavali or Vadugavali-mērku, though it was no longer to the west of the Āndhra country.⁵

Their traditional capital seems to have been Parivīpuri (corrupted into Prapuri), Parivai, Parigipura or Parvipura. This place has not yet been identified. The form Parigipura may be taken to show that it may be identified with Parigi in the Hindupuri taluk of the Anantapur District.⁶ This capital is mentioned for the first time in the Sholinghur rock-inscription of Parāntaka I.⁷ It may, therefore, be assumed that Parivīpura became the chief town of the Bānas.

¹ Above, Vol VI p 88

² See the Director General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II p 238, note 2

³ Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol II p 217 f

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 173

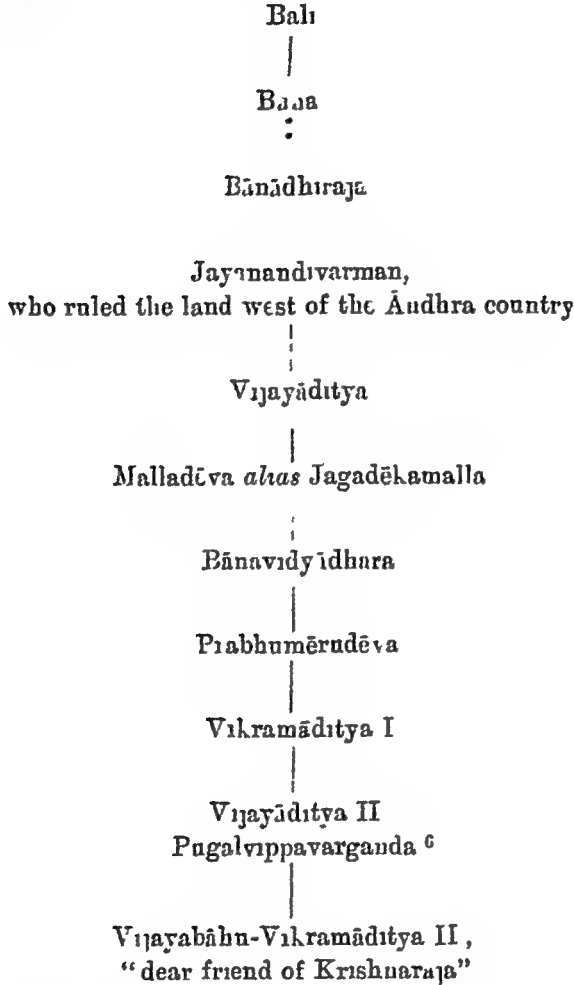
⁵ The Western Gangas called themselves lords of Kuśāṇapuri though their capital was Talakūḍ. The Telugu Chōḍas claimed to be lords of Urayyūr, though their dominions lay in the Telugu country. Similarly, local families claiming descent in the Pallava race called themselves lords of Kāñcīpura and devotees of the goddess Kāmakōṭyambālā (i.e. the Kāmākshī temple at Conjeeveram). In the same way, the Bānas might have applied the original name of their territory to any district occupied by them in later times. See also pp 238 and 239 below.

⁶ Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 122

⁷ Above, Vol IV p 221. Here the forms *Parivai* and *Prapuri* occur. *Parivipuri* occurs in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 388) and *Parigipura* in an inscription of the Bāna chief Aggaparāja (*Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, p 1201) and *Parivipura* in No 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903 (*Annual Report* for 1906-7, Part II paragraph 46). The form *Parvi* is furnished by No 194 of the same collection for 1899 (*Annual Report* for 1899-1900, paragraph 85).

after they were reduced to the position of Chōla feudatories Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District seems to have borne the other name Vānapuram, and it is not unlikely that it was one of the important towns, if not the capital, of the Bāna territory¹ Long after the Bānas ceased to be rulers, members of the family claimed to be lords of Paṇivipura and Nandagiri² The Bāna crest was a bull, and their banner bore the emblem of a black-buck, while their drum was called *Paṇācha*³ Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bānas, is said to have been made door-keeper by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva) worshipped in all the three worlds⁴

The Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya II,⁵ furnishes the following genealogy of the Bānas for eight generations



¹ *South Ind Inscr* Vol III, p 89

² See e.g. *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899 1900, paragraph 85

³ These are mentioned for the first time in the Udayēndiram plates of the Ganga-Bāna king Prithivīpati II (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 388, verse 24.)

⁴ The expression *sakala jagat tray-ābhivandita sur-āsura-ādhiśa-Paramēśvara pratihāri-kṛta-Mahābali-kūṭōdhava* is translated by Mr Rice, on the strength of some Kanarese tradition, "born of the family of Mahābali, who had made Paramēśvara, lord of gods and demons worshipped in all the three worlds, (his) door-keeper," *Ep Carn* Vol X, p 11, note 5

⁵ Above, Vol III p 74 f

⁶ The title Pugaḷvippavarganda was also borne by a brother-in-law of the Chōla prince Rājāditya, son of Parantaka I (above, Vol VII p 134) This Pugaḷvippavarganda is called Ilādarāja (i.e. chief of Virāja or Berar) (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906 7, Part II, paragraph 65) His son Vira Chōla was a contemporary of the Chōla king Rājārāja I and made a gift to the Jain shrine at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai in the North Arcot District (above Vol IV p 139)

As the last of them, Vikramāditya II, is said to have been the "dear friend of Krishnarāja," who is no doubt identical with the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna II (A D 883 to 911-12),¹ we may assign him roughly to the beginning of the 10th century A D. This would carry Jayanandivarman, the earliest known member of the family, to about the end of the 7th century A D. But the Udayēndiram plates tell us that Jayanandivarman came to the throne after "many" Bāna princes had passed away. The antiquity of the family is carried farther by the Tālgunda inscription of Kākusthavarma,² which, as I have already noted, reports that Mayūrsarman, the first Kadamba king, levied tribute from "the great Bana." Thus the history of the family is carried back to the 5th century A D.

According to the Tamil poem *Manimēgalai*, the queen of the Chōla king Nedumudikkili³ was Śirtti, daughter of a descendant of Māvali. This is apparently a reference to the Bāna family. Śirtti was also called Rājamādēvi and she had a son named Udayakumara. The time when the Bāna father-in-law of the Chōla king flourished, cannot be made out satisfactorily at present. But it may be presumed that the former is earlier than Jayanandivarman, the first Bāna king mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates.

No authentic records of the earlier kings of the family have come down to us. Of Konganivarman, the progenitor of the Gangas of Kōlār, it is said that he was anointed to conquer the Bāna-mandala.⁴ It may be presumed that this statement gives pointed expression to the hostility which generally existed between the Gangas and Bānas in their later history, particularly during the period of supremacy of the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkheḍ who were the suzerain lords of the Western Gangas.

A stone inscription of the Ganga king śrī-Mādhava-Muttarasa at Tallapalli⁵ which Mr. Rice assigns approximately to A D 725,⁶ refers to his expedition against Mahāvali-Bānarasa and to a battle at Kōyāttūr, i.e. the modern Laddigam in the Pungauūr Zamindārī. At Kendattī-Madivāla in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nitimārga-Kongonivarman (Kl 79) which Mr. Rice assigns to about A D 890. The Ganga king's feudatory Nōlambadhī-rāja of the Pallava family is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāna

¹ *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 92

² Above, Vol VIII pp 21 ff

³ He also bore the other names Kili Valavan, Mivanikili, Vadivēlilī and Veniōrkili and is said to have wedded a Nāga princess named Pilivalai. It is believed that he fought a battle on the bank of the river Kūrī against the Chēras and Pāndyas. The Chōla king also overcame the former by besieging Karuvūr. It was apparently during his reign that Kīruippūpattinam, the Chōla capital, was destroyed by a tidal wave. The king is said to have died at a place called Kulamurram and he was known in later times as "Kilivalavar, who died at Kulamurram." In the Tamil anthology known as *Puranānūru*, there are 18 pieces in his honour composed by ten poets. In the note appended to each of these poems is mentioned the name of the king which does not figure in the body of the poem. Consequently, the assumption that these ten poets were contemporaries of the king is based on tradition current at the time when the notes were added. In the absence of definite information as to the authenticity of the tradition on which the notes are based, it is safer to abstain from drawing any historical conclusions from them. The anthology in which these 18 poems are included is believed to have been compiled by a poet named Perundīvanan, who probably flourished in the 8th or 9th century A D (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraph 16). The date A D 105-120 for Kīlivalavan assigned by the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai is based on the Singhalese chronicles, whose chronology is far from satisfactory. Without being dogmatic on the point, I would leave the chronology of early Tamil literature an open question until indisputable evidence is available on the point. For a tentative date of the Chōla king Karikālā, who was the grandfather of Kili-Valavan according to Mr. Kanakasabhai, see the Director General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II, p 224, note 1, and p 225, note 10.

⁴ *South Ind Inscr*, Vol II p 387, verse 13

⁵ *Ep Carn* Vol X Kōlār, Ep 13

⁶ *Ep Carn* Vol X Introduction, p 11. The date given for the same record on p 137 of the Translation is "about 890 A D."

king (Bānarasa) At Bangavādi in the same district is a Bāna epigraph which refers to the capture by the Permanadigal (i.e. the Western Ganga king), of Mahābājara-nād which belonged to the Bāna chief (Mb 228)¹ That the Gangas and the Bānas were also occasionally on friendly terms is shown by the marriage of the Ganga princess Kundavaiyār, daughter of Prithivipati I, with the Bāna king Bānavidyādhara²

The kings mentioned in the stone inscriptions bear several names, and, consequently, it is often very difficult to identify them with those in the foregoing genealogical table. Though we have reason to suppose that the Bānas were feudatories of the Pallavas, the references to them in Pallava inscriptions are very few. In A above, Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya, governing the Vadugavali-mēṟku, figures as a feudatory of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar, who may be identical with Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the last powerful king of the Pallavas. If this be the case, the Bāna king Vikramāditya under reference, cannot be identified with Vikramāditya I of the foregoing table. One of the earlier kings must have borne the surname Vikramāditya, perhaps Bānavidyādhara, or his predecessor.

After the downfall of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, their empire seems to have been split up, and we find the Bānas playing a very important part in all the frontier wars. The Ganga-Pallava king Narasimha-Vikramavarman, whose initial date has been placed by Dr Fleet between A.D. 760-70, had a feudatory named Skanda-Bānādhirāja³. At Bangavādi in the Mulbagal taluka of the Kōlār District is an inscription recording the death of a servant of this king on the occasion of a cattle-raid⁴. Vijaya-Skandasishya-Vikramavarman of the Rāyakōta plates, who may have been a successor of Narasimha-Vikramavarman, also had a Bāna feudatory⁵. Danti-Vikramavarman (B above) had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya for his feudatory. Thus Vijayāditya must be earlier than Vijayāditya II, in the foregoing table. Danti-Vikramavarman's son and successor Nandivikramavarman had Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya for his feudatory in the 17th year of his reign⁶ and an unnamed Māvali-Vānarāya in the 62nd year of his reign⁷. The former has perhaps to be identified with Vikramāditya I, as we have some reason to suppose that Nandivikrama married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūta king Amoghavarsha I (814-15 to 877-78)⁸. This Vikramāditya is probably identical with Bānavidyādhara who married a daughter of the Western Ganga Prithivipati I, another contemporary of the Rāshtrakūta king Amoghavarsha I⁹. The Bāna contemporary of Nandivikrama's son Nripatunga was Vānavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vānarāya according to C above. As Professor Hultzsch has tentatively identified the Pirudi-Gangaraiyar, mentioned in the Āmbūr inscriptions as a feudatory of Nripatunga, with the Ganga Prithivipati I,¹⁰ it may be supposed, at least for the present, that this Vānavidyādhara is identical with the son-in-law of the Ganga king Prithivipati I.

The accompanying table shows at a glance the synchronisms of the Bānas, the Pallavas and the Ganga-Pallavas —

Bānas	Pallava
1 Vikramāditya Māvali-Vānarāya, feudatory of	Nandippōttaraiyar (23rd year)

¹ K1 235, Bp 48 and Bp 86 of the Kōlār volume mention a Mahāvali Bānarasa ruling the Ganga 6,000 province. The first two are assigned by Mr Rice to about A.D. 890 and the third to about A.D. 770. These inscriptions may imply a temporary occupation of the Ganga country by the Bānas, see *Ep. Carn. Vol. A. Introduction*, p. vi.

² *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 99.

³ Above, Vol. V p. 160. The first member of the name Skanda-Bānādhirāja might denote his overlord.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII p. 23. see also *Ep. Carn. Vol. X. Kōlār*, Mb 228.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 52.

⁶ *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 94.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 91.

⁸ Above, Vol. IV, p. 181.

⁹ *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 99.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV p. 182.

Bānas			Ganga-Pallavas	
2	Skanda-Banādhirāja	feudatory	of	Vijaya-Narasimhavarman
3	Mahāli-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman
4	Kāṣṭhī-Bānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Īśvaravarman ¹
5	Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (49th year)
6	Vikramāditya (I) Māvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (17th year)
7	Māvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (62nd year)
8	Vanavidyādharma-Mahāvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Nripatunga (24th year)
9	Mahāvali-Vānarāja Śāka-Samvat 810. ²			
10	Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vānarāja, son of 8, Śāka-Samvat 820, 827, 831 ³			
11	Vikramāditya (II), contemporary and "dear friend" of Krishnarāja, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna II (A D 888 and 911-12)			

The inscriptions discovered in the Punganūr Zamindāri of the North Arcot District mention Mahāvali-Bānarasa-Vikramāditya-Banakandarpa-Jayamāru, Mahāvali-Vānarasa-Bānavidyādhara and Mahāvali-Vānarasa-Vijayāditya-Virachulimani-Prabhumāru. One of the records of the first of these kings refers to a battle fought at Soremati, where the Bana opposed, on behalf of the Permanadi (i.e. the Western Ganga king?), the Nolamba (king?) and Rāchamalla and Mayindadi⁴. A *viragal* at Madanapalle in the Cuddapah District refers to a battle at the same place, which probably took place during the reign of the Vaidumba king Ganda-Trinētra⁵. A stone at Bangavādi in the Kōlār District refers to an encounter between the same parties⁶. If the Rāchamalla in these *viragals* was a Ganga, he may be identified with the Satyavākya Kongunivarman-Permanadi Rājamalla, whose final date is about A D 870-71⁷. If this identification be correct, the date of the Mahāvali-Bānarasa of the Punganūr inscriptions may be taken roughly as the middle of the 9th century A.D.

According to the Gūlgānpode epigraphs,⁸ Vikramāditya, who has been identified by Dr Flect and Professor Hultzsch with Vikramāditya I (No 6 in the foregoing genealogical table) was also called Jayamāru⁹. It may, therefore, be concluded that the above mentioned Mahāvali-Bānarasa-Vikramāditya-Banakandarpa-Jayamāru is identical with Vikramāditya (No 6 in the preceding table of synchronous kings). Perhaps the Mahāvali-Vānarasa-Bānavidyādhara mentioned in another Punganūr inscription is also identical with Vikramāditya I. In the two Gūlgānpode inscriptions, reference is made to a commander named Prabhumāru, who might have been a general called after the father of Vikramāditya I. It is, however, not unlikely that Vijayāditya-Virachulimani-Prabhumāru mentioned above is identical with Vijayāditya II, in which case the Prabhumāru of the Gūlgānpode records might be the son of Vikramāditya I. This identification receives some support from the fact that, in one of the Gūlgānpode tablets, it is said that, by order of Prabhumāru, a hero fought against the Kāduvatti force, while in the Punganūr record of Vijayāditya reference is made to a raid on Kōyatūr, i.e. Laddigam in the Punganūr Zamindāri, by Kāduvatti-Muttarasa¹⁰.

As Vikramāditya II was a friend of Krishnarāja, who has been identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna II (A D 888 and 911-12), it may be concluded that the Vijayāditya

¹ Above, Vol VII p 25

² *South Ind Insers*, Vol III p 95

³ No 99 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1899

⁴ No 543 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906

⁵ No 295 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905

⁶ Above, Vol VII p 23

⁷ Above, Vol V p 153

⁸ *Ind Ant* Vol X p 39 and *Ep Carn* Vol X Kōlār, Sp 5, 6

⁹ *South-Ind Insers* Vol III p. 99

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906 7, Part II, paragraph 45

son of Bānavidyādhara, mentioned in D and E above, must be identical with Vijayāditya II. This identification, if confirmed by future researches, would show that Vikramāditya I. also bore the surname Bānavidyādhara—a fact already surmised by Dr. Fleet from the Gulgānpode records.

The fact that the two Gudimallam inscriptions of Vijayāditya are dated in the Śaka era and that they mention no overlord is significant: the dates are Śaka-Samvat 820 and 827 corresponding to A.D. 897-98 and 904-5. We have another date for the same king in an inscription at Manigatta-Gollarahalli¹ here the Bāna prince Bejeyitta-Bānarasa is said to be ruling in Śaka-Samvat 831, corresponding to A.D. 909-10. If this be the case, the Bāna king Vikramāditya II must have assumed the leadership of the Banas towards the close of the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna II. The reasons which must have led to Vikramāditya's courting the friendship of the Rāshtrakūtas may now be examined.

We have already seen that the Gangas and Bānas were often fighting with one another. At Kendatti-Madivāla in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nītimārga Kongunivarman which Mr. Rice assigns to about A.D. 890.² The Ganga king's feudatory, Nolambādhirāja of the Pallava family, is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāna king (Bānarasa). Another unnamed Bāna king is said in a *viragal* at Bangavādi in the same district to have opposed a confederacy of the Nolamba king, Rāchamalla, Mayindadi and Dadiga.³ At Dharmapuri in the Salem District is a pillar (now removed to the Madras Museum) which records a gift by the Pallava king Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba. The latter claimed to have "destroyed the Mahābali (i.e. Bāna) family." The inscription is dated in A.D. 892-93. Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba was the son of Nolambādhirāja by Jāyabbe, the daughter of the Ganga king Rājamalla.⁴ As the latter was the grandfather of the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja, whose date is A.D. 892, we may identify the Ganga king Rājamalla with the Satya vākya-Kongunivarman-Permanadi Rājamalla for whom Dr. Fleet gives the date A.D. 840 to 870-71.⁵ The Nītimārga-Kongunivarman of the Madivāla inscription, whose contemporary and feudatory was the Nolamba king Nolambādhirāja, has to be identified with Rājamalla's father Rapavikrama, for whom Dr. Fleet gives the approximate dates A.D. 810 to 840. It is just possible that Nolambādhirāja was contemporaneous with both Rājamalla and his father Rapavikrama and fought against the Bānas. We have already seen that the northern portion of the North Arcot District was included in the Bāna dominions. At Vallimalai, which would be almost in the centre of the Bāna territory, we have an inscription of the Ganga king Rājamalla. Of him it is said that, having seen the Vallimalai hill, he took possession of it and caused a Jain *basti* to be made on it.⁶ Though it is not stated from whom the Ganga king took possession of the hill, we may suppose that it was wrested from the Banas. An image of a pupil of the Bāna prince's spiritual preceptor is cut in relief on the hill not far from the Ganga inscription. This unfortunately is the only vestige of Bāna rule which is now traceable on the hill. But Mēlpādi, which is only a mile from the hill, is said to have belonged to Perumbānapādi in the Chola inscriptions found in two Śiva temples at the village.⁷ It may, therefore, be supposed that the Gangas and Nolambas had joined together⁸ to fight against the Bānas.⁹ The capture of Vallimalai by the Ganga king Rājamalla was effected apparently in the campaign

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X, Kōlār, Mb 229.

² *Ibid.*, Kl 79. In the introduction to the Kōlār volume, p. vii, Mr. Rice assigns the Bāna prince mentioned in the inscription to about A.D. 850.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 23.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 56.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 66.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 141.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 22.

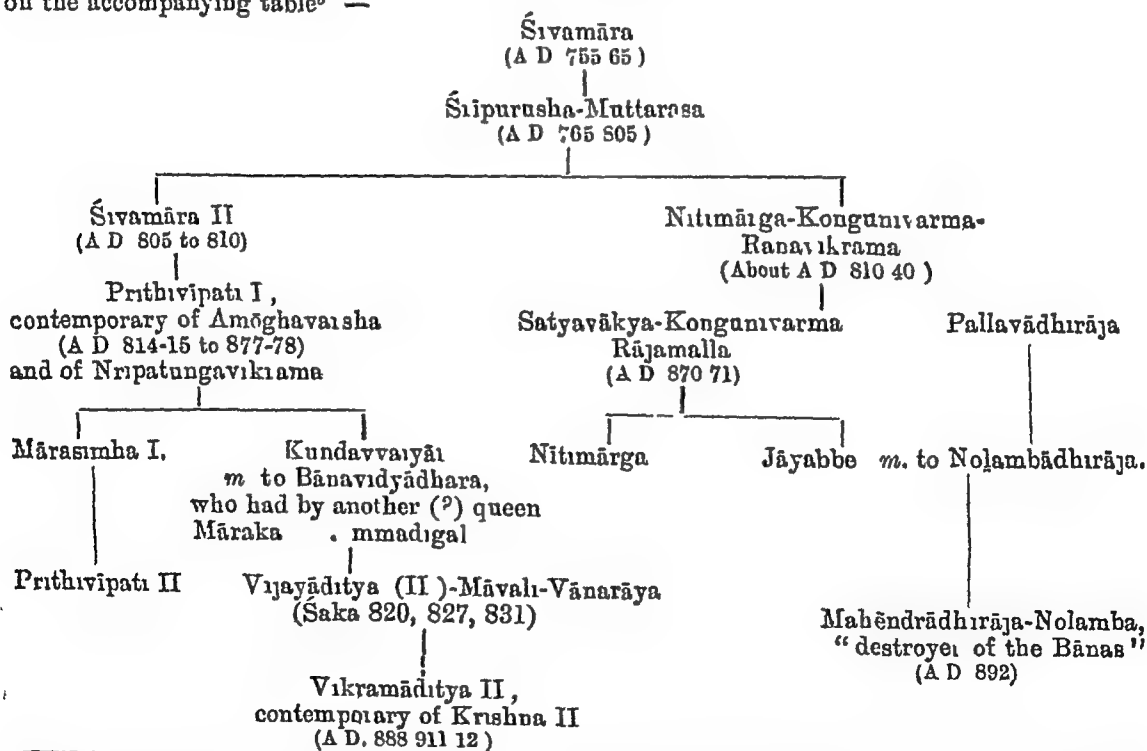
⁸ In the 10th century the relationship between the Gangas and Nolambas seems to have been completely altered and the Ganga prince Māraśimha II boasted of having destroyed the Nolambas, above, Vol. V, p. 179.

⁹ The animosity between the Bānas and Nolambas is also indirectly shown by the fact that the Ganga 6,000 district was sometimes governed by the Banas and at other times by the Nolambas, see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X, Kōlār, Introduction, pp. vi and vii.

against the Bānas¹ The claim of the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja, grandson of the Ganga king Rājamalla, to have destroyed the Mahābali family was evidently not an empty boast. Consequently, the Bānas must have been driven to a corner about the time of which we are now speaking.

Again, in the Tamil country, the Ganga-Pallavas who had been overlords of the Bānas were evidently tottering at the time. Prior to A D 897-98, the date of the earlier Gudimallam inscription (D), the decisive battle of Tiruppurambiyam must have been fought between the Ganga-Pallava Aparājita and the Pāndya king Varaguna. The Chōlas must also have taken the place of the Ganga-Pallavas in the tract of country of which we are at present speaking. It was evidently a time when the Ganga-Pallavas had disappeared from the scene and then place had not been actually taken by the Chōlas. Perhaps this was why the two last of the subjoined inscriptions do not mention any overlord, but are dated in the Śāka era. This state of things probably continued for some time. For, in Śāka Samvat 831, corresponding to A D 908-9,² the same Bana prince Vijayāditya II was ruling, but there is no mention of any overlord in the inscription. Perhaps his son Vikramāditya II of the Udayēndiram plates represents himself as an independent king for this reason. The political condition of Southern India at the time rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya II to make friends with some powerful king. As the Bana prince Vijayāditya seems to have ruled until at least A D 909, his successor Vikramāditya II must have assumed the leadership of the Bānas subsequent to that date. In this case, he must have become the friend of Krishna II towards the close of the latter's reign.

Though the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja claims to have "destroyed" the Bānas, they continued much longer. They appear to have lost their power and influence with the decline of the Ganga-Pallavas. The synchronisms of the Ganga, Bāna and Nolamba dynasties are shown on the accompanying table³ —



¹ Reference is made in a Bāna inscription to an invasion of Kāñchi by the Gaḷga king Rājamalla. The Bāna prince was apparently ruling the Ganga 6,000 district at the time, see *Ep. Carn. Vol. X Kōlār*, Bp 86.

² *Ep. Carn. Vol. X Kōlār*, Introduction, p. 11.

³ For the Gangas, compare the table given by Dr. Fleet, Vol. VI above, p. 59.

Krishna III had a Ganga feudatory named Prithivīganganaraiyar, whose wife was the daughter of Vānakōvaraiyar¹. This may be taken to show that the province of Vānagappādi had come into existence prior to A D 918-9. Krishna III appears to have made over the province to a Vaidumba feudatory of his, as it figures among the territories administered by the latter². We have, however, no reason to suppose that the Bānas were completely driven out of Vānagappādi at the time. The Vānarāja Alaga aiyar who is mentioned in a Tirumālpuram inscription of Pārthivēndravarmān was apparently a member of the family who had settled in the vicinity of Conjeevaram³. We have a certain Maravan Narasimhavarman *alias* Rājarāja-Vānakōvaraiyar, with the usual Bina titles, as a feudatory of the Chōla king Rājarāja I in an inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot District⁴. The same Bina chief built the tank at Nerkaniam *alias* Viṇṇamīga-chi'uvēdīamangalam⁵. In an inscription of a Chōla king named Karikāla, whose time is at present unknown, reference is made to a certain Vānakōvaraiyar Viraparumar (i.e. Vinnariman)⁶.

In later times⁷ there was a chief named Ponparappina Vānakōvaraiyar, a feudatory or officer of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Poruṇṇingadēva⁸. He is apparently identical with Magadēsan Vānakulōttaman and Viramāgadān Rājarājadēvan Ponparappinān⁹, Magadaippperumāl,¹⁰ mentioned in certain inscriptions from Tiruvannūmalai in the South Arcot District and Kuduṇṇimāla in the Pudukkōttai State. A number of Tamil verses in his praise have been found engraved on stone in the South Arcot District and in the Pudukkōttai State¹¹. His title Magadēsa or Magadaippperumāl is interesting. From Hoysala inscriptions we know that the Hoysala king Narasimha II uprooted the Makara or Magara kingdom¹². The Tiruvēṇṇipūr inscription of the Chōla king Rājarāja III informs us that Narasimha II "uprooted the Mahara kingdom, seized him (i.e. the Mahara chief), his women and treasures and halted at Pāchchūr". In editing the inscription Dr Hultzsch had remarked that the Magara kingdom has to be looked for in the Coimbatore or Salem District¹³.

At Tittagudi on the border between the districts of Trichupoly and South Arcot has been found an epigraph of Magadēsan Ponparappina Vānakōvaraiyar recording the gift of a

¹ Above, Vol VII p 195. This Prithivīganganaraiyar, who also bore the surname Hastinalla, was different from and later than his namesake who was a contemporary of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. In a Tirukkōvalūr inscription of the Chōla king Parakāśavarman, the queen of Vānakōvaraiyar figures as the donor (*ibid* p 141).

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1901-5, Part II, paragraph 28.

³ *Ibid* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 46.

⁴ No 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906. This is how he is described in the inscription: *Sakala sur āsura samadhikāta (gata?) vijaya tri manōhārī vallabha mahārāja Maḥa(hā)balī kula tīlakāya-māna [Pa]ṇṇaraiyarudaiyananda Andagiri(giri)nātha Paruṇṇipura paramēśvara iṣṭhi chinnāl a m g h r i t a* ('chinn ālamkrīta') *ṛiṣhabhālāṇjanah* ('lāṇchhanah').

⁵ No 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁶ No 109 of the same collection.

⁷ In the time of Kulōttunga I, his throne at Mudigondaśōlapuram was called Vinādūrājān (Nos 93, 94, 95 and 96 of 1910). One of his officers was Virarajan or Vānarāja (No 128 of 1896 and No 312 of 1901). Vikrama Chōla had also an officer named Mahābalī Vānarāja (No 545 of 1904 from Tiruvārūr) and another called Virudarājabbavanakara Vānakōvaraiyar (No 112 of 1895).

⁸ No 159 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁹ It is doubtful if this chief is identical with Rājarājadēvan Ponparappinān *alias* Vānakōvaraiyan of Ārkālūr who was a feudatory of Kulōttunga III (Nos 532, 533 and 557 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902).

¹⁰ Nos 507, 513 and 514 of 1902 and Nos 381, 382, 383 and 385 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

¹¹ The chief's claim to have covered with gold (*ponparappina*) is obscure. He might have gilt the Tiruvannāmalai temple. It may also be that he regilt the Siva temple at Chidambaram.

¹² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Part II, p 507.

¹³ Above, Vol VII p 161. Toḷudagavūr, where Śōlāḍōn, an adherent of the rebel Peruṇṇinga, was staying is probably identical with Toḷudūr on the Madras Trichupoly road, 8 miles from Vālikanḍapuram and 28 miles west south west of Vrīdhachalam.

village in Magadai-mandalam¹ Three other records from the same village² show that the district of Magadai should have been close to the village, if it was not actually included in it It would not be an altogether wild conjecture to suppose that Mahara, Makara and Magara of the Hoysala inscriptions is identical with the Magadai-mandalam ruled over by the Vānakōvaraiyar Ponparappinān mentioned in the foregoing paragraph³ If this identification be true, it would indicate the movement of the Bānas further south as far as the Pudukkōttai State The chief of this province who was evidently a feudatory of the rebel Perūñjīga had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysala generals commissioned to liberate the Chōla king Rājārāja III from captivity⁴

We have traced the movement of the Bānas as far south as the Pudukkōttai State In still later times they figure as feudatories and officers of the Pāndyas in the 13th century A D⁵ Mr Sewell mentions two chiefs, one named Sundara Tōl Mahāvīlīvānādirāyar and the other Muttarasa Tirumalai Mahāvīlīvānādirāyar as rulers of Madura in the period A D 1451—1499⁶ We have a few inscriptions of the 16th century which show that the Bānas continued to wield some power and influence These have been found at Kālayānkōyil, Tiruppullani and Dēvipattanam in the Madura district The earliest of the chiefs mentioned in them is Mahābali-Vānādarāya-Nāyaka⁷ Then came Sundarattōl-Udayār Māvali-Vānādarāya⁸ or Sundarattoludaiya Mahābali-Vānādarāyar⁹ He was apparently also known as Māvali-Vānādarāyar without any additional designation¹⁰ In two of them he bears the epithet *irandakālam edutta* 'who revived the past,' (i.e. re-established the Pāndya kingdom) This may be taken to show that he took some part in the attempt made by the contemporaneous Pāndya princes Śīvallabha and Kulasekhara to set up a show of Pāndya sovereignty¹¹

Thus the history of the Bānas furnishes another instance of the movement of a tribe from one part of Southern India to another This aspect of Indian history has already been explained in my article on the Pallavas published in the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7

¹ No 10 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903 The donee in the Madras Museum plates of the Pāndya king Jatavarman was a native of Śābdāli in the province of Magadha In editing the plates, I assumed (*Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 74, footnote 91) that this was the well-known province of that name in Northern India. It is, however, not impossible that the former is identical with Magadai-mandalam

² Nos 12, 14 and 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

³ It is worthy of note that there is a village named Ponparappi in the Kallakurchi tūluka of the South Arcot District which may be supposed to have been included in the dominions of the Bāna chief Magadaiśan It is just possible that the name Ponparappi has to be traced to the Bāna chief of whom we are now speaking

⁴ Above, Vol VII p 169

⁵ In the Sir Walter Elliot collection is an impression of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōncrimaikondān, whose feudatory was Aḷagūndar alias Mahābali Vānarāyar The king's surname was apparently Avaniṇḍarāma which may be that of a Pāndya king, *Arch Surv of Southern India*, Vol IV p 185 In the reign of Mūṇavarman Sundara Pāndya I (A D 1216-35) the throne of the Pāndya king at Madura was called Vānādarāyan, while Vikrama Pāndya Vānādarāyan was one of the officers of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I (A D 1251-61) Prince Kulasekhara-Mahābali Vānarāyar figures in a record of Jatavarman Vira Pāndyaśan from Śinnamanūr in the Madura District

⁶ *Tale of Ant quilts*, Vol II p 223

⁷ No 113 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

⁸ No 585 of the same collection for 1902 and No 109 of 1903

⁹ No 121 of the same collection for 1903

¹⁰ No 587 of the same collection for 1902

¹¹ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II paragraph 32, and the same report for 1909-10, Part II paragraph 38

No 23 —DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By R SEWELL, ICS (RETD), M R A S

RAJARAJA I.

223 —In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.¹

- 1 [Sva]stī srī [||*] Tirumaga[l pō]la
 4 srī-Kōv=Liājarāja-Rājakēsarīparma[rk]k=iy[ā]n[du] 2]6
 āvadn
 5 i[y]-ā[t]tai [Kar]ka[da]ga-nā[ya*]rīru apara-pakshattu
 padī[nā] . m Bu[da]n-kīlamai²
 6 peṇra P[un]ar[pūṣat]ti-[n]ānra

"In the [2]6th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājārāja-Rājakēsarīvarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [four]teenth³ [tithi] of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka of this year "

The date in this case is, like most others of this early period, worded in a manner a little different from the stereotyped form of later years in South India, so much so that while Mr Krishna Sastri has stated it as referring to the 14th, or possibly 16th, solar day in Karkataka, I find that it tallies with the 14th tithi of the second fortnight of Āshādha but with the 19th solar day of Karkataka, and, since the word for "14th", padī[nā] m, occurs in the original between apara-pakshattu and Bu[da]n kīlamai, I presume that it is possible that the number "14" refers rather to the tithi than to the solar day⁴

In the 26th year of Rājārāja I Rājakēsarīvarman, the 14th tithi of the second fortnight of Āshādha was current at mean sunrise on Thursday, July 13th A D 1010, which was the 19th solar day of Karka. Now the 14th tithi of Āshādha is devoted to one of the Śivarātri festivals, and accordingly this tithi is liable to be joined with the Wednesday rather than with the Thursday, the midnight between the two having been included in it (Kielhorn, *Ind Ant* 1897, pp 177, 181). This 14th Krishna tithi began 13h 15m before mean sunrise on the Thursday and included the midnight in question, while the nakshatra Punarvasu began, according to the equal-space system, 18h 6m before that mean sunrise, and considerably earlier than that by the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta, being current both at midnight on Wednesday and at mean sunrise on Thursday. I think therefore that the day corresponding to the given day was Wednesday, July 12th A D 1010. If this is correct the accession of this sovereign must have taken place between June 25th and July 12th A D 985.

KULOOTTUNGA-CHOLA I

224 —In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puga]-mādu vilanga . .
 7 [śrī-Rājakē-
 8 śariva]umar=āna⁶ Ohiribhvanachchakkaravatt[i]ga[i] śrī-

¹ No 624 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902² The letter m is engraved at the beginning of line 6³ The tithi may also be the sixteenth

⁴ Mr Krishna Sastri's reason for thinking of the solar day and not of the tithi is that the numbers of lunar tithis are in South India commonly given in Sanskrit and not in Tamil. But neither the 14th nor the 16th solar day of Karka was Wednesday in this year, but Saturday and Monday respectively, and the use of the Tamil numeral is probably a consequence of the high age of the record.

⁵ No 647 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909⁶ Read *Tridhruva-*

- 9 [Kulō]ttu[n]ga-Śōladēvaikkū yān-
 10 du [nārpittōn]badāvadū Mēsha-nūyarru pūrvva-
 11 [pak]sha[t]tu Utti[ra]mum Budan-k[ī]lmaiyum [p]e-
 12 [ra] tra[y]ōdasī-nārru¹

"In the forty-ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious Rājakēsarivarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day (which was) the thirteenth *tithi* and which corresponded to a Wednesday and to (the day of) [Uttara-Phalguni] of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The given date corresponds to Wednesday, March 26th A D 1110, on which day the 13th śukla *tithi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra was current at mean sunrise, as also the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalguni This day was the 3rd solar day of Mēsha

Thus the 49th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I began on, or later than, 27th March A D. 1110 and the reign must have begun on, or later than that date in A D 1070, so that for this king's accession we now have the period March 27th to October 8th A D 1070

225 —In the Umamahēśvara temple at Kōṇērīrājapuram :

- 1 Svasti śi [||*] [Puga]l śūlada] . . .
 13 Kō[ṽ=I]lājikkāka(11)[ṽ]immar-āna Tr[ī]-
 bhuvā[nach]chakkarav[ī]ttigal śi-Kulōttunga-Śōladēva[ku] yāndu
 47āvadū Dhan[u]-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu puradamaiyum Tīngal-
 14 k[ī]lmaiyum perra Mūlatti-nīl

"In the 47th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

To paraphrase the opening passage of Professor Kielhorn's remarks on his Chōla date No. 40 (Vol. VI p 279),—"a date in the month of Dhanus of the 47th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A D 1110 " Now, as detailed, the given date is incorrect for the 47th regnal year But it is perfectly correct for the 48th year, i.e., towards the end of A D 1117 Now Mr Kṛṣṇa Sastri informs me that the figures 47 are perfectly clear in the original and cannot be read 48 We must therefore assume that the composer of the record made a mistake

The given date, except for that mistake, corresponds with Monday, November 26th A D. 1117, which was the 2nd solar day of Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa was current By the equal-space system the *nakṣatra* current at that mean sunrise was Mūla, but by the system of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the current *nakṣatra* was Pūrvva-Āśvadhā I conclude that the date is genuine, but that the composer erroneously stated the 47th instead of the 48th regnal year

226 —In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchirai :

- 1 4Tr[ī]bhuvanachakravā[t]tigal [ṽ=11-Kulōttu]ga-Śōladēvaikkū yāndu
 47 āva[du] Ishaba-[u]yarru apaia-pakshattu dasam[ī]um Budan-
 k[ī]lmaiyum
 2 porra Śadaiya[t]ti nīl

¹ Read *nārru*

² No 653 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ No 620 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁴ Read *211bhuv*

"In the 47th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is unreliable In the 47th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I the 10th *krishna tithi* of Vrishabha was current on Tuesday, May 9th A D 1116 (not on Wednesday), and on that Tuesday at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Uttara Bhadrapadā, so that it was not possible for any moment of the Wednesday to be connected either with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj or with the 10th *krishna tithi* Śatabhishaj had expired before mean sunrise on the previous Monday Working for the 48th year of this king I find that in that year the 10th *krishna tithi* fell on Saturday, the 5th day of Vrishabha, the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise being Pūrva-Bhadrapadā The corresponding day in European reckoning was April 28th A D 1117

It is incorrect for a possible 47th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla II, or of Kulōttunga Chōla III

VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

227 —In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchirai.¹

- 1 T[ri]bhuvanach]chakravattigal śrī-Vi[kk]i[ra]ma-Śōladēva]rku yāndu Śāvadu
Mīduna-[n]āya[r]ru] apa[ra-pa]kshat[tu] tra-
- 2 [yōde]śiyum Viyāla-kk[ī]la[mayum] peṇra Urōśani-nāl

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

This date is unsatisfactory Given that the accession day of this sovereign was, as settled by Professor Kielhorn (*Ep Ind*, Vol VII, p 5), the 29th of June A D 1118, the date should correspond to a day in A D 1122 or 1123 In A D 1122 the 10th day of Mithuna was Sunday, June 4th, and on that day the 13th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Jyēsthā and the *nakshatra* Rōhini were current at mean sunrise The week-day stated in the inscription is, however, Thursday Consequently I hesitate to accept it Moreover, that June 4th would be in the king's 4th not 5th year.

For A D. 1123 both week-day and *nakshatra* would differ from those stated in the original, the week-day of June 23rd, which was the day on which the 13th *śukla tithi* in Mithuna was current at mean sunrise, being Saturday, and the then current *nakshatra* being Mrigasiras

Nor does the result agree with the given details for the 5th year of the king, on the supposition that his reign began, as originally set forward by Kielhorn, on 18th July A D. 1108 Hence I can find no exact agreement in any case

228 —In the Māgalēśvara temple at Tirumālam ²

- 1 ||@ S[va]stī [śi]i [||*]Pā-mādu punara .
- 3 Kō=³Pparakṣa[r]ipānmar=āna Tri[buva]nachchakravattigal śrī-Vikrama-
Śōladēva]rku yā[ndu]⁴ l[3]āvadu⁵ Āni-māsattu Tingat-kk[ī]lamai peṇra
Tiruvōṇamum tr[ī]tigayum=āna nāl

¹ No 621 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 97 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

³ The syllable *ppa* is written as a group

⁴ The syllable *ndu* is perhaps written as a group.

⁵ *āvadu* is denoted also by an incomplete flourish added immediately after the figure 13.

"In the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day which was the third *tithi* and (*the day*) of (the *nakshatra*) Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Āni"

This date is correct in all respects for the 13th year of the reign of Vikrama-Chōla as fixed by Professor Kielhorn, who established the day of the king's accession as June 29th A D 1118. It corresponds to Monday, June 15th A D 1131, the fourteenth year of the reign beginning June 29th of that year and June 15th being still in the thirteenth year. The date proves that the reign could not have begun before June 16th A D 1118.

On that Monday, June 15th A D 1131, the 3rd *tithi* of the second fortnight of solar Āni (or Mithuna), was current at mean sunrise, as was also the *nakshatra* Śravana.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA II

229 —In the Māgālēśvara temple at Tirumālam ¹

- 1 || || ॐ Svasti śrī [||*]Pūmannu padumam
 4 Kōv=Ir[ājakāsaipūmar=āna Tribhuvana-
 chakravarttagal śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṛku yānda
 11 pa[di]n-onṛāvadu Danu-nāyarṛu uandān-diyaḍiyum Śani-kkīlamaiyum perṛa
 [Pū]satti-[nāl]

"In the 11th—eleventh—year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second solar day of the month of Dhanus"

The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, November 27th A D 1143, which was the second day of the solar month Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya by all systems. This day fell in the eleventh year of Kulōttunga Chōla II, which began, as at present found by me (Vol X, p 138, No 190), between 26th March and 14th July A D 1143, his accession having taken place on some day between those dates in A D 1133.

The stated date would be incorrect for the eleventh year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, in which year the 2nd Dhanus fell on a Thursday (November 26 A D 1080), with Bharani as the *nakshatra* current at sunrise. And the record cannot belong to the reign of the third king of that name whose title was Parakēsarivarman.

PARAKESARIVARMAN VIRARAJENDRA-CHOLA (KULOTTUNGA III)

230 —In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam ²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pūjal vāyitta valam peruga
 11 Kō=Pparakāsa-
 12 ri[panma]r=āna Tiribuvanachchakkavarttagal³
 13 śrī-[Vi]rarājēndira-[Śōlad]ē[va]ṛku yā-
 14 ndu aṇṇiḍa[du Mē]sha-nāyarṛu pūrvva-
 15 [pṛ]kshattu ⁴pra[dha]m[īyu] [Śa]ni-kkīlamaiyum pe-
 16 rṛa Asvati-nāl

¹ No 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

² No 733 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ There is, in the original, a letter erased between the syllables *ra* and *va*

⁴ Read *prathamaiyum*

"In the fifth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Āśvinī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

Virarājendra (Kulōttunga III) having come to the throne between the 6th and 8th July A D 1178 (Vol IV, p 266, VIII, p 261, No 108) the month of Mēsha in his fifth year must fall in A D 1183, and the details of the date are perfectly correct for Saturday, March 26th A D 1183, which day was the 2nd solar day of Mēsha. On that day the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight of *adhika*-Vaisākha was current at mean sunrise, the moon being then in the *nakshatra* Āśvinī

231 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam.¹

1 Svasti śri [||*] Puyal vāyttu

4 . . . Kō=Pparakēsarivarman=āna T[1]ib[hu]vānachchakkara-
vattugal śri-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarkku yāndu 9vadu² Vūuchchigā n[āy]arru
nubāt-

5 t[ū]-nīlin diyadiyum pūrvva-pakshattu saptamiyum Viyila-kkilaamayum perra
Śaduyattu nīl

"In the 9th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Vrischika "

The date regularly corresponds to Thursday, November 20th A D 1186, a day in the 9th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, which was the 24th day of Vrischika, and at whose mean sunrise the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, the moon being, by the equal-space system, in Śatabhishaj. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Pūrva Bhādiapadī, but they do not seem to have been used. By the equal-space system Śatabhishaj ended 7h 52m after mean sunrise, whereas by Garga that *nakshatra* had ended 4h 16m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3h 17m before that moment.

232 —In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.³

1 Svasti śri [||*]

2 Puyal vāyttu . . .

21 . . . Kō=[Ppa]rakē[sari]pa[nma]r=ā-

22 na Tūibuvā[nachcha]kkarava[tta]gal Madu-

23 ra[yu]m Īla[mu]n=Gaiuvū[rum] P[ā]ndi-

24 yanru mudu-t[ta]laiy[u]m kond-arū-

25 [liya] śr[i]-Kulōttunga-Śōladē[va]rku [y]āndu 26

26 [vadu] Ku[m]ba n[ā]ya[rū] pūrvva-pa[kshattu]

m Tī-

27 ngat-[kila]mayum per[ra] Kārtti[gai]-nā[li]

"In the 26th year (of the reign) of king [Pa]rakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura), Īlam (Ceylon), Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the . . . [tithi] of the first fortnight of the month of [Kumbha] "

¹ No 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 9

³ No 732 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

The 26th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III began between the 6th and 8th July A D 1203, and in that 26th year this date corresponds to Monday, February 9th A D 1204. At sunrise on that day, which was the 17th day of Kumbha, the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the moon was then in Kṛttikā

233.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram ¹

- 1 Svast[ī] ś[ī]h—T[ī]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]gal [Ma]durai[y]um [P]āndi[y]an
[mudi]-tta[layun=go]nd-arul[ī]-
- 2 na si-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarku y[ā]ndu padin-āivadu Mina-nā[yar]ru apara-
pa[kashat]tu pra[tv]mayum Budan-
- 3 kilamayum peṇṇa Atta[t*]tu nāl

"In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura) and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna "

This date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, March 9th A D 1194, which was the 15th of Mīna and was in the sixteenth year of Kulōttunga Chōla III. At mean sunrise on that day the 1st *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta

234 —In the Unnatapuriśvara temple at Melatūr ²

- 1 [Ḷ] Tnibuvā[na]chchakkāia[va]rttigal ś[ū]i-Kulōttunga-Śōladēva[r*]kku yāndu
[3]vadu Ishaba-nāyarra [pū]rva-pashshattu t[ā]i[ī]t[ī]y[ayum] Budan-k[ā]m-
[ayum] peṇṇa Paṇaipūśa[tta] n[āl].

"In the [3]rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Punarvasu which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

Since this date is so worded as to afford no clue as to which of the three known Kulōttunga's' reign it belongs, I have tested it for each of those sovereigns, with an unsatisfactory result in the end

In the third year of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I the 3rd *śukla tithi* of Vaisākha in the solar month Vriṣabha was current at mean sunrise on Tuesday, April 21th, A D 1072, and also at mean sunrise on Sunday, May 12th, A D 1073, either of which days, according to our present knowledge as to the date of that king's accession, might have fallen in his third year. In the first case the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was either Mrigāśiras or Āidrā according to the authority used, and in the second case was Āidrā by all systems

For the reign of Kulōttunga II we also have the choice of two years, and the day mentioned in the record, so far as the *tithi* is a guide, may have been Friday, May 17th, A D 1135 when the *nakshatra* was Āidrā by the equal-space system for 7h 1m after mean sunrise, but Punarvasu by Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta, or it may have been Wednesday, May 6th A D 1136, when the corresponding *nakshatra* was similar to that in the last case, Āidrā lasting by the equal-space system for 7h 36m after mean sunrise

This latter date, therefore, would exactly tally with the given details if we could assume that the *pañcāṅgas* of that day were calculated, in the matter of the *nakshatra*, either by the

¹ No 662 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 30 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

³ Read *-paśshattu*

system of Garga or that of the Brahma-siddhānta, but at present I think that the weight of evidence shows that the equal-space system was then in use. Though the week day is correct therefore the *nakshatra* is not so. And for that reason I hesitate to accept the date.

For the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III the 3rd *śukla tithi* of Jyēsthā corresponded to Monday, May 18th, A D 1181, which was the 25th solar day of Viśabhā, on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Punarvasu by all systems. This therefore would coincide with the given date if we presumed that the week-day had been wrongly stated as Monday instead of Wednesday. The 3rd *śukla tithi* in question ended at 1h 41m after mean sunrise on the Monday, so that it could not be connected with the Tuesday, still less with Wednesday. I am therefore, as before, unable to accept that date as correct.

From the above transliteration it appears that the number of the regnal year "3" is somewhat doubtful. If the number is capable of being certainly ascertained, no doubt the date could be conclusively verified.¹

RAJADHIRAJA II (?).

235 —In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam²

1 Svasti sī [||*] Tirubuvanachchakkara[ra]ttiga[ī sī]i-Rājādh[ir]ājadēvarkku yāndu pānnuandā[ra]du³ [Sī]maha-nāyarru apara-pakṣattu daśa[m]yum Tīnga[ī-k]-ilamayum perra Mūlattu nīl

"In the twelfth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Sī]mha "

This date is intrinsically wrong. During the month of Simha a tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight can never be connected with the *nakshatra* Mūla, but a tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight can be so, and I have therefore tested the date for both these days in the reigns of Rājādhirāja I and II respectively.

Taking the latter first, the date must, for his 12th year, fall in A D 1174. In that year, in the month of Simha, the 10th *krishna tithi* fell on a Friday, and the 10th *śukla tithi* also on a Friday, the *nakshatra* in the second case being Mūla by all systems. As the week-day is thus altogether wrong I reject this date, although in the second case the *nakshatra* stood as stated.

For the reign of Rājādhirāja I we have it, as established by Kiehlhorn, that his twelfth year began between March 15th and December 3rd, A D 1029. Hence the month of Simha in that regnal year may have been either in A D 1029 or 1030. In the first of these two cases the 10th *krishna tithi* of Simha fell on a Thursday, the *nakshatra* being Mrigaśiras. This is plainly wrong. The 10th *śukla tithi* of Simha in A D. 1029 was current at sunrise on a Thursday, the *nakshatra* Mūla having expired 3h. 36m. before that sunrise. This also does not fit the description.

Now for the second case, *viz*, the Simha of the year A D 1030 (Śaka 952). The 10th *krishna tithi* was current at sunrise of Monday, July 27th, A D 1030, which was the 1st day of Simha, but the *nakshatra* then current was Rōhini. This is altogether wrong. In the same year, A D 1030, the 10th *śukla tithi* was current at sunrise of Tuesday, August 11th, which

¹ After examination of the original Mr Krishna Sastry informs me that it is possible, though not probable, that the regnal year was "2," and not "3." I have consequently calculated the date for the 2nd year of each of these kings, finding it irregular in each case, both week day and *nakshatra* being different to the given ones.

² No 728 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The letter Sī appears to be a correction, read Simha.

was the 16th Śukla, the then current *nakṣatra* being, by the equivalence system, Mūla. This 10th śukla *tithi* had begun 13h 54m before mean sunrise on the Tuesday, and had been current during that time on the latter part of Monday, August 10th. During the whole of that period of 13h 54m on Monday Mūla had been current. If, therefore, it is assumed that the *tithi* quoted in the record was the *tithi* current at the time the inscription was set to the stone, and was accomplished, and not the *tithi* current at sunrise, the date may be accepted as genuine and stated as corresponding to Monday, August 10th, A D 1030, the second fortnight being then wrongly stated instead of the first. In that case—and it is possibly correct—we shall have the period within which this king's accession must have taken place narrowed to the interval between March 15th and August 11th, A D 1018.

But I am rather doubtful about this date because the *tithi* in question was the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada, and according to Aḥirāma the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada was considered an unlucky day.¹

RAJARAJA III

236.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachehūr.²

- 1 Svasti sī [|| *] Tibhuvana[ci]chakkaravattigal ar-Rajarājā[ci]ckā[ci]yāda 11-
vadu Dhanu nīya-
- 2 ru-ppūrvā-akṣhatu prathamayam Uttarādamu perr. pā

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day which corresponded to the (day of the month) Uttarāśādhā and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanu.”

No week-day being given here we can only be guided by the *nakṣatra*. The date corresponds to Tuesday, December 18th A D 1229, which was the 23rd Dhanu, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa, and, by all systems, the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Āśādhā, were current.

237.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachehūr.³

- 1 Svasti [i] 4[i] [|| *] T[ri]buvana[ci]chakkaravattigal ar-Rajarājā[ci]ckā[ci]yāda 11-
3[ri]vadu¹ Māgara-nīya-
- 2 ru-ppūrvā-akṣhatu caturthiyam Mūlam[u]m perr. [N]āyā[ru]-kṣ[ri]ama[ci]-
nīl

“In the 3rd (year) (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day (which was a) Sunday, (and) which corresponded to (the day of) Mūla and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.

This date is irregular in itself, besides being wrong in other respects. On a 3th *tithi* of the first fortnight in Makara the moon cannot be in the *nakṣatra* Mūla. Makara in the 3rd year of Rājārāja III occurred late in A D 1218 and early in 1219. The 4th śukla *tithi* corresponded to Monday, January 21st, A D 1219, which was the 27th day of Makara, on which day

Mr Krishna Sastri informs me that it is just possible to read the solar month in the original as “Vishabha,” and that the characters show that it could not belong to the reign of Rājādhirāja I. I have freshly computed the date finding that it is irregular for the solar month Vṛishabha in the reign of either of the known Rājādhirājas. In no case can either a 10th śukla or 10th kṛishna *tithi* in solar Vṛishabha be connected with the *nakṣatra* Mūla. The week days also do not correspond.

² No 264 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No 270 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁴ The usual flourish for expressing *ārādu* is also written in continuation of the figure ‘3’.

⁵ Read *chaturthi*.

at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* was Uttara Bhadrapadā The day corresponding to Mūla in that solar month was Tuesday, January 15, A D 1219, which was the 21st day of Makara, and on that day the 12th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise

238 —In the Chōlīśvara temple at Turaiyūr ¹

- 1 Svast[1] śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkara[1at]tīgal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu
 3vadu Minā-nīyarru अपरा-पक्षattu [ē]kadisi[1y]m Śani-kkīlaimaiyum perra
 Śradaiyattu nī[1]

"In the 3rd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna "

This date is also irregular In the third year of Rājarāja III the month of Mīna fell early in A D 1219 The eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight in that month corresponded to Thursday, March 14th 1219, which was the twentieth day of Mīna On that day at mean sunrise the 11th *krishna tithi* and the *nakshatra* Dhanishthā were current On Friday, March 15th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 12th *krishna* and the current *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj On Saturday, March 16th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 14th *krishna*, the 13th being expunged, and the current *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrapadā So that it is not possible in that year to form at any time a combination, even at any time of a day, of a Saturday, the 11th *krishna tithi*, and the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj, nor can we arrive at any solution without altering two out of three of the elements given in the date as stated This would be dangerous

The date is irregular for the reigns of Rājarāja I or II

239 —In the Umamahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrāṣapuram ²

- 1 Svast[1] sr[1]h [||*] T[1]ribu[va]nachechakkavatt[1]gal śrī-R[ā]jarājadēvarkku yāndu
 irubittunilāadin ed[1]rām=āndu Mēsha-nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pakshattu a]shtamiyum
 Vell[1]-kkīlaimaiyum perra T[1]u[1ō]nattu nāl

"In the year opposite the twenty-fourth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The given date corresponds to Friday, April 5th A D 1241, which was the 12th day of Mēsha On that day at mean sunrise the 8th *krishna tithi* was current, and the moon was in Śravana

240 —In the Muktiśvara temple at Samayavaram ⁴

- 1 [Svas]tī śrī [||] Tuubuvana[ch]chakkavattīgal śrī-Rāsarājadēvarku yāndu
 [6]-
 2 ā[va]du [Mē]sha-[nā]yarru अपरा पक्षattu pañchamiyum Budan-gūlmai perra
 Māla-
 3 [ttu] nāl

"In the [6]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

¹ No 701 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 661 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ The syllable 1ō seems to be a correction from *śra*

⁴ No 746 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

The date is unsatisfactory. From the details given it would seem that the number of the regnal year is not clear. On the supposition that the number of the year is shown by a single *akṣara* I have tested the date for every year of Rājārāja III's reign from the first to the ninth inclusive, and in no case have obtained the desired combination.¹

The nearest approach was found in the 1st regnal year, Mēsha of A D 1217, the 1th regnal year, Mēsha of A D 1220, and the 8th regnal year, Mēsha of A D 1224.

In A D 1217 the week-day corresponding to the 5th *krishna tithi* was Wednesday, and the day was the 5th day of Mēsha, or March 29th, but the *nakṣatra* Mūla only began, by the equal space system, at 1h 23m after mean sunrise on that day, though at that moment (mean sunrise) the moon was in Mūla by the systems of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta. This was in the king's first regnal year.

In A D 1220 the 5th *krishna tithi* was current at mean sunrise of Thursday, March 26th, which was the 2nd day of Mēsha, having been current for the last 20h 3m on the previous Wednesday. According to the equal-space system Jyēsthā was the *nakṣatra* current during all those hours of Wednesday, Mūla only beginning 1h 38m after mean sunrise on Thursday, though by the system of Garga Mūla was current for the last 11h 12m and by the Brahma-siddhānta for the last 16h 12m on the Wednesday. So that by these latter authorities Mūla and the 5th *krishna tithi* ran together for a considerable period on Wednesday, March 25th. But I can ascertain no reason why the Wednesday and not the Thursday, at whose sunrise the 5th *krishna tithi* was current, should have been coupled with that *tithi*. There was nothing special, so far as I can gather, in that *tithi* which would warrant a departure from the usual procedure of naming the day from the *tithi* current at sunrise. These days in A D 1220 were in the king's fourth regnal year.

In A D 1224 the 5th *krishna tithi* fell on Wednesday, April 10th, which was the 17th day of Mēsha, but the *nakṣatra* current at mean sunrise of that day was Pūrva-Āshādhā by all systems, Mūla having ended on the Tuesday. This was in the eighth regnal year of Rājārāja III.

The date is irregular for his other regnal years from the first to the ninth inclusive.

It is also irregular for the 6th year of either Rājārāja I or II.

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBURAYA

241.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 S[va]stī sri[ī*] Irājanārāyanan ³Sambū(bu)rāyarku yānu⁴
- 2 13 āvadū⁵ Tulā-ravi apara pakṣattu⁶ dūtīyā[⁷yu]m Na-
- 3 yarru-kiḷamaynm per[ra] Kātti[ga] nāl

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of Rājanārāyanan Samburāya,—on the day of Krittikā which corresponded to a Sunday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

¹ Since the above was in print I have been informed that a clause in the body of the inscription makes it clear that the 6th regnal year was intended. This being so the date must be held to be irregular.

² No 268 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ Śa is engraved below the line.

⁴ The syllable *ndu* is represented by a flourish added to *yā*.

⁵ The word *āvadū* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 13.

⁶ Read *dūtīyā*.

Two inscriptions, one at the Ulagalanda-Perumāl temple at Kāñchi, and the other at the Kailāsanātha temple at Śevvallimēdu, are dated in the year Vyaya, and expressly state the year as Ś 1268 (A D 1346-47) and as being in the 9th year of this king's reign. A third record of the 7th year also exists at Śevvallimēdu. If these are found on examination to contain fuller details of the date it may be possible to gather from them sufficient evidence as to the date of his accession. But so far this can only be fixed as being in Ś 1259 or 1260, *i.e.*, on some day between March 26th A D 1337, the first solar day of Mēsha Śaka 1259, and March 25th A D 1339, the last solar day of Mina Śaka 1260. Consequently the thirteenth year must lie between March A D 1349 and March 1351, and the month of Tulā stated in the present inscription at Tirukachchū must correspond either to (about) October A D 1349 or the same month in A D. 1350.

The details of the date are irregular for A D 1349, the second *tithi* of the second fortnight in Tulā in that year falling on Tuesday, September 29th, on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī. I doubt even if the date can be accepted as regular for A D 1350. In that year the second *krishna tithi* of Kārttika was current at mean sunrise of Monday, October 18th, that day being the 20th day of Tulā, and the moon at its sunrise being in Rōhini. The *tithi* had been current for the last 21h. 11m of Sunday, October 17th, and up to 3h 5m before sunrise on the Monday the moon had been in Krittikā, according to the equal-space system. By the system of Garga the moon had been in Krittikā up to 15h. 13m, and by the *brahma-siddhānta* up to 15h 56m before the Monday sunrise. If therefore the week-day had been stated as Sunday, the date given would have proved regular as regards the *nakshatra* but wrong as regards the *tithi*, which should have been stated as the 1st *krishna*. The 2nd *krishna tithi* and the *nakshatra* Krittikā had been together current for some hours on the Sunday, but not on the Monday, and I can ascertain no ceremonial reason why a 2nd *krishna* in Kārttika should be coupled with the day prior to that on whose sunrise it was current.

I have tested the date for several other years about this period but quite without success. It is not correct for A D 1351, in which year the given *tithi* corresponded to Friday, October 6th, which was the 9th Tulā and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī.

[Incidentally I may mention that I find the date quoted by Professor Hultzsch for the 17th year of this king's predecessor, Venṛumanakonda Śambuvarāya (*South-Indian Inscriptions* I, p 78, No 52) to be perfectly regular. The date corresponds to May 10th A D 1339, and the king's accession is fixed as having taken place between May 11 A D 1322 and May 10 1323]

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBUVARAYA

242 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam ¹

- 1 Svas[ti] [~11] [11*] Śakālakachcha[kra]²vatt[1] Irāsanā[ya]uan Śambuvarāyarku yiyindu³ 20 āvlu⁴
2 Magana-niyarin pūrvva-pak-hattu ⁵titiṇṇum ⁶Buda[nu]m perṛa Tuvōna[t]tu nīl

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of Rājanārāyanan Śambuvarāya the emperor of all the worlds,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara "

¹ No 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² Between the syllables *kā* and *ca* is a letter which is indistinct

³ Cancel the syllable *yi*

⁴ The word *āvlu* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 20

⁵ Read *titiṇṇu*

⁶ The word *Budaarm* is written below the line

It is almost certain that the *nakṣatra* or the *tithi* quoted in this inscription must be wrong, for by the equal-space system and that of Garga the 3rd *śukla tithi* in the solar month Makara can never correspond to Śravana, while by the Brahma-siddhānta it could only do so for about 12 minutes at the beginning of the *tithi*. The moon could, however, be in Śravana on the 1st or 2nd *śukla tithi* of that month. In the present case I think that the quoted *tithi* is correct, since it fell on a Wednesday as stated, but that the *nakṣatra* has been wrongly quoted as Śravana when it should have been Dhanishthā.

If I am correct in this supposition the given date corresponds to Wednesday, January 2nd A.D. 1259, on which day at mean sunrise the 3rd *śukla tithi* was current, the day being the 7th civil day of Makara. The current *nakṣatra* at mean sunrise was, however, Dhanishthā and not Śravana. This day being in the 29th regnal year of Rījanārāyaṇa Śambavarīya we have it that his accession occurred on some day between January 3rd A.D. 1339 and January 2nd 1340. As stated above p. 251, the Kāñchi and Śervallimēdu inscriptions show that the accession could not have taken place later than the last day of Śaka 1260, which was March 25th A.D. 1339. And consequently, if the present date is accepted, the reign of this king began between January 3rd and March 25th A.D. 1339.

But if so, the last date examined, No. 241, is not regular, for it should have corresponded with a day in September-October A.D. 1351, being in the 13th year. And for that year it is incorrect.

PERUNJINGADEVA.

243 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Sakalabuvānachakkaravattigal śrī-Kō=P[p]eruñjunga-[d]ē-
- 2 vaikkū yādu 19 vad[u] Rishabha-nīyaru[rū] apara pakshattu t[r]i-
- 3 tiyayum Tingil-kāmayum peyra Mālatu nāl

"In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all the worlds, the glorious king Peruñjingadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The reign of this king has been previously determined by the late Prof. Kielhorn to have begun between 11th February and 30th July A.D. 1243.

The present date is quite regular for the 19th regnal year. It corresponds to Monday, May 8th A.D. 1261, which was the 14th Vriṣhabha, Śaka 1184 expired. On that day at mean sunrise, and thereafter for 13h 3m, the 3rd *krishna tithi* of Vaiśākha was current, the moon being by the equal-space system in Mūla at sunrise and for 3h 40m after it. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakṣatra* current at mean sunrise was Pūrva-Āshādhī.

We now therefore know that the accession of Peruñjingadēva took place between May 4th and July 30th A.D. 1243.

¹ No. 417 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906

No 24—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS

By R SEWELL, ICS (RETD), M R A S

MARANJADAIYAN

98 —In the Jambunāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvellarai¹

- 1 Svasti sri [||*] Kō Marañjadaiyarku yāndu nīl[ā]-
- 2 vadark=edir onbadāvadu Vīśchika-ñāṇṇu Tī-
- 3 ngat-kī[lamai] perṛa Aśvati [muda]l-aga.

“In the ninth (year) opposite to the fourth year (*of the reign*) of king Mārāñjadaiyan —from (*the day of*) Aśvinī which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Vriśchika”

The names of two sovereigns bearing the title Mārāñjadaiyan have been brought to light in the territories at one time subject to the Pandyan kings. The earlier was alive in A D 770 as is gathered from the Ānaimalai inscription, the later is believed to have succeeded to the throne some time in A D 862-63 (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 88). No sufficient details exist for verification of the date given for the former. I have examined the date of the present record on the supposition that it might refer to that Mārāñjadaiyan whose reign is said to have begun in A D 862-63.

It appears to belong to his thirteenth year, which would perhaps be the year A D 874-75. The date given is so far regular that on Monday, the 29th day of the solar month Vriśchika, the *nakshatra* Aśvinī was current for 3h 24m at the end of the day by all the three *nakshatra* systems. This civil day corresponded to Monday, November 22nd A D 874. On that day Rēvati expired and Aśvinī began at 20h 36m after mean sunrise. Therefore according to the ordinary practice of Southern India the Monday in question would have been coupled with Rēvati and not with Aśvinī. The lunar day current at the Monday sunrise was the 10th *sukla* of Mārgaśīrsha. The 11th *sukla tithi* began at 18h 34m on that Monday, or 34m after midnight.

Now I understand that the 10th *sukla* of Mārgaśīrsha is considered an unlucky *tithi* (at least Albūnī says that it is so), but that the 11th is peculiarly auspicious since it is the occasion of the great *Vaṣṭhanta*, or *Mukhōti-ēkādasī*, festival in Southern India, and of the *mōkṣada ēkādasī* in other parts². And as this *tithi* ran for about 5½ hours before the end of the civil day, Monday, while the *nakshatra* Aśvinī was similarly current for about 3½ hours before the end of the day, it seems quite possible that this constituted an occasion justifying a departure from the usual practice and the coupling of the Monday in question with Aśvinī instead of with Rēvati.

If I am right in this surmise the date may be accepted as genuine, and if so this king's reign began some time between November 23rd, A D 861, and November 22nd, 862, always supposing that “in the ninth year opposite the fourth year” means “in the thirteenth year”. Coupling with this the date given in the Ānaimalai record (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 88), which makes Śaka 792 synchronous with the king's eighth year, we have for his accession the period March 22nd to November 22nd A D 862. This presupposes that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year.

¹ No 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

² That the *Mukhōti ēkādasī* festival takes place on 11th *sukla* of Mārgaśīrsha I gather from the late S M Natesa Sastri's *Hindu Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies*, p 60. Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai (*Indian Chronology*, p 50), places it on the 11th *sukla* of *Pauṣa*, but I believe that this is not the case.

MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

97 —In the Mundiśvaramudaiyār temple at Manappadaividu ¹

- 1 ௨ Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārapanmai-āna Tribhuvanachchakravattiga[1] emmandalamun=gond-anu[ya*] śū-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāndu 10vadu Vriśchikanāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ashtamiyum perra Rēvatī-nā[1]

“In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to the 8th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika ”

I have tested this date for the 10th year of the three known Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍyas, the first of whom began to reign between March 29 and September 4, A D 1216, the second between June 15, A D 1238, and January 18, 1239, and the third between June 2, A D. 1531, and June 1, 1532, that is to say I have calculated the *tithi* and *nakshatra* mentioned, during the course of the solar month Vriśchika, in each of the years A D 1225, 1226, 1247, 1248, 1540, 1541. In no case was Rēvatī current at any time during the civil day which might have been connected with the 8th śukla *tithi* of a lunar month. I must therefore hold this date to be unsatisfactory.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA

98 —In the Nedungalanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunedungalam ²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||]³Kō=Chchadaipinmar-āna T[1]1[1]buvanachchakkara[vat]tugal śr[ī]-Sundara-P[ā]ṇḍiyadēvarkku yāndu
2 mūnṛavadu Rishabha-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ckādaśiyum Tingat-kāla[ni]ai-[yu]m perra Pūsattu nāl

“In the third year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha ”

This date is also irregular when examined for the third year of any known king of the name declared in the record. Tested for the reigns of the first or second Jatavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya the stated day must fall in either A D 1253, 1278, or 1279. In the first case the given *tithi* fell on a Saturday, in the second on a Wednesday, in the third on a Tuesday, in the first two cases the *nakshatra* was Hasta and in the third Chitrā. On an 11th śukla *tithi* in Vriśabha the moon cannot be in Pushya.

99 —In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr ⁴

- 1 Svasti[1] śrī[||*] . . . [Kōr-Śada] . . .
2 buvanachcha[k]karavatti[ga]1 śū-Śundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]dēvarkku y[ān]-
3 du 7vadu⁵ Mina-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu deśamiyum Nāyarru-[kā]a-
4 maiyum [p]erra 'Atta[t*]ta nāl

“In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Jata[varman *alias*] the emperor of the [three] worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Sunday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina ”

¹ No 446 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 680 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ There is some space between *Śrī* and *Kō* which might have been intended for a punctuation.

⁴ No 303 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁵ *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 7

This date is altogether unsatisfactory. In the 7th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the 10th śukla *tithi* in Mīna corresponded to Saturday, March 16th A D 1258, the Pushya *nakshatra* being current at mean sunrise.

For the 7th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II I have tried all the possible years. In no case is the *nakshatra* quoted correct for the day corresponding to the 10th śukla *tithi* in Mīna, these being always either Punarvasu, Pushya, or Āślēshā, and never Hasta. Only in one year, A D 1284, does the 10th śukla *tithi* correspond to a Sunday, and that was on 27th February of that year, but the *nakshatra* for that day was Punarvasu.

The record cannot belong to the reign of any possible king of the name coming between Māravarman Kulāśēkhara I, whose last known date is June 9th A D 1309, and the second king of that name, whose reign began in March A D 1314, since in all the possible years that I have tried, the *nakshatra*, on the given day, is either Punarvasu or Pushya. Indeed during the month of Mīna the moon cannot be in Hasta on a 10th śukla *tithi*.

100 —In the Viṅṇēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōr=Chadapanmar=āna Tūibhu[va]na²chchakkaravattagal e[m*]manda[la]mun=gond-aruhya śrī-Sundara Pāndiyadēvaṛkku yāndu Svadu³ Risha-
2 bha-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakshattu tradiyaiyu[m*]⁴ Viyāla-kki[la*]maiym perṛa Pūsattu nā[1]

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is irregular. To correspond with the 8th year of the named king, either the first or the second of the dynasty, the day must fall in either A D 1258, 1283, or 1284. In 1258 the 3rd śukla *tithi* in Vṛṣabha was current at sunrise of a Tuesday, and the *nakshatra* was Mrigaśīras or Ārdrā at sunrise. In 1283 the week-day was Saturday, and the *nakshatra* was Mrigaśīras by all systems. In 1284 the week-day was Friday, and the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Punarvasu by all systems. Part of the 3rd śukla *tithi*, in this last case, coincided with Thursday, it did so in fact for the last 10½ hours of that day, but during that period the *nakshatra* was Ārdrā or Punarvasu.

101 —In the Nedungalanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunedungaḷam⁵

- 1 [Sva]s[ī]t[ī] [||*]samasta-jagad-ādhāra . . .
5 [Sun]da[ra]-Pā[ndiya]dē[va]ṛku⁶, yāndu pa[1]to[n]rāvadu⁷ Makara-nāyaṛru pū[rvva]-pakshattu [sha]sh[th]iy[u]m Budhan-kīla[m]aiym
6 perṛa Urōsan[1] nīl .

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of . . . [Sun]dara-Pāndyadēva, —on the day of Rōhinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ No 319 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² Read *Tribhuvana*

³ *vadu* is represented by a flourish

⁴ Read *trītiyaṇum*

⁵ No 677 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁶ The portion of this line, from *ndiya* to *vadu*, is written over an erasure

⁷ Read *padinogrūvadu*

The date is irregular whether for the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I, or for the second king of that name. The given *tithi* in Makara corresponded with a Wednesday in A D 1261, the 11th year of Jatāvarman Sundara I, and in January of A D 1286 which might possibly have been in the 11th year of Jatāvarman Sundara II, but the corresponding *nakshatra* on those Wednesdays was either Pūrva or Uttara-Bhādrapadā. In January 1287 the 6th śukla *tithi* in Makara fell on a Tuesday, with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī current at mean sunrise, and in January 1288 it fell on a Sunday, with the *nakshatra* Rēvatī current at mean sunrise.

102.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī[||*] 6. Kō=Ch[cha]da[pa]nmar=āna
Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Ś[un]dara Pāndiyadēvarku yā[n]du 13vadu²
pad[1]nmūn[r]āvadu Kum[bha]-nāyarru pārvva-[pa]kshattu pañchamiyum Bu-
2 dan-ki[la]mai[yu]m peṇra Aśvati-nāl

"In the 13th—thirteenth—year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

This date is irregular. For the 13th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the 5th śukla *tithi* in Kumbha has Aśvinī for *nakshatra*, but the week-day was Monday. It corresponded to 4 February, A D 1264. For the 13th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II we may test the date in two ways, according as we accept one or the other of the accession periods fixed by the two groups of inscriptions. If we accept the earlier period, the 5th śukla *tithi* of Kumbha in the 13th year corresponded to 8 February, A D 1289, and at sunrise on that day the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī, but the week-day was Sunday. If we accept the later, the quoted day corresponded to 27 January, A D 1289, but on that day at sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Rēvatī, and the week-day was Thursday. The fifth śukla *tithi* was current for 9h 24m at the end of Wednesday, but the *nakshatra* Aśvinī did not begin till 13h 46m after mean sunrise on the Thursday, so that it could not possibly be connected with the Wednesday previous.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I

103.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr³

- 1 Svasti[1] śr[1] [||*] [Kōr=Chada]panmar=āna
T[1]ribuva[na]chcha[k]karavatt[1]gal śr[1]-Śundara-P[ā]nd[1]yadēva[k]-
2 ku yāndu 8valu⁴ Mūduna-nāyarru apara-pakshatt[u] Tīngal-ki[la]mai[yu]m peṇra
Uttirai[t]jādi-nāl

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhādrapadā which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

The month of Mithuna in the 8th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I fell in A D. 1258, in which year the 1st day of that month corresponded to Monday, May 27th, and the 8th kṛishna *tithi*. The *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise by the systems of Gaiga and Brahmagupta was Uttara-Bhādrapadā, but by the equal-space system Pūrva-Bhādrapadā was

¹ No 315 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² *cadu* is represented by a flourish

³ No 305 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁴ *cadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8

then current Examining Kielhorn's dates Nos 11 to 18 (*Ep Ind*, Vol VI, pp 306 ff) I find that in six cases it is impossible to say which system was generally in use in the Chingleput tract during that reign, but No 12 proves that in A D 1253, near Trichinopoly, neither the system of Garga nor that of the Brahma-siddhānta was in use, and No 16 from near Tanjore shows that the latter was not used there in A D 1260

On the morning in question, according to the equal-space system, Uttara-Bhadrapadā began 55 m after mean sunrise, and though this throws a slight doubt on the date I think it may be accepted

For the reign of the second king of that name the date must fall in A D 1283 or 1284 and for those years the quoted *nakshatra* would be incorrect, though it is correct in all respects for Monday, June 1st, A D 1282, which was the 6th day of Mithuna And if the quoted regnal year had been the 6th instead of the 8th, I should have had no hesitation in accepting it¹ As the case stands, however, I think that the date is genuine and that it belongs to the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I

104 —In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil²

- 1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] Kō=Ch[cha]dai[panma]r-ā[na Tribhuva]na[chchakkarava]-
- 2 tti[gal sī]-Śundara-[Pāndya]dēvaṛku [yā]ndu llvadu
- 3 Kann[ī]-nā[ya]rṛu [apara-pa]ksha[tta] [yum Buda]n-kīḷa[m]ai-
- 4 [yu]m perṛa Śōdi-nāl

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Svāti which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the . . . tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The given elements of the date do not correspond to any possible 11th or—supposing a wrong regnal year to have been stated,—10th or 12th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II, nor to any śukla tithi on a Wednesday in Kanyā in any of those years, supposing that the fortnight was wrongly recorded

The day apparently corresponds to Wednesday, August 31st A D. 1261, which was in the 11th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I, and on which day at mean sunrise, which was the 3rd day of Kanyā, the 4th śukla tithi was current, the current *nakshatra* being, by the equal-space system, Svāti By the other two systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā.

I think that the record is one of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya I, and that the fortnight was wrongly stated The date does not correspond to any day in the dark fortnight during the given solar month

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II

105 —In the Nedungalanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunedungalam³

- 1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] svast[ī] samasta-jagad-ādhāra
- 5 śr[ī] K[ō]=Ch[cha]dai[panmar]-āna T[ī]rībuvaga-
chchakkaravattigal śrī Śundara-Pān-

¹ Since the text was in print I am informed that the figure "8" is quite clear in the original

² No 741 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ No 667 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

- 6 [dīya]dēvar[k]ku yāndu Svadu¹ | Ma[ka]ra-[n]āyarru [p]ūvva-pakshattu
daśamiyūm Budan [k]īlamaiyūm perra Rō-
- 7 [śani]-nāl

"In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rōhini which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara "

For the 8th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I, the 10th śukla *tithi* in solar Makara fell on a Sunday, at whose sunrise the *nakshatra* was Kṛttikā Neither Rōhini nor the 10th śukla *tithi* could be connected with a Wednesday

For the 8th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II the year may correspond either with A D 1282-83, or 1283-84, according to the initial date accepted for the reign The given date is irregular for both these years It is, however, perfectly regular for the 9th regnal year of this king, if his accession dated from some day in the year 1276-77, for the given lunar day falling on the 23rd day of Makara, corresponds regularly to Wednesday, January 17th A D. 1285, on which day at mean sunrise the 10th śukla *tithi* and the *nakshatra* Rōhini were current Since this date is regular in all its details, I think it should be accepted But in that case either it clashes with most of the other records of this king as to the initial date of his reign, or the regnal year is wrongly given as the 8th, when it should have been stated as the 9th A mistake of this kind is frequently made, and I believe it to have been made in this instance.

106—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam²

- 1 Svasti śri: Kō[r]=Śaḍaipanmar=āna Tūubu[va]na[ch]ohak[ka]ra[va]ttigal śri-
2 Śundara-Pāndiyadēvarkku [y]āndu 13[vadu] Mina-[nāya]rru pū[rva]-paksha-
3 tta Śani=kkīlamaiyūm³ shash[th]iyu[m]⁴ perra Rō[sa]ni-nā[l]⁵

"In the 13th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rōhini which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and to a Saturday of the first fortnight of the month of Mina "

For the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date is irregular, as the given *tithi* in his 13th year fell on a Wednesday, though the *nakshatra* was Rōhini

Working by the group of inscriptions which fixes the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II as beginning in 1276 and, therefore, his 13th year as beginning in 1288, I find the date so far satisfactory that for 4h 31m at the end of Saturday, February 26, A D 1289, which was the 4th day of Mina, the 6th śukla *tithi* of Phālguna and the *nakshatra* Rōhini were together current At sunrise on Sunday, both this *tithi* and *nakshatra* were current, and by ordinary practice they would have been coupled with Sunday, February 27, and not with Saturday, February 26th Phālguna śukla 6th began 7h 8m after mean sunrise on that Saturday

Working by the earlier accession-date fixed by the other inscription-group the date is irregular

With the reservation above stated the date corresponds to Saturday, February 26th, A D. 1289, and this fixes the beginning of the reign as subsequent to February 26th, A D 1276

¹ *vadu* is represented by a flourish

² No 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ The syllables *yūm* are engraved below the line

⁴ The *akshara m* is engraved below the line

⁵ The *akshara l* is engraved below the line

107 —In the Kachchhapēsvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] - Kō=Chchadapaṇṇa[r]=āna
Tiribuvanachchakkaravattagal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rkku yāndu 1[3]vadukku
edirām=ā-
- 2 ndu Karkadaga-nāyarṇu apara-pakshattu deśamiyum Tingal kīlamiyum peṇṇa
Kāttigai-nāl

"In the year opposite to the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Krīttikā which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

The date given is incorrect for the 14th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, but correct for that of the second of that name. It corresponds to Monday, July 3rd, A D. 1290, which was the 6th day of solar Karkataka, or Karka, and on which day the 10th *krishna tithi* of Jyēshtha was current at sunrise. At sunrise, also, on that day the *nakshatra* Krīttikā was current according to all the three systems of calculation. According to this the accession-day of Jatāvarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya II must have been subsequent to July 3rd A D 1276.

108 —In the Kachchhapēsvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 Kō Śadapaṇṇa[r]=āna Tiribuvanachchakkaravattagal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āndu 17vadu Sinna-nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu
- 2 miyum Tingal-kīlamiyum peṇṇa Uttirādatṭu nāl

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā which corresponded to a Monday and to the *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Sīmha."

This date is incorrect for the 17th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is, however, correct for the reign of the second king of that name. It corresponds to Monday, August 25th A D 1292, which was the 28th Sīmha, and on which day at sunrise the 11th *śukla tithi* was current, the *nakshatra* being Uttara-Āshādhā by all systems. This was in the 17th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, if his accession took place on or before August 25th, A D 1276.

I have given great attention to the question of the date of accession of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, because the evidence regarding it has hitherto been in a very unsatisfactory condition, and after concluding my examination of the eleven inscription dates sent to me this year, which, with those previously examined by the late Professor Kielhorn and myself, make a total of twenty-six records, I have come to the conclusion that this king ascended the throne on a day between the 6th and 25th August A D 1276.

As I differ from the opinion expressed by the late Professor Kielhorn and have modified the conclusions I had previously formed (above, Vol X, pp 144 f) it is necessary to state the case at some length. The difference of opinion alluded to has reference to records Nos 23 to 27. Kielhorn considered that the regnal years stated in Nos 23 and 24 were wrong, and adhered to those given in Nos 25 and 27. He considered that a wrong *tithi* had been stated in No 26, and corrected, rightly as I think, the "13th" *tithi* to the 3rd. After this correction the date

¹ No. 302 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No. 308 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

agrees with Nos. 23 and 24 as regards the day of the king's accession. As regards the accession I think that in view of all else, the royal year begins in Dec. 22 and 23, 1255-56, as shown in Nos. 25 and 27 that require discussion. It is only satisfactory that the accession of Kulhorn had, at the time that he wrote, very few records of this kind left.

With these preliminary remarks I proceed to examine the inscriptions, one by one, from which it will be seen that there is a general agreement with the accession-date put forward by me. In the list, "K" is a later date than "A" is. The inscription dates are published above, in Vols. VI, pp. 216-22, VIII, pp. 27-30, and X, pp. 127-28 as well as in the present article.

No.	Date of inscription A. D.	Length of year.	Date of inscription A. D.	Notes.
K 23	Mon. 1 Aug. 1251	13	1 Aug. 1276	
" 24	Fri. 5 Aug. 1252	13	5 Aug. 1276	
" 25	Mon. 21 July 1251	6	21 July 1275	Year 6 should be year 7
" 26	Fri. 12 Sept. 1257	12	12 Sept. 1275	"Both" and "should" be "and"
" 27	Mon. 15 May 1260	15	15 May 1275	Year 15 should be year 14
" 52	Mon. 25 July 1255	10	25 July 1275	Year 10 should be year 7
" 53	Wed. 29 Oct. 1267	11	29 Oct. 1276	Year 11 should be year 12
" 54	Wed. 27 Aug. 1267	12	27 Aug. 1275	
" 55	Mon. 28 Aug. 1290	15	28 Aug. 1275	"Karye" should be "Salla"
" 56	(Doubtful)			
S 74	Mon. 30 Sept. 1256	10	30 Sept. 1276	Year 10 should be year 11.
" 75	Mon. 20 Feb. 1260	15(?)	20 Feb. 1275	Year 15 should be year 14
" 76	Wed. 18 Mar. 1293	17	18 Mar. 1276	
" 77	Sat. 14 Mar. 1293	17	14 Mar. 1276	
" 78	(Irregular)			
" 98	(Irregular).			
" 99	(Irregular)			
" 100	(Irregular)			
" 101	(Irregular)			
" 102	(Irregular)			
" 103	(Reign of J. Sun P I)			

No	Date of inscription A D	Regnal year	Accession later than A D	Notes
S 104	(Reign of J S P I)			
„ 105	Wed 17 Jan 1285	8	17 Jan 1277	Year 8 should be year 9
„ 106	Sat 26 Feb 1289	13	26 Feb 1276	
„ 107	Mon 3 July 1290	14	3 July 1276.	
„ 108	Mon 25 Aug 1292	17	25 Aug 1275	

From this statement it will be seen that we have six dates, viz, Nos 23, 24, 76, 77, 106 and 107 which as they stand, without any alteration, show that the king's accession took place in 1276 A D after August the 5th, one, No 108, which shows that it may have taken place on or before August 25, 1276, and two, which, as they stand show that it took place before August 27th in that year These are Nos 54 and 55 Also one, No 26, which, without alteration of the regnal year, supports that conclusion though a wrong *tithi* was quoted Seven others, Nos 25, 27, 52, 53, 74, 75 and 105, are not inconsistent with it if one year is either added to or deducted from the given regnal year Nine others are either irregular or belong to the reign of a different king¹

Referring to my remarks on the accession-date of this king at p 129 of Vol X, it will be seen that I now accept K 26, with Kielhorn's proposed alteration It was "intrinsically wrong" for the stated *tithi*, but, with the alteration made, it supports the accession-date which I now believe to be the correct one With regard to two other dates, Nos 55 and 75, I was doubtful on account of apparent errors in them, but in view of the light since thrown on the matter they may be accepted with those errors corrected

JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA

109.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tonkarai²

- 1 || Svasti śr[ī]: śrī³ Kō=Chcha-
- 2 daivavaimmar=āna Tribh[uv*]a-
- 3 nach[cha]kravattigal śrī³
- 4 Kulasekharadēva-
- 5 rkku jāndu 2vadu
- 6 Mīdhana nāyaru iru-
- 7 badān-diyadiyum pū-
- 8 rvva-pakshattu trayō-
- 9 daśiyum Budhan-kīla-
- 10 mayum per[ra A]-
- 11 nīlattu nāl

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jātavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,—on the day of Anurādha which corre-

¹ Since this paper was in print I have seen Professor Jacobi's article above (pp 132, ff, His No 86 (p 136) confirms my opinion, since it shows that the king could not have begun to reign earlier than 10th August A D 1276, 9th August of that year being still in his 14th year This still further reduces the doubtful days of his accession, and, being accepted, proves that he ascended the throne on a day between 10th and 25th August A.D. 1276.

² No 135 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

³ A letter *ku* has been engraved and erased after *śrī*, *kul* is written over an erasure.

sponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twentieth solar day of the month of Mithuna ”

This date is irregular for any year in the reign of Jatāvarman Kulasekhara I, as well as for any in the reign of Māra-varman Kulasekhara II, nor is it correct for any date between A D 1190 and 1350 except in the case of two years. One is in A D 1239 and the other is in A D 1334. In each case the 13th śukla *tithi* coincided with the 20th day of solar Mithuna, and in each case the week-day was Wednesday and the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was Anurādhā, the only exception being that in A D 1239, if the calculation were made by the Brahmasiddhānta, Anurādhā had expired 20m before mean sunrise on that day. But this objection need not be taken into account, since that *nakshatra* was probably current at true sunrise.

For the year A D 1334 the coincidence is absolute. In the first case the given date corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A D 1239, in the second case it corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A D 1334. In the first case the king's reign began after June 15, 1237, and before June 15, 1238, in the second case the reign began after June 15, 1332, and before June 15, 1333. Careful study of the characters and form of the original inscription will doubtless lead to certain determination as to which of these two years is the correct one¹. If this king's reign should be found to begin between 1332 and 1333 A D, we shall have the name of a hitherto unknown Pāndyan king, coming probably between Māra-varman Kulasekhara II and Māra-varman Parākrama Pāndya, and bearing the title “Jatāvarman” according to custom. And if his reign began between 1237 and 1238 A D we shall similarly have a new “Jatāvarman” between Māra-varman Sundara Pāndya I and Māra-varman Sundara Pāndya II, but with a certain overlapping of reigns. In the other case there is no overlapping, and if this should prove correct the king's title will have to be, at least provisionally, stated as “Jatāvarman Kulasekhara II”.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA

110 —In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkara:²

- 1 Svast[ī] sri: sri: Kō Mā[ra]panmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti-
- 2 gal e[m*][ma]ṇḍalamun=gond-aruh[ya śri]-Kulasēgaradōvaṛ[k]u yāndu 23va[du Ma]gara-
- 3 nāyaṛṛu pūrvva-pakshattu [sapta]m[ī]y[um] T[in]gal-kkilamaiyum porra Attatti-nāl

“In the 23rd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māra-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

This date is irregular. In the first place the moon can never be in Hasta on a 7th śukla *tithi* during the solar month Makara. For the 23rd year of either of the known kings of the name stated, which correspond, for the 7th śukla *tithi* of Makara, to a day in January A D 1291 or January A D 1337, the week-day is Monday in the first case, and Friday in the second, and the corresponding *nakshatras* are Rēvati in the first case, and Asvini in the second. Working for a possible 7th kṛishna *tithi*, on the supposition that a mistake had been made by the engraver, I find the week days to have been respectively Tuesday and Friday, with *nakshatras* Chitrā and Viśākhā.

¹ I have since been informed that, while it is difficult to decide the point from characters alone, the earlier date is the more probable.

² No 123 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

111 —In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyīl¹

- 1 Svasti² śrī [||*] Kō Mārupanmar=ina Tn [i]buvanachchakkaravatt[iga]l śr[i]-Kulaśō-
garadēvarku yāndu
2 28vadu Kann[i]-nāyarra [ama]ra-pakkashattu³ deśamiyū Velli-kkilaṁaiyūm peṇṇa
Attattu
3 na!

"In the 28th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, — on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Friday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

This date is intrinsically wrong, for on a tenth *kṛṣṇa tithi* in solar Kanyā the moon cannot be in the *nakṣatra* Hasta. In such a month the day of Hasta must be either the 14th or 15th *kṛṣṇa*, or the 1st or 2nd *śukla tithi*. Moreover the week-day given is incorrect for the tenth *kṛṣṇa tithi* in Kanyā, both in the 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I (A D 1295) and in a possible 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II, which would fall in A D 1341.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I

112 —In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai⁴

- 1 || Svasti śrī: śrī-Kō Mārapanmar=āna Tiribuva-
[na]chchukkiravattigal [em]maṇḍalamun=
2 [gond-a]ru[ī]ya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēva[r]ku yā[n]du 14vadu Kann-i-nāya[r]ru
pū[r]vva-pakshattu [sa]pta[m]iyūm [N]āyarra-kk[ila]maiṇyūm peṇṇa
3 [M]ūlatu nā!

"In the 14th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

This date is regular for the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I, and incorrect for that of M Kulaśēkhara II. For the former it corresponds to Sunday, September 21st, A D 1281, which was the 24th day of solar Kanyā. At mean sunrise on that day the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the current *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by all systems.

For the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II the given day would correspond to September 23rd, A D 1327, but that day was Wednesday.

113.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai⁵

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i]: . . . śrī Kō [Mārapanmar=āna 'Tri]bhuva[nachcha]-
kravatt[ī]ga[l em]maṇḍalamu[n]=go[nḍ-arū]l[ī]ya [śrī]-Kula[ś]ēgaradēvar-
[kku yāp]ḍu [2]8vadu⁶ Vriśchika-[nāya]rru
2 apara-pakshattu chatu[r]tthiyūm Nā[ya]rru-kkilaṁaiyūm peṇṇa Pūṣai[tu] nā!

"In the [2]8th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, —

¹ No 734 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² The *ea* of *Sva* is not added in the right place

³ Read *apara pakshattu dafamiyūm*

⁴ No 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

⁵ No 126 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

⁶ The year might also be read as 20. What is taken for 8 would in that case be the first letter *ā* of *āvadu*

on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika "

For the 28th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulasekhara I, which began in June A D 1295, this date is perfectly regular. It corresponds to Sunday, November 27th, A D 1295, on which day, the 30th day of solar Vriśchika, the 4th *tithi* of the second lunar fortnight was current at mean sunrise, the *nakṣatra* then being Pushya by all systems.

It would be incorrect for the 20th year of that king, or for a possible 20th or 28th year of the second king of that name

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

114.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyl.¹

- 1 Sva[s]t[i] śi[i] [||*] Kō Māra[pan]ma[r-ā]na T[i]rubu[va]pachcha[ka]ravattigal
[sri]-Kulaś[ga]radēvarkku y[ā]n[du] Gvaḍu
- 2 Magara-nāya[r]ru pūrvva-pakṣhat[tu] pratha[m]aiyum Śaṇi-kkaḷa[m]ai[yum] p[er]ra
Avittattu nāl

"In the [6th] year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [first] *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara "

This date regularly corresponds, for the 6th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulasekhara II, to Saturday January 12th, A.D. 1320, which was the 17th day of Makara, on which day at mean sunrise the 1st śukla *tithi* was current, the *nakṣatra* being Dhanishthā by all systems.

It is incorrect for the 6th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulasekhara I.

JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

115.—In the Vikrama-Pāndyēśvara temple at Śōlapuram.²

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śakābdam āyirattu-iru-[u]ūrru-[nār]pattu-nālin mēl śrī-Kō=
Chchadaipa[nmar-āpa] T[i]bhuvva[na]chchakravatt[igal] sri]-Parākrama-
P[ā]ndiyadēva[rku] yāndu 8] M[ina] nāya[r]ru 28³[tēdī]yu[m]
pau[r]n[y]ai[yu]m Budan-kaḷamai[yum] perra Śittirai-u[ā]l

"After the Śaka year (one) thousand two hundred and forty-four (had passed)—in the year 8 (of the reign) of the glorious king Jātavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the full-moon *tithi*, and to the 28th solar day of the month of Mīna "

This date is regular when calculated by the Ārya siddhānta. It corresponds to Wednesday, 23rd March, A D 1323, on which day at mean sunrise—the day being the 28th of Mīna,—the full moon, or 15th śukla *tithi*, was current, it having begun 15h 35m in mean time before, and ending 7h 52m after mean sunrise.

The *nakṣatra*, however, is found to have begun, by the equal-space and Garga systems, 1h 30m after mean sunrise, though by the Brahma-siddhānta it was current at mean sunrise, having begun 2h 14m earlier. I have calculated the date by the Brahma-siddhānta, and find that that authority was *not* used by the framers of the *pañcāṅga* in current use at the

¹ No 742 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 487 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ The syllables *tēdī* are expressed by a symbol

time, for by it the day of the week, of the solar month and the number of the *tithi* all work out differently, as also does the *nakshatra* for mean sunrise of the day so established. It follows that the date was calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta, but that (1) either there was a slight error in the calculation of the *nakshatra*, or (11) the *nakshatra* for which calculation was made was the one current at the time of the action recorded in the inscription,—which action probably took place between 1h. 30m and 7h 52m after mean sunrise on the same 23rd March. The inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Jātavarman Parākrama-Pāndya whose reign began between 24th March A D 1315 and 23rd March 1316.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA-PANDYA

116 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam ¹

- 1 [S]vastī śrī [I*] Kō [M]ārapatmar-āna² Tribhuvanach[ch]akkaravattigal śrī-
³Vikrama-Pānd[ya]yadēvarku yāndu
- 2 [6]vadu [Kannī]-nāyarū pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Nāyarū-k[kī]lamaiyum
 perā At[ta][t*]tu nāl

“In the [6]th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā ”

According to the information supplied to me, doubtless from palaeographic deduction, this inscription belongs to a period later than the fifteenth century A D, and consequently to a king whose date has not yet been established, and with whose name we are not yet familiar. This may well be so, but I find it impossible, the details being given as they are here, to find a date which would correspond with those details, without examining them separately for every year, and this would entail a vast and perhaps unnecessary amount of labour ⁴

Meanwhile I would point out that, if it is permissible to suppose that this Māravarman Vikrama may be identical with the Kōṇṛinmaikondān Vikrama whose reign began (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 228) between 13th January and 27th July, A D 1401, the given date very fairly well fits in with his reign. In the 6th year of this king's reign the 15th day of Kanyā corresponded to Monday, September 13th, A.D 1406. On that day at mean sunrise the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, as also, by all systems, the *nakshatra* Hasta. The 1st śukla *tithi* had begun 11h 20m before mean sunrise, that is to say, it had been current for 11h 20m on the Sunday (September 12), and during that time the *nakshatra* Hasta had been current by all systems, it having begun by the equal-space system and that of Garga 17h 11m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 20h 35m. before the Monday sunrise. That Sunday was a particularly sacred day being the Mahālaya-amāvāsyā day, with both sun and moon in Hasta. The moon's *nakshatra* has been already stated. At the moment when the 1st śukla *tithi* began on the Sunday the sun's mean longitude was 165° 4' 27', proving him to have been in Hasta.

It may be that the same conditions existed at an altogether later date, and the years can be examined individually if a palaeographic study of the original inscription can be undertaken which would confine possibilities within a limit of, say, 50 years.

¹ No 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² The length of *rā* is written in continuation of the letter *r*

³ Read *Vikrama-Pāndyadē*.

⁴ [Mr Krishna Sastri now informs Mr Sewell that palaeographically the inscription more probably belongs to the end of the 13th century. Mr Swamikannu Pillai has accordingly calculated the date as corresponding to Sunday, August 29, A D 1288 —S K J]

MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYADEVA.

117 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō Māravarman ²Nṛbhuṇaśobhakaravattigal śri-Vira-
Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu lōvadu Dhanusu-nūyaru [a]para-
2 pakshattu ash[ta]m[ī]yum Saṇi-kkīlamayum perṛa Attattu nāl

"In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date is incorrect for the reign of the only Māravarman Vira-Pāndya as yet known to history, whose 15th year began between 13th March and 23th July, A.D. 1457. In that year the 12th Dhanus corresponded to Friday, December 9th, A.D. 1457, on which day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise. But the week-day was not Saturday, and the given *tithi* could not be connected with Saturday, while though the *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was Hasta by the Brahma-siddhānta having begun 2h 26m earlier, it was Uttara-Phalguni by the equal-space system and that of Garga.

In the previous year the given *tithi* was current at sunrise on a Monday.

The date, however, is perfectly regular for the 15th year of *Jatavarman Vira-Pandya* which year began between the 11th November A.D. 1266 and the 13th July 1267. In that 15th regnal year the 14th day of Dhanus corresponded to Saturday, December 10th A.D. 1267, and at mean sunrise on that day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, having begun 5h. 40m before mean sunrise. At that sunrise the *nakshatra* Hasta was current by all systems.

I think, therefore, that the date is correct, but that the record belongs to the reign of *Jatavarman Vira*, and not of *Māravarman Vira-Pāndyadēva*. A study of the palaeography of the record will settle this question, since of course the inscription may belong to the reign of a later sovereign, bearing the name as given, who is not yet known to us historically.³

If my identification is considered satisfactory the commencement of the reign of *Jatavarman Vira-Pāndya* is fixed as having taken place between December 11th, A.D. 1252, and July 13th, 1253.

No 25 —THE TIBETAN ALPHABET

By A. H. FRANKS

Tibetan accounts of its origin.

As regards Tibetan historiography in general, there are two distinct schools of it, viz. the Central Tibetan and the West Tibetan school. Thus, the records referring to the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet vary to a certain degree, according to the schools of writers.

Central Tibetan records.—The Petersburg *rGyal rabs gsalbar melong*, Sarat Ch. Das' *The Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary*, Togbarlowa and the Bodhimor. They all agree on the following points. King Sron btsan sgampo (c. 600—650 A.D.) sent his minister Thonmi to Hindustan, Southern Hindustan or Magadha, to learn reading and writing. He received instruction from a certain Li byin (the Ljün of the Mongols) in reading and writing, and formed the Tibetan alphabet after the Lañtsha and Vartula characters, Tibetan dBu chan after Lañtsha, and Tibetan dBu med after Vartula. He brought the Tibetan alphabet up to 30 characters,

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Read *Trībhuvana*.

³ Since the above was in print I am assured that the title *Māravarman* is quite clear in the original.

by taking 24 from the Indian alphabet, and inventing six new characters himself. For the expression of the Tibetan vowels he added four vowel signs.

The West Tibetan school states that king Sron btsan sgampo sent his minister Thonmi and 16 fellow students to Kashmir, to learn the characters. They learnt the characters from the Brahman La byin, and pandit Senge taught them the language (Sanskrit). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they formed 24 *gSal byed* and 6 *Rins*, altogether 30 characters. (The following sentence is probably a later addition) Besides, they made them to agree with the Nagari characters of Kashmir and brought them into shape.

Looking at these two, the West Tibetan record strikes me as being the more original of the two. In the first place, the country from which the alphabet was brought to Tibet, is given here as being Kashmir. This is more in accordance with the result of Dr Vogel's examination of the alphabet. Then, the passage about the forming of the Tibetan alphabet after the Indian Lañtsha and Vartula characters, which is altogether doubtful, is omitted here. The West Tibetan account makes mention of the Indian Nāgari alphabet, it is true, but this passage looks like a later interpolation.

European statements—The Central Tibetan account, which makes the Indian Lañtsha and Vartula characters the parents of the Tibetan alphabet, was accepted by a number of European and Indian writers on this subject. Thus, Jaschke in his Tibetan grammar, p 1, says that the Tibetan script was adapted from the Lañtsha form of Indian characters. Grünwedel, in his *Mythology* says, that the Tibetan script was formed after the Indian characters of those times, the so-called Vartula, and Sarat Ch. Das, in his article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet' (J A S B, Vol LVII, p 41) speaks of the 'letters which Sambhota had introduced from Magadha, and which he had shaped partly after the form of some of the Wairu characters of Magadha.'

As we now know, the Tibetan characters were directly derived from Indian Gupta. And this fact was already recognised by Csoma de Kőrös, the Nestor of Tibetan studies. He says on p 204 of his grammar: "The Tibetan alphabet itself, as has been noticed in other places, is stated to have been formed from the Dēvanagari prevalent in Central India in the seventh century. On comparing the forms of its letters with those of various ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly that at Gaya, translated by Mr (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, and that on the column at Allahabad, translated by Capt TROVER and Dr Mill, a striking similitude will be observed." When Csoma wrote this, the term of Gupta had not yet been coined for that particular kind of script. Otherwise he would have used the term.

The next student of Tibetan, who told me the same thing, was Dr F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library. In his opinion, this fact was so apparent and firmly established, that he did not think it necessary to write a line about it. And in his letter of the 7th June, 1906, he sent me a list of Gupta characters from Indo-Indo, of the year 465 A D, which agree very closely with the Tibetan characters.

The same view has been expressed more recently by Col Waddell, in his article on ancient Tibetan inscriptions from Lhasa (J R A S, 1910).

With regard to the date of the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet, and the place of its provenience, Dr Vogel has favoured me with the following note:—

Relation of Tibetan to Indian scripts.

"Besides the ordinary Tibetan character, the lamas have the so-called Lañtsha which is exclusively used for Sanskrit formulas. The local tradition (of Central Tibet) holds, that the

Lañtsha is the older of the two, and that from it the ordinary Tibetan alphabet has been derived. This has been repeated by European writers, but in view of palæographical evidence there cannot be the slightest doubt that the tradition has reversed the real facts.

"The ordinary Tibetan character is the more ancient of the two, and the Lañtsha originated several centuries later. Both were derived from Indian scripts, but quite independently of each other. The time of their origin can be approximately fixed, by a comparison with the characters used in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions.

"The Tibetan alphabet is based on the Indian script, which had developed from the Western Gupta and which used to be designated by the name of Kutila. Buhler has rejected this appellation and has proposed to call it 'acute-angled' (spitz-winklig).¹ The Tibetan has retained the characteristics of this script, acute angles at the lower ends, small wedges at the tops, and in general a very ornamental and elegant appearance. As regards the date, when it was introduced into Tibet, the following points may be noted.

"Initial *ā* is indicated by the sign for initial *a* with a curve attached to the bottom of the vertical, and not by a stroke to the right as in Nāgarī. The stroke came into general use in India from about 900 A. D. [Let me note that this curve is a subjoined small 'a' (No. 23 of the Tibetan alphabet). But another ancient form of *a* is found in inscriptions near Khalatse,

There the syllable *ōm* is written like that  —F.]

"The *ja* has the ancient type of the Gupta period (with central bar to the right) which was preserved in India till about 700 A. D. [The Śāradā has kept this form throughout].

"The *ta* closely agrees with the corresponding Śāradā letter in that the left half of the curve has disappeared. [But see some forms of the 8th century —F.]

"The *da* has no wedge at the lower end, as is found in India from about 700 A. D.

"In *pa* the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happens in India from about 700. Neither is this the case in Śāradā.

"The *pha* has retained its Gupta type, which existed in India till about 700 A. D. It differs considerably from the Śāradā *pha*.

"The *ba* resembles Śāradā *va*. The vertical, as in *pa* is not prolonged beneath. [But see one case from the 8th century —F.]

"The *ma* has a loop, but the vertical is not prolonged beneath. It is therefore different from the Śāradā letter, but closely resembles the Indian *ma* of about 700 A. D.

"The *ya* is of special importance, as it has the tripartite shape, which in India became changed into the bipartite form in the seventh century. [The most ancient Ladakhī *yē dharmā* formula from Khalatse which Dr. Vogel believes to date from c. 600 A. D., exhibits already the bipartite form of *ya*. —F.] The Śāradā has the bipartite type.

"In *la* we observe the same as in *pa* and *ba*: the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happened in India after 700 A. D. The absence of these prolongations is the more remarkable, as the Tibetan is fond of long down strokes.

¹ *Indische Palæographie*, p. 49.

"Our conclusion is, that the Tibetan is derived from the Northern Indian script, which was used in the 7th century. It is not based on the Śāradā, but has certain points of similarity with this script, which suggest that both were derived from the same Northern Indian character."

My own view is, that the Tibetan alphabet was quietly worked out in the ancient monasteries of Turkistan, the Tibetan *Li yul* and that *Sron btsan sgampo's* minister *Thonmi* reaped the fruit of such learning. My reasons are the following. The script used for Sanskrit in Turkistan, the so-called Central Asian Brāhmī, is another descendant of Indian Gupta, and closely related to the Tibetan script¹. Similar characters were used also in Ladakh for Sanskrit formulas between 600 and 800 A.D. These characters were probably the parent of the so-called Brutsha (*Bruzha*, *Daid*) form of writing². The Turkistan monasteries were the very places where any new kind of script might have been invented, as is shown by a number of new languages which were first reduced to writing in Turkistan. Then, the man who taught *Thonmi* in Kashmir, is called *Li byin* which name doubtless means, 'Blessing of the land *Li*' (blessing of *Khotan*). This name may be compared with such names as *Khri bdun yul byin*, 'Blessing of the land *Khri bdun*'. Thus, the man who taught *Thonmi* may have been a native of Turkistan. We have a single testimony of history for the early use of Indian characters in Western Tibet, in the Chinese *Sui shu*, where it is stated, that such characters were used in the Empire of the 'Eastern Women' (*Guge*), etc. The Tibetan alphabet, though probably invented earlier, may have followed the development of the North Indian alphabets, until it remained stationary from the 7th or 8th century.

Regarding the language for which the alphabet was invented, I am of opinion, that it certainly was the classical Tibetan. But we must not believe that classical Tibetan was generally spoken in the 7th century. From passages occurring in a good number of documents excavated by *Sir Aurel Stein* in the deserts of Turkistan, we know for certain that the Tibetan dialects were then already developed to an advanced degree. It is very improbable that the prefixes should have been pronounced in full in those days. There is a possibility that Tibet was in possession of an archaic sacred language from time immemorial, that it was this language which was first reduced to writing, and that this already sacred language was accepted as the language of Buddhism. In this connection the following note from *Dr Barnett's* article 'Tibetan MSS, in the Stein collection' (*J R A S*, 1903, p. 112) will be of interest. "It was probably in the reign of *Khri Sron lde btsan*, if not later, that the larger part of the Northern Canon, including the *Śālistamba Sūtra*, was translated into Tibetan. If this be so, it is singular, that a nation, which according to tradition had been hitherto buried in barbarism, should within a century and a half have accepted a new faith, assimilated its doctrines in the most scholastic form of *Mahāyāna*, and concurrently developed a culture and a political organisation, which made it a formidable rival to the older homes of civilisation on its north-western frontier. Probably tradition has exaggerated the facts, it may be that Buddhism was fairly well known in Tibet before the seventh century, and *Sron btsan sgampo* was only its Constantine. A new page of history is opening before us."

The Tibetans themselves distinguish between two types of characters in their alphabet. One type was taken directly from the Indian alphabet, whilst the other was invented by *Thonmi Sambhota*, or his forerunners. The first type is called *gSal byed* (consonants), and the second.

¹ Compare *A. H. Franke, The similarity of the Tibetan to the Kashgar Brahmi Alphabet*. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff. [The correspondence between Central Asian Gupta and Tibetan is not so great that it is necessary to assume that they have been developed in the same locality. They have both been developed from the same source, and that explains the similarity—S. K.]

² Plate III, c of *Sarat Ch. Das's* article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet', *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVII, p. 41.

Rins The order of the Tibetan alphabet is of Indian origin. But it is strange to observe, that the group of gSal byed was divided into two parts, by inserting the Rins between them. The Tibetan alphabet was arranged as follows

gSal byed	1	k	gSal byed	9	t	Rins	17	ts	gSal byed	24	y
	2	lh		10	th		18	tsh		25	r
	3	g		11	d		19	dz		26	l
	4	n		12	n		20	w		27	s
	5	ch		13	p		21	z		28	s
	6	chh		14	ph		22	z		29	h
	7	j		15	b		23	'a		30	a
	8	ñ		16	m						

As we see, there are seven Rins, instead of six. Regarding the gSal byed, Dr Vogel's note will suffice. Let me add a few words about the Rins. The sibilants *ts*, *tsh*, and *dz* are distinguished from the signs for the ordinary palatals by an additional stroke—The Tibetan *w* is a combination of *l* and *b*. We may say it is a *b* with a prefixed *l*. Also *b* with other prefixes may become a *w*, thus, the West Tibetan pronunciation of the word *dban*, power, is *wan*—The Tibetan *z* was derived directly from the most ancient form of the Tibetan *s*, by omitting the stroke on the left side of the *s*—The letter *z* is simply an inverted *j*—The Tibetan character for *'a* may have been developed from the Indian *g*. *'a* as initial is in many dialects pronounced like *gh*. But as a prefix it generally has a nasal sound. Before the nose of the Tibetan *g* was properly developed, the characters for *g* and *'a* may have looked much the same. To distinguish them, *'a* was furnished for a time with an additional stroke. Compare the accompanying tables¹

It is strange that *a*, the first letter of the Indian alphabet, should be found at the end of the Tibetan alphabet. I am rather inclined to believe that it was a later development. In many ancient documents, the Tibetan *a* looks almost exactly like a *ya*, and there are a number of words in which an original *ya* has been dropped, or been turned into a vowel-bearer *a*. Thus, *yan* becomes *'an*, *yid* becomes *id*, *yon* becomes *'on*, etc. But in its later development the letter *a* became decidedly similar to the *a* of the Tākārī script, for which reason it was derived from it by General Cunningham. As has been noticed, old forms of the *a* in Ladakh are furnished with a hook at the lower left hand corner.

Lañtsha and Vartula

Dr Vogel has favoured me with the following note on Lañtsha. "As regards the Lañtsha, it is based on the Indian script of the tenth century. A characteristic of this script, to which Buhler has drawn attention, are the small tails, slanting to the right from the ends of the verticals. These are most prominent in the Nāgarī of the 10th century. Notice also the long straight topstrokes found in Nāgarī. Notice especially the letters *gha*, *ja*, *ya* (bipartite), *ra* (with loop). See plates in Saint Ch Das' 'Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,' J A S B, Vol LVII, and Hodgson's plates in *Asiat Res*, Vol XVI (1828).

¹ There are several incomplete tables of Tibetan alphabets from the eighth or ninth century among the documents of the Stein collection. There, the arrangement of the characters is in the following respect different from the present day arrangement. The letter *b* (often pronounced *v*) is not placed between *ph* and *m*, as shown above, but between *l* and *s*. Thus it has the place of the *v* in the Sanskrit alphabet. In the same tables the letter *wa* appears as a *ba* with a superadded *'a*. This ancient alphabet consists of 29 letters only.

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET

PLATE I

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH 9TH CENTURY		C 1000—1200 A.D.			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time dbu chan	Kyelang document dbu	Ala inscriptions med	
ka	ཀ		ཀ		ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ
ki	ཀི		ཀི		ཀི	ཀི		ཀི
ku			ཀུ		ཀུ		ཀུ	ཀུ
ke								ཀེ
ko			ཀོ		ཀོ		ཀོ	ཀོ
kya	ཀྱ		ཀྱ		ཀྱ	ཀྱ	ཀྱ	ཀྱ
kra	ཀྲ							ཀྲ
kla	ཀླ		ཀླ		ཀླ			ཀླ
rka	རྐ							རྐ
ska	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ		སྐ
sky	སྑ	སྑ	སྑ	སྑ	སྑ	སྑ		སྑ
kha	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ
khi	ཁི						ཁི	ཁི
khu	ཁུ							ཁུ
khe			ཁོ		ཁོ			ཁོ
kho	ཁོ	ཁོ	ཁོ		ཁོ	ཁོ	ཁོ	ཁོ
khya	ཁྱ		ཁྱ		ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ
khra	ཁྲ	ཁྲ	ཁྲ		ཁྲ	ཁྲ	ཁྲ	ཁྲ
ga	གྱ		གྱ		གྱ	གྱ	གྱ	གྱ
gi	གྱི	གྱི	གྱི		གྱི	གྱི	གྱི	གྱི
gu	གུ		གུ		གུ			གུ
ge	གོ							གོ
go	གོ	གོ				གོ	གོ	གོ
gya	གྱ	གྱ	གྱ		གྱ	གྱ	གྱ	གྱ
gyu		གྱུ				གྱུ		གྱུ
gra	གྲ	གྲ	གྲ		གྲ		གྲ	གྲ
gru	གྲུ	གྲུ	གྲུ		གྲུ		གྲུ	གྲུ
gla			གླ		གླ			གླ
rga	རྐ					རྐ		རྐ
rgya	རྐྱ	རྐྱ	རྐྱ		རྐྱ	རྐྱ	རྐྱ	རྐྱ
sga	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ		སྐྱ			སྐྱ
sgru	སྐྲུ	སྐྲུ	སྐྲུ		སྐྲུ			སྐྲུ
na	ངྱ	ངྱ	ངྱ		ངྱ		ངྱ	ངྱ

A H Francke, fecit

Scale—Seven-tenths

S I O, Calcutta

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY		C 1000-1200 A D			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern			
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time dbu	chan	Kyelang document dbu		Ala inscriptions med	dbu	chan
ni											ཀྱི
nu	ཀྱི	ཀྱི									ཀྱི
ne					ཀྱི						ཀྱི
no	ཀྱི										ཀྱི
sna	ཀྱི		ཀྱི				ཀྱི				ཀྱི
cha	ཀྱི				ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི
chu	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི
chu	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི
che	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི
cho	ཀྱི				ཀྱི				ཀྱི		ཀྱི
leha							ཀྱི				ཀྱི
chha	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི
chhi	ཀྱི	ཀྱི	ཀྱི						ཀྱི		ཀྱི
chhu	ཀྱི	ཀྱི			ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི
chhe	ཀྱི	ཀྱི			ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི
chho					ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི
ja	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི
ji	ཀྱི	ཀྱི					ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི
ju							ཀྱི				ཀྱི
je											ཀྱི
jo	ཀྱི	ཀྱི						ཀྱི			ཀྱི
rj	ཀྱི	ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི
ña	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི				ཀྱི
ñi	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི						ཀྱི
ñu	ཀྱི										ཀྱི
ñe	ཀྱི										ཀྱི
ñio	ཀྱི										ཀྱི
rña	ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི				ཀྱི
sña	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི				ཀྱི
ta	ཀྱི	ཀྱི			ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི		ཀྱི	ཀྱི
ti	ཀྱི						ཀྱི				ཀྱི
tu			ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི		ཀྱི

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURIES				C 1000-1200 A D			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER		Modern
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa & time dbu chan	Kyelang document. dbu	Alci inscriptions med	dbu	chan	
to	ཐོ	ཐོ			ཐོ					ཐོ
to	ཐོ					ཐོ	ཐོ			ཐོ
rta	རྩོ	རྩོ		རྩོ		རྩོ				རྩོ
lta	ལྩོ			ལྩོ	ལྩོ					ལྩོ
sta	སྩོ	སྩོ	སྩོ	སྩོ	སྩོ	སྩོ	སྩོ	སྩོ		སྩོ
tra	ཐྩོ									ཐྩོ
tha	ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ		ཐྩོ		ཐྩོ
thi										ཐྩོ
thu	ཐྩོ		ཐྩོ			ཐྩོ				ཐྩོ
the			ཐྩོ							ཐྩོ
tho	ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ		ཐྩོ	ཐྩོ		ཐྩོ		ཐྩོ
da	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
di	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
du	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
de	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
do	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
dra	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
dru	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
lda	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
sda	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
na	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
ni	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
nu	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
ne	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
no	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
rna	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
sna	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
pa	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
pi	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
pu	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
pe	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
po	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ
pra	དྩོ	དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ	དྩོ		དྩོ		དྩོ

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH 9TH CENTURY		C 1000—1200 A.D			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern		
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time dbu chan	Kyelang document dbu	Alci inscriptions med		dbu	chan
pya	ཕ		ཕ	ཕ						ཕ
spa	ས		ས		ས					ས
spya	སྟ		སྟ			ཕ				སྟ
spra	སྒ		སྒ	སྒ		ཕ				སྒ
pha	ཕ		ཕ		ཕ	ཕ		ཕ		ཕ
phi	ཕུ		ཕུ		ཕུ					ཕུ
phu	ཕུ	ཕ	ཕུ	ཕ						ཕུ
phe	ཕེ		ཕེ			ཕ				ཕེ
oho	ཕོ		ཕོ							ཕོ
phya	ཕྱ		ཕྱ		ཕྱ	ཕྱ				ཕྱ
phra	ཕྱ	ཕ	ཕྱ							ཕྱ
ba	བ	བ	བ	བ	བ	བ	བ	བ	བ	བ
bi					བའི			བ		བའི
bu	བུ	བ	བུ		བུ	བུ				བུ
be	བེ	བ	བེ		བེ	བེ				བེ
bo				བོ	བོ	བོ			བོ	བོ
bya	བྱ	བྱ	བྱ	བྱ	བྱ	བྱ		བྱ		བྱ
byu	བྱུ	བྱ	བྱུ			བྱུ				བྱུ
bra	བ	བ	བ		བ	བ	བ			བ
bru							བའི			བའི
bla	བླ		བླ		བླ		བླ			བླ
sba	སྔ		སྔ			སྔ	སྔ			སྔ
sbya	སྟ		སྟ			སྟ	སྟ			སྟ
mi	མ		མ		མ	མ	མ	མ		མ
mi	མུ	མ	མུ		མུ	མུ	མུ			མུ
nu	མུ		མུ			མུ				མུ
me	མེ		མེ		མེ	མེ		མེ		མེ
mo	མོ		མོ		མོ	མོ		མོ		མོ
mya	མྱ		མྱ		མྱ	མྱ				མྱ
rma	རྩ	རྩ	རྩ							རྩ
sma	སྩ		སྩ	སྩ						སྩ
smya	སྟྩ		སྟྩ							སྟྩ
tse	ཅ		ཅ		ཅ	ཅ		ཅ		ཅ

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY				C 1000-1200 A D			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.	Modern
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time. dbu	chan	Kyelang document. dbu	Alci inscriptions med	
tsi									མི
tsu					མུ				མུ
tse									མེ
tso									མོ
rtsa	ར		ར	ཅ			ལ		ཅ
atsa	རྩཅཅཅ		རྩ		རྩ	ཅ			ཅ
tsha	ཅ	ཅ	ཅ	ཅ	ཅ		ཅ		ཅ
tshi	ཅི				ཅི		ཅི		ཅི
tshu			ཅུ		ཅུ				ཅུ
tshe	ཅེ	ཅེ	ཅེ	ཅེ	ཅེ		ཅེ		ཅེ
tsho	ཅོ		ཅོ		ཅོ				ཅོ
dza	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ	ཌ			ཌ
dzi	ཌི				ཌི		ཌི		ཌི
dru									ཌུ
dre									ཌེ
dzo									ཌོ
rdza	རྩ								རྩ
wa									འ
wi									འི
wu									འུ
we									འེ
wo									འོ
za	ཞ		ཞ	ཞ	ཞ		ཞ	ཞ	ཞ
zi	ཞི				ཞི		ཞི		ཞི
zu	ཞུ		ཞུ		ཞུ		ཞུ		ཞུ
ze	ཞེ	ཞེ	ཞེ		ཞེ		ཞེ	ཞེ	ཞེ
zo	ཞོ				ཞོ				ཞོ
za	ཞཱ	ཞཱ	ཞཱ	ཞཱ	ཞཱ		ཞཱ		ཞཱ
zi	ཞཱི	ཞཱི	ཞཱི	ཞཱི	ཞཱི		ཞཱི		ཞཱི
zu	ཞཱུ				ཞཱུ				ཞཱུ
ze	ཞཱེ				ཞཱེ				ཞཱེ
zo	ཞཱོ				ཞཱོ				ཞཱོ
zla									ཞཱོ

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY		C 1000—1200 A.D			16TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern			
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time. dbu	chan	Kyelang document. dbu		Ala inscriptions med	dbu	chan
'a	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'i	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'u	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'e	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'o	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ya	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yi	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yu	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ra	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ri	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ru	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
re	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ro	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
rla	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
la	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
li	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
lu	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
le	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
lo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
sa	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
si	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
su	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
se	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
so	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
sta	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
sla	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET

PLATE VII

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH 9TH CENTURY		C 1000—1200 A.D			16TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER		Modern.		
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time. dbu	chan	Kyelang document dbu		Alci inscriptions med	dbu
ha	ḥ		ḥ		ḥ		ḥ		ḥ	
hi										
hu	ḥ									
he										
ho										
lha	ḥḥ		ḥḥ		ḥḥ		ḥḥ		ḥḥ	
u	u	u	u		u		u		u	
i										
u							u			
e										
o										
Nasal										
abbreviations										

Our conclusion is, that the *Lañtsha* was introduced into Tibet about 1000 A D, and in this instance not from Northern, but from Eastern India. It should be remembered, that in the hill districts of Northern India, and probably in the plains of the Panjab also, *Śaradā* was used, and not *Nāgarī*. The Indian alphabet was adopted wholesale and practically unchanged, probably because it was intended to be used for Sanskrit exclusively.

This explains how the Tibetan tradition came to reverse the real facts. The *Lañtsha* used exclusively for the sacred language, was considered as the holy script, and consequently the belief arose that it was the original character from which the ordinary Tibetan alphabet was derived. The *Vartula* is only a variety of *Lañtsha*."

Although the Tibetan script has almost remained stationary since the eighth century, it has undergone a few slight changes, which help us roughly to date ancient documents and inscriptions. The following are the chief characteristics.

(1) The Stein MSS from Turkistan, and stone monuments from Lhasa, of the 8th or 9th century.—The *j* has only two parallel horizontal strokes to the right of the vertical stroke. The *t* in many cases looks as if the left half of the curve had not yet entirely disappeared. The shape of the *th* in many cases reminds us strongly of the old *Brāhmī* or Gupta form. The *b* is almost invariably of triangular shape. In one case the right vertical stroke of the *b* is prolonged below the line. The letter 'a' in many cases is furnished on the top with a short additional stroke. The *s* in many cases shows the structure of the *z* distinctly. In *s* the connecting line between the two vertical lines mostly proceeds from the lower end or the middle of the left vertical line. The *h* mostly has a horizontal position like the *h* of Central Asian *Brāhmī*.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is very often inverted, and, apparently in the older documents, joined to its consonant base. All the other vowel signs are joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant, with the exception of *ch*, *tsh*, *kh*, and *y*, where it is joined to the middle, and *l*, where it is joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is joined to the right lower end of the consonant. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the middle of the upper line of the consonant, with the exception of *s*, *m*, and *p*, where it is joined to the left upper end, and *l*, where it is occasionally joined to the right upper end. It is often of the shape of a whip.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The suffixed *d* (called *drag*) is used rather frequently, (b) subjoined *y* appears regularly below *m* when the latter is followed by *i* or *e*, (c) the articles *pho* and *pha* instead of *po* and *pa* are found occasionally, and also *chhn* instead of *chin* in the supine, *chhn* instead of *chi* as interrogative pronoun, (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a', (e) there are a good number of cases, where the final consonant of a syllable is written below the first consonant, (f) the euphonic laws are somewhat different from those of the present day, (g) aspirated consonants suffer a *g*, *d*, or *b* prefix to be placed before them (*gchhig*, *one*, etc).

(2) Documents of the 11th and 12th centuries, from Lahoul and Spiti.—The *b* is of quadrangular form, and all the consonants have their present beautiful shape.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is no longer inverted (with the exception of a few cases in *dBu med*), nor is it joined to its consonant base. The *o* vowel sign shows a tendency to be joined to the right upper end of its consonant base, but occasionally changes about, especially in the case of *s*. In *p* and *m* it is still joined to the left upper end. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the left upper end of the consonant base in the case of *s*, *m*, and *p* (probably). In most other cases it shows a tendency to being joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is always joined to the right lower end of its consonant base. In *dBu med*, the *u* vowel sign alone is joined to its consonant base.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The *drag* is still occasionally found, (b) the *na* is mostly furnished with a subjoined *y*, when placed before *i* and *e*, (c) the articles *pha* and *pha*, the supine in *chhin*, and the pronoun *chhi* have disappeared, (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are still occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a', (e) the final consonant of a syllable is no longer written below the first consonant, (f) aspirated consonants do not any more suffer a *g*, *d*, or *b* prefix to be placed before them, (g) abbreviations of words appear, (h) inverted dental letters are used to express Sanskrit cerebrals (A few have already been used in the eighth or ninth century)

Sarat Ch Das attributes the work of increasing the Tibetan alphabet from 30 to 50 characters to Śānta Rakṣita of the 8th century, palaeographical evidence may be adduced to prove this. A few inverted dental letters occur in the documents of the Stein collection. Dr Vogel makes the following note on these new characters: "Another point is noteworthy. There are several letters which the Tibetan has not directly borrowed from India, but which are due to a secondary development in Tibet itself. They are the following, (a) Initials *ri*, *ri*, *ji*, and *li* derived from the signs for *r* and *l* with vowel marks. The long vowels have the 'a' attached beneath, (b) Medial aspirate *gha*, *jha*, *dha* and *bha* formed of the signs for *ga*, *ja*, *da*, and *ba* with addition of subscribed *ha*, (c) cerebrals *ja*, *tha*, *da*, and *na* formed by reversing the signs for the dentals *ta*, *tha*, *da*, and *na*, (d) cerebral sibilant *sha* formed by reversing the sign for the palatal sibilant *śa*."

(3) Stone inscriptions of the 15th and 16th century from Spiti, etc.—All the characters have their present form.

Vowel signs.—With the exception of the *i* vowel sign, the vowel signs are still joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the right upper end of the consonant base. This is particularly evident in the case of *p*, *m*, *l*, and *s*. The same may be said of the *e* vowel sign.

Other characteristic marks.—The *drag*, the *y* between *m* and *i* or *e*, and all the other characteristics of the ancient orthography have disappeared. I believe that with Buxton's edition of the great encyclopædias (1310 A.D.) the last remnants of the ancient orthography disappeared. I do not believe that there are any complete copies extant of the encyclopædias which exhibit the ancient orthography. According to Sarat Ch Das, it was Tsonkhapa (c. 1400 A.D.) who introduced the new orthography.

(4) Modern Tibetan Vowel signs.—In *dBu chan*, none of the vowel signs is necessarily joined to its consonant base. In *dBu med*, only the *u* vowel sign may be joined to it. But the vowel signs are often found joined to their consonant bases, as was the case formerly.

NO 26—LIST OF MINISTERS' NAMES FOUND IN THE TIBETAN INSCRIPTION IN FRONT OF THE TA-CHAO-SSU-TEMPLE (JO-KHANG) IN LHASA, 822 A.D.

By A. H. FRANKER, Ph.D.

On p. 89 of Vol. X of the *Epigraphia Indica* I published my reading of the text and a translation of the Tibetan part of the Tibeto-Chinese stone-inscription in front of the Ta-chao-ssu Temple (Jo-Khang) in Lhasa. My reading of the Tibetan text was based on a rubbing of the inscription reproduced in Bushell's article "The Early History of Tibet"¹. My article treated only of the principal part of the inscription and did not take into account the list of names of Tibetan ministers which was inscribed on the same stone monument. That list is found reproduced on a second plate appended to Bushell's article. This reproduction is also

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, 1880, pp. 535 ff.

No. 6.

Text (blon-dmag)

Translation (crowd of minister?) . .

No 7

Text. (blon rgyal)

Translation (royal minister?)
(or minister and king?)

No. 8.

Indistinct

No 9

Text chhab-srid .
Khod-ne-stan,

Translation government . . .
Khod-ne-stan

The name *Khod ne stan* has not yet been found in the Stein collection

No 10

Text chhab-srid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po-
zan-khri-bzer-
lha-mthon

Translation The great minister of the gov-
ernment, uncle Khri-bzer-lha-
mthon

NOTES The word *zan* 'uncle,' in connect on with names of ministers is repeatedly found among the Stein relics. It may be compared to the title *agu*, 'uncle,' of the heroes of the Kesar Saga. The name *Khri bzer* is probably the personal name, and *lHa mthon* (god seer) may be a clan name.

The name *Khri bzer* is found in the following documents of the Stein collection: M Tagh, aV, 0015, aIV, 00122, bI, 0092, MI, 1, 23, xvi, 1, 3, xxviii, 0016, etc.

The name *lHa-mthon* has been found only once, viz. in M Tagh, aI, 0012.

No 11

Text chhab srid-kyi-blon-po chhen-po-
blon-rgyal-bzan-
'adus-(r)kan

Translation The great minister of the
government, minister rGyal-bzan-
'adus-(r)kan

NOTES Here again, as in all the following cases, I take the first name as the personal name, and the second as the clan name.

The name *rGyal bzán* occurs in MI, xiv, 108g, and xiv, 0016 of the Stein relics. The name *'aDus rkan* has not yet been found.

No 12

Text: Bod-chhen-poi-blon po . . . l-gyi-
thabs-dan-
myin-rus.

Translation Titles, names, and clan-
names of the . . . ministers
of great Tibet

No 13

Text: Nan-blom-mchhams-zan-rgyal-
bzer-khod-ne-
brtsan

Translation The perfect minister of
Inner Affairs, uncle rGyal-bzer-
khod-ne-brtsan.

NOTES *mchhams* is probably connected with *'achhams pa*, to be full, perfect.

The name *rGyal-bzer* occurs in the following documents of the Stein collection: M Tagh, aIV, 00122, bI, 0092, bI, 0095, bI, 00104, MI, xxx, 001, xlii, 002. In No. M Tagh, bI, 0095, we find the name *rGyal-bzer-legs brtsan*.

The name *Khod ne* has not yet been discovered in the Stein collection.

No 14

Text: Phyi-blön-bkā-la-gtogs-pa-
chog-ro-
blön-btsan-bzer-lha-gon-

Translation - The minister of Chog-ro, who
is under the command of the minister
of Outer Affairs, bTsan-bzer-lha-
gon

NOTES *Chog ro* is the well known name of a province

The name *bTsan bzer* is found in the following of Sir Aurel Stein relics M Tagh, aII, 0057, MI, xxvii, 19 —
The name *lHa gon* occurs in MI, xiv, 58 in the following connections 'O nas *lha gon* and *dBan* : *lha-*
gon

No 15

Text . . . mekhims-zan-brtan-
bzer-stag-
tsab(tsan?)

Translation The perfect , uncle
brTan-bzer-stag-(tsab).

NOTES The name *brTan bzer* has not yet been found in the Stein's relics

No 16

Text mNan-pon(Kha-ba-sor-slog-
gi-bla 'abal)-blön-
Klu-bzan-myes-rma

Translation The lord of curses (magician)
the superior of Kha-ba-sor-(slog?),
minister Klu-bzan-myes-rma

NOTES *Pon*, instead of *dpon*, master, several syllables between *Khab* and 'abal' are indistinct *Kha ba so*
are mentioned as officials in the account of *gNya khri btsan-po* in the *La dtags rgyal-rabs*

For the name *Klu-bzan* see No 17 A name similar to *myes rma* is found in No MI, xxiv, 0034 of Sir Aurel
Stein's relics, in the name *Lan khrug sme-rma* Let me add that several ancient names contain the syllable
myes as well as *rma* as one of their parts in the Stein collection

No 17.

Text. bKai-phr(i)n-blön- . . . n-ka-
blön stag-bzer-(hab?)-
(nyen)

Translation The minister who announ-
ces the orders, . . . minister sTag-
bzer-(hab-nyen?)

NOTES The name *sTag bzer* is found in the following of the Stein documents MI xxvii, 19, xxviii, 5,
xxviii, 0038, 0041, xlii, 2, xvi, 3 — In No MI xvi, 19, the name *sTag bzer legs kon* is found

No. 18

Text. rTsis-ba-chhen-po- . . . blön-
stag-
gzigs

Translation The great accountant,
. minister sTag-gzigs

NOTES *rTsis-ba*, instead of ordinary *rTsis-pa* The name *sTag-gzigs* has not yet been found in
the Stein relics

No 19.

Text. Phyi-blön . . . zan-klu-bzan

Translation The minister of Outer Affairs,
. uncle Klu-bzan,

NOTES The name *Klu-bzan* is found in the following of the Stein documents M Tagh, aII, 0078, MI,
xxvii, 19

No 20

Text. 'Zal-che-ba-chhen-po-zal-
blön-rgyal . .

Translation The great judge, the minister
of judgment, rGyal . . .

NOTES *che ba* instead of ordinary *chhe pa*. Unfortunately, the name of the minister has not been preserved
in full, there are many names, beginning with *rgyal*, occurring in the Stein relics

GENERAL NOTE Let me add that in the ancient documents of Sir Aurel Stein's collection, we generally find
only the personal names of the ancient ministers, preceded by their titles It is only in rarer cases that we find the
personal names and clan names combined My explanation of this fact would be that in all those cases, where the
personal name alone is given, we may be sure that the document deals with the 'famous' minister, whose personal
name and clan-name are both found on the Mu-tsung monument But there were certain officials, whose personal
names were in agreement with those of one or other of the famous ministers, but whose clan name differed from
theirs It is only in such cases, as I believe, that the documents of the Stein collection give both names, so as
not to leave any doubt with regard to the identity of the person in question

In conclusion let me say that up to this I have examined more than six hundred of Sir Aurel Stein's relics.

No 27—TIWARKHED PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA, SAKA 553

By RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B A

Tiwarkhēd is a small village on the south bank of the Ambhōrā-nadi, in the Multāi tahsil of the Bētūl District in the Central Provinces. It is 14 miles south of the Multāi town which is 29 miles south-east of Badnūr, the head-quarters of Bētūl District. The village has no ancient remains except a mud fort built as a protection from the Pindārī free-booters during the declining period of the Nāgpur Bhonslā rulers. This *garhī*, as it is called, is now dug up in several places, and the site occupied by the villagers. Within its premises Nandgiri Gosain, a resident of Tiwarkhēd, built a new house about 40 years ago. While digging for the foundations he came upon a set of copper-plates, but not knowing what they were, he stowed them away in his lumber room, where they continued to enjoy the same obscurity as they had done underground, until Mr Balwant Singh, Sub-Inspector of Police, Multāi Station house, visited the village in the beginning of the year 1910, when Bāpūji Gosain (son of Nandgiri now dead) observing that the plates contained some curious writing presented them to him for decipherment. Mr Balwant Singh treated the plates with nitric acid to remove the accretions of centuries and then kindly forwarded them to me. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that the Multāi plates referring to the same line of kings were also found in the custody of a Gosain.¹

Our plates are two in number, each measuring $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. They are substantial, being $\frac{1}{8}''$ thick. Each plate is inscribed on one side only, the inscribed surface giving an appearance of a depression owing to the edges having been made slightly thicker. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation except that the left top corner of the first plate and the left bottom corner of the second one are a little bit corroded, still the lettering is pretty clear. The ring which was uncut when it reached my hands has a seal on a flattened out surface. It is oval in shape and bears the stamp of a figure which is now indistinguishable, but the legend *śrī-Yuddhīśura* underneath, is fairly distinct. The record contains 16 lines, each plate bearing 8 lines. Under the eighth line the word *svahastēna* is inscribed, but this word occurs in its proper place in line 11. On the margin of the second plate there appear to be 3 figures and 2 letters (probably after-additions) engraved one under the other, which I read as 553 *shāra*,² meaning apparently 'the year 553'.

The characters of the record belong to the northern class of alphabets. The engraving is well done throughout. The average size of letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The orthographical peculiarities worth notice are —(1) the doubling of the letter with a *rēpha* on, as in *visīrnnē* (l 1 f), but this is not uniform as in *-Durgarājā* (l 2) *ga* has not been doubled, (2) the two different ways in which the vowel sign of *ē* has been expressed as in *Rāshtrakūtānvayē* (l 1 f) of which the *ē* of *yē* is formed by attaching the sign to the letter instead of superscribing it as in *grāmē* (l 9), (3) the letter *t* has been doubled before *r* in *sagōttrāya* (l 6) and *puttrāya* (l 7) and *dh* before *y* in *Māddhyandina*, l 7, (4) the sign of *ā* attached to the letters *j* and *i* is represented by an upward stroke, instead of a downward one, as in *jā* of *-Durgarājā* (l 2) and in *tā* of *Munḍibhattāya* (l 7), (5) *b* is not distinguished from *v* as in *-vrahmanya* (l 5). Final form of *t* occurs in line 2.

The language is Sanskrit, but the record seems to have been composed by a clerk who did not properly remember the *ślōkas* in praise of the dynasty mentioned in the plates. He therefore introduced prose, maintaining the sense, if not the original wording which, if correctly put in, would have turned the first 6 lines into verse. At present, they are a mixture of verse and prose.

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII p. 230, *et seq*.

² This word seems to have some connection with the Hindi word *sāla* 'year,' unless it is a mistake for *Śāla*. [As will be seen from the accompanying photo lithograph the first two figures look very much like the English numeral 5. *Shāra* is probably meant for *Shāka* —V V.]

Commencing with *uśīrnnā* in line 1 to *-Durgarājā(jō) nripah* in line 2 there is the first half of a *Śārdūlatikṛidita* verse, the other half of which may be completed from the Multāi plates, where it is given in full¹. Again in line 4 if we find a quarter of the same kind of verse beginning with *dānārdrīkṛita* and ending with *duipēndrāyitam*. In line 6 we again find a quarter of a *Vasantatilaka* verse beginning with *sṛī Nannarāja* and ending with *-chand[r*]ah*. All the rest is prose except a benedictive quotation in line 12. It is again the first half of a verse incorrectly quoted, other words of similar meaning having been inserted for words forgotten, thereby affecting the metre. It appears to me that the record being a business matter, no great attention was paid to formal portions which were copied from memory in the office of the record-keeper, wherewith synonymous words were sometimes substituted for the original ones without any consideration for metre².

The inscription refers itself to the Rāshtrakūta dynasty of which four kings are mentioned. It records a grant of land in the villages *Tivērēkhēta* and *Ghūrikhētā* situated on the south bank of the *Amvēnaraka-nadī*, to one *Mundibhatta*, son of *Svāmibhatta*, a *Mādhyandina Brāhmaṇa* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, by king *Nannarāja*³ (*Nandarāja* ?). The grant was made on two occasions, viz. on the *Mahākārttikī* day and on a solar-eclipse, the latter at the *Kapilā-tīrtha*. Apparently the Rāja went to bathe there and made the gift, as did his two principal officers, *Gōvinda* in charge of religious affairs and *Narasimha* (*Narasimha*) the minister for peace and war, who gave away 10 *navarānas* (of land) of *Karañjamalaya* on the eastern bank of the *Sārasavāhalā* and the *Darbhavāhalā*. The charter was afterwards issued from *Achalapura* and is dated in the Śaka year 553 increased by eight months, i.e. in the month of *Kārttika* as specified in the text. The date corresponds to October 631 A.D.

It does not, however, appear that there was a solar-eclipse in the month of *Kārttika*. Mr. Gōkal Prasād Īśwardās (now Tahsildār of Hōshingābād) informs me that there was a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 553 on the *amāvāsya* of *Māgha* (27th January, 632 A.D.) i.e. after our charter was given away. But the solar-eclipse referred to must have occurred prior to the date of the issue of the charter. In the Śaka year 553 current, there were two eclipses, a total one in the month of *Śravana* on the 13th August 630 A.D. and an annular one in the month of *Māgha* on 7th February 631 A.D. The total eclipse having occurred at night was not visible, but the annular one was, as it occurred 17 minutes after sunrise. The former took place on a Monday and the latter on a Thursday. Thus while a grant made on an *amāvāsya* falling on Monday (*sōmaratī*) coupled with a total eclipse would be more meritorious than that made on a Thursday with an annular eclipse, it is possible that the visibility of the latter may have counterbalanced other considerations and invested it with greater importance. So the greater likelihood is that the grant was made on the 7th February 631 A.D. And this date falls much nearer the date of the issue of the charter than the other.

With regard to the history of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, this record does not throw any additional light on what is known from the Multāi plates. It gives the same information (in rather a vague form on account of its defective composition) as the Multāi record, mentioning *Durgarāja* as the original ancestor, whose son was *Gōvindarāja*, from whom was born *Svāmīkarāja*, whose son was *Nannarāja* (*Nandarāja*), whose second name *Yuddhāsura* occurs on the seal. Our charter is, however, very important from one point of view. In the Multāi plates no less than five villages are mentioned, viz. the village granted with four others which bounded it on its

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234.

² [The text is so full of mistakes that the exact sense of the original is not apparent in several cases. For instance the part played by *Samragana* (if it has to be taken as a proper name) in line 9, is obscure. No attempt is therefore made to correct the text — V. V.]

³ In the Multāi plates the name of the king is *Nandarāja*. The name *Nanna* in the Rāshtrakūta family is also known from later times. A grant of *Śankaragana*, the son of *Nanna*, the son of *Kakkarāja*, dated Śaka 715, has been published above, Vol. IX, pp. 193 ff.

four sides. None of these has been as yet identified. Dr Fleet writing in 1889 remarked — ‘Mr Ommanney reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multāi District nor could he discover any at all like them at Hōshangābād or Jabalpur. It is therefore not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long a time. All that can be said on this point is that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India, or of the Central Provinces.¹ On 30th July 1909 Dr Fleet wrote to me, ‘It would be a valuable bit of work if you can locate this record. It is important to decide by identification of places, what locality it does belong to, because it has a bearing on three leading matters — (a) the origin of that branch of the Rāshtrakūtas which had the Garuḍa crest, (b) the northern or southern use of the Śaka era, (c) the origin of that particular type of Nāgarī. It is almost impossible that all these 5 villages should have ceased to exist. But though some years ago I closely examined many sheets of the Indian Atlas I could not locate them. All the probabilities are that this record belongs to the south of the Narbadā. I have practically satisfied myself that the places do not exist in Gujārāt and Khāndēsh.’ Although it has not been possible for me to locate with anything like certainty the villages of the Multāi plates, our present charter has come to light as if to solve the difficulty which antiquarians have felt for the last twenty years or for the matter of that for three quarters of a century calculating from the date of the first discovery of the Multāi plates. The fact of the Rāshtrakūta domination on the Multāi plateau is now once for all fully established inasmuch as our plates were found in the very village where Nannarāja granted lands to Mundibhatta. Tivērēkhēta of the inscription is undoubtedly the present Tiwarkhēd and the Ambvēviara-ka-nadī the Ambhōrā nadī on whose south bank the present village is still situated. As noted above, the engraver has made no difference between *b* and *v*. The real name of the river appears to have been Ambvēviara, *ka* being a pedantic addition to make it sound like Sanskrit. According to the record Ghūikhēta should also be somewhere near the Ambhōrā-nadī, but it is untraceable now. There is one Ghūikhēd, about 40 miles south of Tiwarkhēd in the Chāndūr tāluk of the Amraoti District of Berār, but I do not find the river running to it. About 55 miles from Tiwarkhēd lies the town of Ellichpur (commonly pronounced Elachpur or Alachpur) which I take to be the corrupted form of Achalapura from whence our charter purports to have been issued. Ellichpur is a well known historical² place and was the headquarters of a district until 1905. The transposition of letters *cha* and *la* in *Achalapura* to *Alachapura* is of the same category which changed the old name of Benares from *Vānārasi* to *Vārānasi*³. Even at the present day we often hear *Lakhnau* pronounced as *Nakhlau* and *matlab* as *matbal*. In the Nirvāna-kānda of a Prākṛit work of the Jains there is mention of Achalapura as follows —

*Achhalapuravaranyadē isānaribhāya-Mēdhagirisiharē
āhutthayakōdīo nrvānagayā namō tēsam*

‘On the summit of Mēdhagiri near the good town of Achhalapura towards north-east (of it) three and a half crores (of saints) obtained salvation. I bow down to them.’

This Mēdhagiri or Mendhagiri is now better known as Muktagiri,⁴ a hillock on which several Jain temples are constructed, which contain idols dated in the 14th century A.D. It is only

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-231.

² Chammak, the old Chammānka, which was granted by a Vākātaka king is only 6 miles from Ellichpur, see *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 236.

³ In the Nirvāna kānda, a manuscript preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona, the name of Benares appears as *Vānārasi*, whereas latterly elsewhere we have it as *Vārānasi*.

A modern recorded example of similar transposition may be seen in Mr R. Hughes Buller's Census Report of Baluchistan for 1901 where on p. 99 he says “The Mengāls, Bizānjōs and Zahris, the three largest of the Brahui tribes are termed *Jadgāl* or *Jagdāl*.”

⁴ See *Retul District Gazetteer* (1907), p. 249.

[illegible][illegible]

6 miles north-east of Ellichpur and is classed as a *Siddha-kshētra* by the Jainas. It is visited by the pilgrims of that community from all parts of India. In the *Śiēmikā-Purāna*¹ of the Jainas the name of the town again appears without transposition of letters. These references not only prove the identity but indicate that Ellichpur was an important place in olden days and that the Rāshtrakūtas had made it the head-quarters of a province if not their capital which is believed to have been at Malkhed further south. The old name Achalapura was apparently given to Ellichpur with a certain meaning, as the latter is situated just at the foot of the Satpura Hills (*achala*). With regard to other places mentioned in the inscription, the *Sārasavāhalā* and *Darbhavāhalā* appear to have been streamlets which I have been unable to identify. It is not clear what *Karañjamalaya* was. It may have been a village, in which case it may be identified with one of the numerous *Kāranjas* in Berār. If it was a forest of *karañja* or *lañja* trees (*Pongamia glabra*) or a field having *karañja* trees, it would now be very difficult to identify with certainty even if we came upon a forest or field having these trees.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Om² [||*] Svasty=Acha[la]pur[ā]d=[||*]Vist[i]nnā sthiti-pālan-āpti-yāsasi si-
Rāshtrakū-
- 2 t-ānrayē ramyē lshīra-middhū(dhā)v=iv=ēndui=abhavat śri-Durgarājā(jō) nripah
tasyavātta-³
- 3 tmaja[h*] śri-Gōvīndarājah māsī⁴ tasy-ātmaiah ātman(n)y=āhita-śakt[i]-
sāmpāna⁵-pra-
- 4 kriti-mandala-sri-Svāmīkarāja[s=ta*]sya tanayō dānārdrikṛita-pāna(n)nā pratidi-
- 5 nam yūna dvīpēndrayitam parama-vra(bra)hmanya[h*] prāpta-pañcha-
mahāśa-
- 6 v(b)da[h*] śri-Nannarāja itī sarvva narēndra-chand[r*]ah Bhāradvāja-sagōtrā-
- 7 ya Mādhyandina-Svāmibhāta⁶-puttrāya Mundibhattāya Tivērēkhēta
- 8 Amvēvīaraka-[na*]di-dakshina-tatē pañchāśa Māhakārttikī⁷ (svahastēna⁸)

Second Plate

- 9 śri-Samraganēnā⁹ Mandibhattasya Ghūkhēta¹⁰-grāmē A[mvē]-
- 10 via[ra*]ka-nadi-dakshinē tatē pañchāśa ādityōparāgē
- 11 Kapilā-ti[rthē] svahasta(stē)na pratipādītam [||*] Uktañ=cha Vēda-Vyā-
- 12 sēna [||*] Shashta samvachchhara¹¹-sahasānāi svargē tūsta bhūmida¹²
- 13 Sārasavāhalā-pūrvvō tatē Karañjamalaya Darbhavā-
- 14 halā-pūrvva-tatē dāśa-nivarttanāni ddharmamahāśa¹³ Gōvī-

¹ [*Śiēmikāpurāna* is the name of a work by Subhachandra preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona
—V V]

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read *tasy-arv-a-*

⁴ Read *āsī*

⁵ Read *-sāmpāna-*

⁶ Read *-bhāta-*

⁷ Probably *Māhākārttikyām*

⁸ The word *svahastēna* has been added under the line and probably applies to the correction which is made at the end of this line. The syllables *māhakārttikī* are entered over an erasure.

⁹ Probably *Samkaraganēna*

¹⁰ [On the impression and on the plate the reading seems to be °*khētha*° —V V]

¹¹ Read *shashṭim varsha*

¹² Read *tishṭhatī bhūmida*

¹³ Read *dharmaśa* or *dharmaśakṣa*

15 nda-mahāsandhivigraha-Narasimgha¹-sahitā² || Śaka kāl-samvachchha(tsa)ra-

16 śatāshu pa[m]cha[su*] [tra]ya[h*]-pamchāsa-varshādhuśhu ashtamaśābhyatīśhu³

TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! From Achalapura In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious Rāshtra-kūta lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability there was (born) a king, the illustrious Durgarāja, just as in the (broad and charming) ocean of milk (was produced the moon) His own son was the illustrious Gōvindarāja His son was the illustrious Svāmīkarāja, possessed of a host of subjects acquired by self-centred prowess His son, who resembles the lord of elephants in having his hand moistened (with the water poured) at donations (*dāna*) while the elephant has the trunk wet with the ruddy juice (*dāna*),⁴ (is) called the illustrious Nannarāja, who is most kind to the Brāhmanas, who has attained the five great sounds and who is the moon amongst all the kings

To Mundibhatta son of Svāmibhatta, of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra (and) the Mādhyandina- (śākhā), fifty (*nīrtartanas*⁵ of land) in Tivērēkhēta (village) on the south bank of the Amvēnaraka river (were given) through the illustrious Śam[ka]ragana on the Mahākārttikī (day) To (the same) Mundibhatta were given by our own hand at the Kapilā-tīrth, a, fifty (*nīrtartanas* of land) in the Ghūkhēta village on the south bank of the Amvēnaraka river, on (the occasion of) a solar eclipse

And it has been said by (Vyāsa) the arranger of the Vedas —The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years

Ten *nīrtartanas* (of land) on the east bank of Sārasavāhalā (and) on the east bank of Darbhavāhalā of Karañjamalaya (were given) (perhaps to the same donee) jointly by the Superintendent of religious affairs (*dharmaśāsa*) Gōvinda and the Great Minister for peace and war (*mahāsandhivigraha*) Narasimha

In five centuries of years increased by fifty-three years (and) also increased by eight months of the Śaka era.

¹ Read -Narasimha

² Read -sahita-

³ Read -māsābhyatīśhu

⁴ I am indebted to Mr Venkayya for drawing my attention to the pun on the word *dāna* in this sentence

⁵ *Nīrtartana* is a land-measure which the dictionaries give as equivalent to 20 rods. The word occurs in a commentary on *śloka* 21, chapter 140 of the Śāntiparvan in the Mahābhārata *gah kirāṭah śalam nīrtartanāni śākūnēh karṣati tēna viśhīrūpēna rājakiyam api nīrtartaradafalar karṣanīyam sriyatad rakṣariyam cha*. From enquiries which I personally made in Berar, I came across some old men both of the literate and the illiterate class who told me that in their younger days, about 50 years ago, a land measure called *retana* equal to 9 *biglas* was in use, and that 13 *retanas* made a *chāhur* which is still in use and is equal to 120 *biglas*. In Berar a *bigla* is 2,670 sq yds. A *retana* would, therefore, be equal to 2,670 × 9 or 24,030 sq yds., a little less than 5 acres or 20 rods which contain 24,200 sq yds. Taken with reference to a *chāhur* of 120 *biglas* a *retana* would be equal to $9\frac{2}{3}$ *biglas* or 24,645 sq yds., i.e. slightly in excess of 5 acres. In popular calculations such complex fractions as $\frac{2}{3}$ are often neglected and it seems to me that the real value of a *retana* was somewhere midway between 9 and $9\frac{2}{3}$ *biglas* and thus would be 5 acres or 20 rods. I therefore feel no hesitation in holding that *retana* is a corruption of the old *nīrtartana*. In the *sannads* in possession of the Berar jagirdars *retana* occurs as a land measure. That the use of the *retana* measure was much prevalent in the Deccan may be inferred from the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I of A.D. 674 (about the same period as our grant), above, Vol. X, pp. 102 to 105.

No 28—THE PARIKUD PLATES OF MADHYAMARAJADEVA,

By R. D. BANERJEE, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

The plates bearing the subjoined inscription were sent in 1906 to the late Dr. Theodor Bloch, then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, by Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S., Magistrate of the Puri District of Bengal. They were handed over to me by Dr. Bloch in 1908 for decipherment. I finished my article early in 1909 and gave the paper to Dr. Bloch, but he fell ill after looking through the transcript of the first plate and never recovered sufficiently so as to be able to finish it. The plates were not presented to the Indian Museum and consequently there is no record of them in that office. I had only heard from Dr. Bloch that they had come from Pārikud in the Puri District.¹ When I was touring in that district for collecting specimens for the Indian Museum, in September 1910, I learnt from Mr. J. Clarke, I.C.S., the then Magistrate, that the plates belonged to the Rāja of Pārikud who had no intention of presenting them to the Museum. The plates will, accordingly, be sent back to the Rāja after publication. I am obliged to Mr. Clarke for the following information about the plates. The name of the present owner is Śrī-Gaurichandra-Mānasinha Harichandana Mardarāja Bhāmaravara Rāja, Rāja Bahādur of Pārikud. The Rāja is not able to trace which of his ancestors first secured the plates and from what source they were received, nor is he able to state the locality in which they were discovered. The plates used to be preserved in his record room. Mr. Clarke kindly procured for me the genealogical tree of the Pārikud family, but I find that none of the kings mentioned in the subjoined inscription could be traced in the copy sent to me, though I heard from Mr. Clarke that the Rājas of Pārikud claim to have been descended from the kings mentioned in the copper-plate record.

The inscription is incised on three thin plates of copper, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'$ and held together by a circular ring of the same metal whose diameter is roughly $3\frac{1}{2}'$. To this ring was affixed a seal of some other metal, presumably brass (?), of which, however, there remains only a mutilated part and the solid base in which the edges of the ring are fixed. The last of the plates is broken in the right upper corner, while the first shows a slit from the ring-hole to the edge, as in the case of the Bugnda plates of Mādhavarman.² This record which has been engraved on the second side of the first plate, and on both sides of the other two plates has already appeared in the *Vaṅgiya-Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*.³ It refers itself to the reign of Madhyamarājadeva of the Śailōdbhava family who ruled in the Kōṅgōda-mandala. The language of the grant is very incorrect Sanskrit and the record has been very carelessly incised. Doubling of consonants has been avoided, and almost invariably letters are left out at the ends of words. There is one incorrectly spelt word in the inscription, which is quite unintelligible to me. It is *śśrakē* in l. 49.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village in the Katakabhukti-vishaya to twelve Brāhmanas, viz. Śikṣvāmi, Gōvardhanasvāmi, Vandhusvāmi, Kṛāṇḍasvāmi, Nārāyanasvāmi, Mādhavasvāmi, Bharaṇisvāmi, Durgasvāmi, Āḍḍasvāmi, Rāḍḍasvāmi, Svāmi and Sukhasvāmi.

¹ [It may be noted that these plates were sent to the office of the Assistant Archaeologist, Eastern Circle, Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1906 by Mr. D. P. Bhandarkar while the latter was the acting Archaeologist. The plates were returned to Mr. Bhandarkar with a set of ink impressions for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vide Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Appendix A, No. 8). The accompanying photo-lithographic plate is prepared from the impressions supplied by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent's office (Madras).—V. V.]

² Above, Volume III, p. 41 f.

³ Volume XVI, p. 193.

The inscription supplies the new word *timmira* which is not found in published copper-plates, in the phrase *diādasa-timmira-pramāna*, l 44 Perhaps "*timmira*" is the correct spelling. The new verses of the inscription, which are not found in the Buguda plates, contain nothing of importance. I could only infer from them that the kingdom of Madhyamarāja contained all sorts of hermits (vv 12 and 13). There is no mention of the doings of the king. We may gather, however, that he was a man of great strength (v 17), a capable archer comparable to the son of Prithā (i.e. Arjuna) (v 16) and an ardent devotee of Śiva (vv 14 and 15). The inscription is dated twice: 1st, in the regnal year twenty-six: *shad-vinśatimē vijaya-vardhamāna-rājyē* (l 45) and again at the end, in an era which has not been specified.¹ The letters on the third plate have suffered very much from corrosion and the numerals of the date have become very indistinct. I find on prolonged examination that the numerals are 80, 8, but Messrs Venkayya and Krishna Sastri to whom the paper was first submitted are of opinion that nothing whatever can be discovered. If my reading of the date be correct, I would refer it to the Harsha era, though no instance of the use of this era has so far been found in Orissa.² If my views be correct, the date of the grant would be $88 + 606 = 694$ A D.

Up to this date three inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of the Kōngōda-maṇḍala have been published — The Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman,³ (2) the Ganjam plates of the time of Śasānkarāja,⁴ and (3) the Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja.⁵

The first part of the inscription on the Pārikud plates is in verse, like that of the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman, and the first nine verses of both are identical. The tenth verse of the Buguda grant is not to be found in this record and the eleventh verse of that record appears as the tenth of the Pārikud inscription. The Buguda grant furnishes the genealogy of the family from Raṇabhīta to Sainyabhīta, while the Pārikud grant carries the genealogy two generations further.

The following tables show the genealogy according to the Buguda and Pārikud grants. —

<i>Buguda plates</i>	<i>Pārikud plates</i>
Śailōdbhava (in his family)	Śailōdbhava (in his family)
↓	↓
Raṇabhīta	Raṇabhīta
↓	↓
Sainyabhīta I. (in his family)	Sainyabhīta I (in his family)
↓	↓
Yaśōbhīta	Yaśōbhīta I
↓	↓
Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta II	Sainyabhīta II
	↓
	Yaśōbhīta II
	↓
	Madhyamarāja

¹ [From the accompanying photo lithographic plate it will be clear that the date is here very badly damaged. What is seen is a circle which may denote 20. It is just possible that the regnal year of the king is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *samvatsarē* — V V.]

² It may have been imported from Northern India as was the Gupta era in the case of the date of the Ganjam plates of the time of Śasānka, above Vol VI, p 143. [Palaeography is hardly in favour of this early date. Professor Kielhorn thought that the Buguda plates, which are earlier, may belong to the 10th century; see above, Vol. VII, p 102 — S K.]

³ Above, Vol III, pp 41 ff and Vol VII, pp 100 ff. and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol VI, pp 143 ff.

⁵ J. A S B, Vol LXXIII, Pt. I, 1904, pp 282 ff.

The Khurda and Ganjam plates mention three generations only —

Khurda plates.

Sainyabhita
|
Yaśobhita
|
Mādhavarāja

Ganjam plates

Mādhavarāja
|
Yaśobhita
|
Mādhavarāja II
(619-20 A.D.)

Both of these plates, like the Buguda and Pārikud grants, were issued from the Kōngōda-mandala and the similarity in names as well as the name Sainyabhita found on the seals of the Buguda, Ganjam and Khurda grants leads one to believe that Mādhava was the surname of both Yaśobhita's father and son. But the characters of the Ganjam and Khurda grants are much older than those of the Buguda and Pārikud plates. It may be that the former were written in the current alphabet of North Eastern India while in the latter the alphabet prevalent in the Northern Circars, was used.¹ If the four grants be held to belong to the same country, then it may be affirmed with some degree of certainty that the Sainyabhita of the Khurda grant is the same as the Sainyabhita I of the Buguda and Pārikud grants. As Yaśobhita is a common factor, we have to admit that Sainyabhita II is the same person as Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjam plates.

It is not certain whether Yaśobhita II and Madhyamarāja are different persons. When the late Professor Kielhorn published the Buguda grant for the first time, he was of opinion that Mādhavarāman was a son of Sainyabhita II.² Dr. Hultzsch, in his paper on the Ganjam grant of the time of Śaśāṅkadēva,³ pointed out that Sainyabhita was probably a surname of Mādhavarāman, and this view was subsequently also adopted by Professor Kielhorn.⁴ A similar case occurs in this inscription also. In the metrical portion of this inscription, there is nothing to show that there was any relationship whatsoever between Yaśobhita II and Madhyamarājadēva. In ordinary circumstances and on the analogy of the Buguda inscription, it may be assumed that Madhyamarāja is a *bruda* of Yaśobhita II, but there is one small phrase, the import of which, though very weak, yet may prove that king Madhyamarāja was a son of Yaśobhita II. This is the phrase in the 27th line — *Madhyamarājadēva-guna-dhṛīd-rājyam pītuḥ prāptavān*. The word *pītuḥ* may refer to Yaśobhita II.

The inscription records the grant of a village in the Katakabhukti-vishaya. As the king addresses the officers of the Kōngōda-mandala, it is apparent that the village was situated in that district. The identity of Kōngōda with Kong-u-t'o is, perhaps, well known.⁵ Very little can be added to Dr. Kielhorn's remarks about the characters of these inscriptions in his note on the Buguda plates.⁶ The king Madhyamarāja had performed the *vājapēya* and *aśvamēdha* sacrifices (ll 38-39). He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and the fact that he performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice shows that he claimed the rank of a supreme monarch (*chakravartin*).

¹ [It is difficult to follow Mr. Banerji when he says that the alphabet of the Ganjam and Khurda plates is much older than that of the Buguda and Pārikud plates and at the same time asserts they may be local varieties current simultaneously —V. V.]

² Above, Vol. III, p 42.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p 186

⁴ Above, Vol VI, p 144.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p 101

⁶ Above, Vol VII, p 100.

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22 b

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111a

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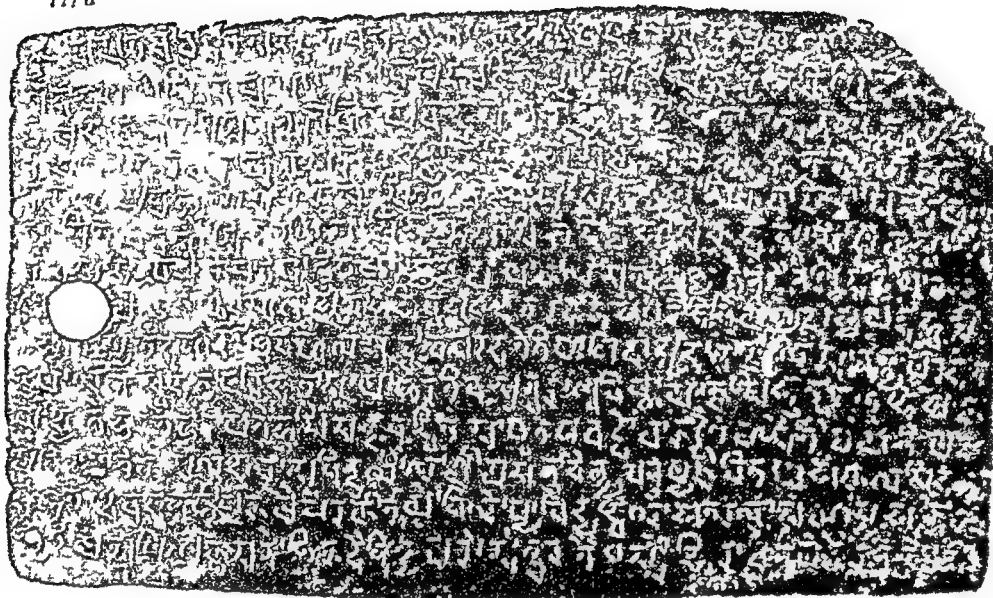
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111b

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58

- 16 dhō=pi subhai=schrittraur=mrishtā[h*] kalamka[h*] Lalaṁgī [S*] Jātō=
tha tasya tanayā[s*]=śukrītī(ti) śimasta-śimantī(nū)
- 17 m-naryana-shatpada-pundarika[h*] [I*] sri-Sanyabnīta bhūmī(m) patni=
mamahēbha-kunbha-sita(stha)hi-dalana-d[u]-
- 18 rllali(h)t āsidhāra[h*] [II 9*] Kālcyam=bhūta-dhāttri(tti)-Tat bhu-prachur-ānu(nō)ka-
pāp-ava[t]ārā[i*]=m(nī)ta(tū) yčsā(shā)m ka[th=a]pi pra-
- 19 layam=abhimatī ki[r]tti-sā(pā)lar=ajaśra(sra)[m] | yayñais=tan=Ayamādha-
prabbritibhur=amarā lambhutās=[tr]i(tri)pum=u-
- 20 rrvī(rvi)[m=uddrī]pt-ārāti-pāksha-kshaya-kriti-patunā Śrinivāsena yčna | [10*]
Tasy-gtkhūt-ikhul-ār[c]r]=mmarud=iva a-
- 21 vapan(°) bhūsavad-usbnōśu-tjūl̄ l̄i(-ū)id̄ mīnī dayāda[r~]=n ar pati[shu*]
Yasōbhita-dcvas=tanjja[h*] | mātagāu=yō-ti(ti)tu-
- 22 ngā[n]=-va(ba)ha[lā*]-madamuchas=chāru-vaktra-prachandah va(hi)dya(ddhvā)²
karshaty=a[s]vora punar=api tapatc ya[u]-nata[*]-sa pragalbha[h*] [II 11*]
- 23 Kē chid=vahnaya(nya)-mrīgca sārddham=achi(chi*)rams=tā=-tū sthiti(ti) hi(h)layā
kč chi[ch*]=chi-[o]rddh[v*]a-mukhbās=sihara karana jv-l a-
- 24 val-prc'shan(i)nā[h*] [I*] kč chid=*n'lkaf(H, H) d'r i'f'] *] cč
chu[j=jai-jaj) dhārāpī(nō) [n]āyā-ra(f, f) - al - a -
- 25 pī divy āspa[u]-ā[k]ā[n]kshina[h*] [II 12*] Kē cmu = ... nuyatā
dhūmāvahi-jau(ji)na[h*] anyō vāyu-phalā-
- 26 mvu(mbu)-bhaksha-nirati[h kō] chi[u=nī](nm)riharaka[h*] [I*] uba+ yōga-yugō⁶
vihāya vasati db[y]āyanti divyam pidam chittiam
- 27 Madhyamarājadēva-guna dhrid=rājya[m*] puu[h*] I... Tasy=
āhya(hvā)nān=mama[d*]yu[s*]=surā-bhayani ga-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 28 tā divya-sa[^{t*}]tvā[h*] pragalbbā[s*]= jō te [s*]=sā-dhā[n*] nityakālam
sa(su)krī[ta*]-gūṇa-kath-ālāpa-brīḍya(djā)[h*]⁷ prakṛi, v[er]g[ā] [1] śārabho[n*]=
sa[m]-
- 29 sthāna-kāri padam=amarajavā[h*] śāśvata[m*] śānta-rūp[ā] bhāva-līlā rītiha[s*]=sa
vira[h*] kṣatītala-vasatī(tu)m nirjyot āy-
- 30 ti-pakṣa[h*] [|| 14*] Sthity-upta(tpa)[^{t*}]ti-[r]maśo-i rāpa-parama⁸ jyō
—vyābata[m*] vyakt-āvvyaktam=ananta-śakti nityatam d[ī]vāt-
- 31 dēvō mabā[n*] [1*] tasy=anugrahakāri-vikramā-dhanu[^{s*}] chakṣita[m] karoṭy=
adbhūtā[m*] sa śrīmān=atula[^{s*}]=śāśīnkū(nk)dhaval

¹ Read -uśhnāmsu lēpūś=

² It would suit the exigencies of metrical purposes if the two syllables *ba' ba'* were *ba' ba'*, but purport would still be indefinite.

⁸ P'ead chich=chhaila

• Read *William*

Read *nyjō*

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

† One would expect *hrīḍya sukrīta guṇa kath alapān*

⁶ Read *param*. The missing syllables may be *sasvayum*

- 32 nī-yaśa[h*]-khyāpitā[m*] [|| 15*] Ā karaṇid-atula[m*] ickṣīya(śhya)
tara[sā*] chāpa-dīayair=lilayā ||¹ [a]shtābhi[h*] kapa(īa)chair=īvīśhitya
- 33 phalakō(kā)n=ārād=ubbābhyām=apī [i*] pānibhyā[m*] 4-chaturah śūli(li)mukhai(kha)-
mukhai[h*] — — suti(ti)kshnai[r*]-bhriśah² jātō di(di)vya-gatī[h*] Pri-
- 34 thā-tu-sata sama[h*]³ Kōngōda-ra[tna]-kshītō(tau)[|| 16*] Varmma(rma)ḥhyām
sakala[m*] 4-ariram=asakrit=samvṛṣ(ṛō)shṭyṣ(śhya) lil-ānvitam pīn(ranu)
- 35 dvō(drau) puruśhō(śhau) mīdhāya jagavat⁴ skundha-[dvayī] lilayā [i*] sadya[s*]
sūta-kṛipāṇa-bhūsupa-karō dhāvaty-a-
- 36 kṣi[n*]nō bhriśa[m*] bhūpālō Hanuma[t*]-parākrama itī pṛyāta[h*] khamā-
mandalō | [17*] Jātōna yōna vapushā śa[s*]i-
- 37 n=[ē]īa yēna sa[m]vārdhitan=kamuda-śa(śha)ṇdam=īv-ātma-gōttra[m*] [i*]
sambōchitam cha ripu-paukajī-vrindam=ārādhat⁵ k[ō]pōna
- 38 [yō] jayati lavdha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpa[h*]⁶ | [18*] Katāt⁷ śrī-Śaulōdbhava-
kula-tīlakō mahā-makha-Vājapēy-Āśva-
- 39 mēdh-[i]vabhrithasūna-nu vī(rva)rttita-prakhyāta-kīrtti-krama[h*] parama-māht-
svarā(rō) mātā-pitrī-pādānudhyāta[h*]
- 40 śrī-[Ma]dhyamarājadēva[h*] ku-sa[li] asnum Kōngōda-mandalō śrī-
sīman[ta]-mahāsā[ma*]uta-mahārāja-rā-
- 41 ja(jā)naka-rājaputtr-ā[m]taranga-dandanānyak-⁸ōparika viśhayapati-[ta*]dāyu[k]taka-
vairttamāna-bhaviśhyad-ī[y]ava-
- 42 hārīna[h] sa-kūra(ru)nyam vrā(brā)hmana-purōgadi-⁹ janapadāñ=cha yath āra[m]
mā[na]yati [bōdha]ya[tī ā]-

Third Plate, First Side

- 43 jñāpayati cha [||*] viditam=astu bhavati[m] jñā(śrī ?)-Katakabhukti-viśha[ya*]-
samva(mba)ddha purvva-[kha]nda . .
- 44 [mō] dvādasā-[t]immura-pramāna[s*]=sarvva-pidā-varjitas=chāta-bhat-āpravēśy[ō] na
kūñchid=anapa[ragrā*]-¹⁰
- 45 hya[h*] shad-vinśatimē samvatsarē vijaya-varddhamāna-rājy[ē] mātā-pitrōr=
ātmanas=cha puny-ābhi[vri*]-
- 46 [d*]dhayē sahla-dhūlā-pura[s*]sarēna(n=ā)-chandīrka-kshiti-sama-kālam=asmābhi[r*]=
nānā gōtra-pravara-

¹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous Read *chāpa dīayam*

² Read =*bhriśam*

³ This corrupt phrase is, perhaps, to be corrected into *Prithāsuta samah Ratna-kshiti*, as applied to Kōngōda, is difficult to explain Perhaps Kōngōda *rād-rakshītā* was intended.

⁴ Read *yugapat*

⁵ Read =*ārāt*

⁶ Compare this verse with verse 10 of the Buguda plates, which is omitted in the first part of the subjoined inscription Sainyabbīta Mādhanavarman is there compared to the Sun, while here Mādhyamarāja is compared to the Moon

⁷ Read *Kaṭakāch=chhri-*

⁸ Read =*dandanāyak*

⁹ *Purōgād*, is pleonastic Read *purōgād=jānapadānt=cha* One would have expected, as in other allied plates, *jānapadān=anyām=cha*

¹⁰ Perhaps we have to read *na kenā chit=parigrāhyah*.

- 47 charanāya vrā(brā)hmana-[Śi]lasvāmī-Gōva[r]ddhanasvāmī-Vandhusvāmī-Kavadīsvāmī-Nārāyana-
- 48 svāmī-Mādhavasvāmī-Bharanīsvāmī-Durggasvāmī-Ādityasvāmī-Rudiasvāmī-Śivasvāmī-
- 49 S[u]khasvāmīnē ¹vi[śra]kē(?) pratipādita[h*] yatō [h]y=asya yathā-kālam=upayujyatō na k[ō]na śchi(chi)d=[vighāta][h*] kara-
- 50 niya[h*] | Uktāñ=cha Dharmmasāstr[ē] [||*] Va(ba)hubhir=vyasudhā data(tā) rājabhī[s*]=Sagar[ā]dibhī[h*] [||*] yasya yasya yadā bhū(bhū)mī[s*]=
- 51 tasya tasya tada(dā) phalam [|| 19*] Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śankā va[h*] para-da[t*]t=ōti² pā[||*][th]ivā[h*] [||*] [sva]-dānāt=phalam=ānantya[m*] para-dat[t-ā]-
- 52 nupālana(nē)² [|| 20*] Sva-da[t*]tā[m*] para-da[t*]tām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharām [||*] śva-viśthāyā[m*] kṛmīr=bhu(bhū)tvā [³ pitribhī[s*]=saha
- 53 pachyatō [|| 21*] Haratō hārayatō bhu(bhū)mī[m*] manda vu(bu)ddhī[s*]=tama-vṛita[h*] [||*] sa va(ba)ddhō Vārunaī[h*] pāsai(śai)[s*]=ti(tī)[r*]ya[g*]-yōnīsha(shu) jā-
- 54 yatī(tē) [||] [22*] Iti kamala-dal āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [||*] sakalam=ida[m=u]-
- 55 dāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi(hi) purushai[h*] para-kīrtayō vilōpyā[h*] [|| 23*] Vidyud-vilāsa-taralām=avagamyā sa[mya*]k(g)=lōka-
- 56 sthūtam yasa(śa)śī(sī) śa(sa)kta-manōbhīr=u[ch*]chai[h*] [||*] nitya[m*] par-ō[pakṛitī*]māttira-rataī[r=bhavadbhū*]=dharmm-ābhīrādhanā-parai=anu[mōdita]-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 57 [vyam] [|| 24*] . . . [hkh]ta[m] sāndhivigrahika-
- 58 dēvēna [||*] Lāñchi(ñchhi)tam
- 59 driddhēna || Sa[mvat] [88] Kārttika-śukla .

No 29 —EIGHT CHOLA DATES

By THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR L D SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M A, B L, L L B.

In his paper on the dates of Chōla kings (above, Volume X, pp 121 ff) Mr R Sewell has shown, by an elaborate calculation of a Tamil date from Nandalūr and of five Telugu dates from Bāpatla (Nos² 186 to 190) of king Kulōttunga-Chōda II, that the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōda II (Kulōttunga-Chōla II of Tamil inscriptions) must be placed between March 26th and July 14th A.D. 1133. The subjoined eight dates, besides confirming the correctness of Mr Sewell's results, enable us to reduce the limits of the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōla II, to the period May 9th—July 14th A D 1133. Also, in the date from the Nandalūr Tamil inscription (which I have included among the eight dates now calculated) the difficulty felt by

¹ [The reading intended is perhaps *vipaschite* —V V]

² See above, Vol III, p 45, note 15.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

Mr. Sewell about the *nakshatra* Śravana is explained by a reference to the custom usually followed in fixing the day of the Śivaratn in Southern India. The Śivaratn begins at midnight, when the *nakshatra* Śravana must be current, and is kept all the following day. The inscription presumably refers to the *nakshatra* Śravana only in this sense, as it was not current at sunrise on the following day.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA (II)

244 —In the Vaidyanāthasvāmī temple at Tirumalavādi.¹

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Pā-maraviya puriyēlum

33

Kōṭ-Irāṅkēśari-

34 pātrai=āna Tribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōlādēvarku

35 yandu 2āvaḍu Danu-nāyarru apāra pakshattu navamiyu[m] Tī[ṇ]-

36 gat kilamaiyum perṛa Attattī nāl

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th December A.D. 1134 on which day the day of Hasta ended at 5½ *ghatikās* after sunrise, while the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Śravana commenced on the same day at 4½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Dhanus, as recorded in the inscription.

245 —In the Karavandīśvara temple at Udayārkōyil -

1 Svasti[ṇ] Śr[ṇ] ||— Pū-ma[ṇ]u-pa'umam

29

Kōṭ-Irāṅkēśari-āna

30 [Tr]ibuvā[na]chchakkaravattigal śrī-Ku[ṇ]ōttunga-Śōlādēvarkku yā-

31 ndu 4 nāl-āvaḍu

33 Śinna-nāyarru apāra-paksha[tt]u Tīnga[ṇ]kūlamai[ṇ]m [sadrutt]iyu[m] perṛa Irōvadi-[nāl]

"In the 4th— fourth— year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th August, A.D. 1136, on which day the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Bhādiapada ended at 41 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ended on the same day shortly after sunrise. The ending moment of the *nakshatra* in mean Lankā time was just *before* sunrise on the 17th August, but from the time of the year and for any place in Southern India, it will be seen, from Table XIII of my *Indian Chronology* that the ending moment of the *nakshatra* in local time must have been shortly *after* sunrise, so that the inscription is correct in giving the *nakshatra* as Rēvatī. The solar month was Simha.

¹ No. 85 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

² No. 405 of the same for 1902

246 —In the Saumyanāthasvāmīn temple at Nandalūr ¹

1 [Sva]stī śrī [i] [i*] Pū-mēvu turumagal

2 . kōv=Ir-ā(Irā)jakṣaipa[nmar=āna] Chakrava[rtti]-
ga[l] śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarku yāndu ett-āvadu6 śrī-Kulōttu[nga]- Śōladēva[ku] yāndu ett-āvadu
Kumbha-nāyarra apara-pakshattu=chchatarddasī[yum] Vell-kkūlamaiyu[m]
Tuvē(vō)namum=āna Śivarāttirī-nāl

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śivarātri, which was (*a day of*) Śravana, a Friday, and the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha in the eighth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva "

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February, A D 1141, on which day the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Māgha ended at 41½ *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Śravana had ended at 8 *ghatikās* after midnight between the 6th and 7th February. Now, Śivarātri is celebrated on the day following the *midnight* (nearest to Māgha *amṛāsyā*) at which the *nakshatra* Śravana is current. Therefore Śivarātri in the year in question fell on a Friday, and it was the solar month of Kumbha, as stated in the inscription.

247 —In the Tyāgarājasvāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr ²

1 Svastī śrī [i] [i*] Pū-mannu-padumam

4 . kōv=Irājakēśarīpanmar=āna Tiribu[va]na[ch]cha-
[k]karavattigal śrī-Kulōttun[ga]-Śōladē[va][i*]kku yāndu 10 āvadu [Da]nu-
nāyarra [pū]rva-paksha[tu] ēkāde(da)śī[yum Tīnga]t-kūlamaiyum perṇa
A[s]vatī-nāl

"In the 10th year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Āśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanuś "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 30th November, A D 1142, on which day the 11th *tithi* or *ēkādasī* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśīras ended at 59 *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Āśvinī ended on the same day at 41 *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise.

It may appear at first sight that a *tithi* which ended at 59 *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise may possibly have been carried forward to the next day in local time, but it will be seen from Table XIII of my "Indian Chronology" (p 157 of the Tables) that in the year A D 1142, on the 251st day of the solar year, which was our day, the difference between mean Lankā time and Tanjore time was only an addition of 4 *palas* to the former, which would still have placed the ending moment of the *tithi* within the civil day noted above, *i.e.* the 30th November. The solar month was Dhanuś, as stated in the inscription.

¹ No 572 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907² No 553 of the same collection for 1904

248.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Udayārkōyil.¹

- 1 [Svasti śrī] [||*] [Pā-mannu-padumam]
 21 kōv=Iṛjak[ū]sar[i]panmai=āna Tribhuvanaachchakkaravattigal śrī-
 Kulōttunga-Śōla[d]ū-
 22 varṇu yāndu 14 āvadu Mēsha-nāyar[ru] pūrvvapakshattu navamīya(yu)[m]
 V[ī]yāla-kkūla[mai]ya(yu)[m] perṛa Āyila[ya]ttin nāl

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva,— on the day of Āślēshā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The date corresponds to Thursday, 10th April, A D 1147, on which day the 9th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Vaiśākha commenced at 26 *ghatikās* after mean Lanka sunrise, while the *nakshatra* for the whole of that day and for 5½ *ghatikās* of the next, was Āślēshā, the *nakshatra* Pushya having ended shortly before sunrise on the 10th April. The solar month was Mēsha

249.—In the Kripāpurīśvara temple at Tiruvennainallūr.²

- 5 [i]nda śrī-mey-kkirttiy-udaiya Tribhuvana[ch]chakkaravattigal śrī-
 Kulōttunga-Śō[ri]dēvarṇu yāndu 15 vadu [pa]dinaiṇḍ,³
 shtiyun⁴=Dingal-kūlamaiyum perṛa Bara-
 6 nī-nāl

"In the 15th—fifteenth— year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had this glorious panegyric poem (in his honour), the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva,— on the day of Bharanī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi*

”

Neither the solar nor the lunar month is traceable in the inscription which only refers to a sixth *tithi*, but it will be observed from Table XI of my "Indian Chronology" that a 6th *tithi* can concur with the *nakshatra* Bharanī only in the dark fortnight of lunar Śrāvanī or of lunar Bhādrapada. We work for the latter in the year A D 1147 and find that the date corresponds to Monday, 18th August, A D 1147, on which day the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended at 39½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Bharanī ended on the same day at 12½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Simha. A D —Monday, 9th August A D 1137, would have satisfied the *vīra*, *tithi* and *nakshatra*, but we reject this date, as A D 1137 was obviously not the 15th year of our king

250.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirumalavādī.⁵

- 1 ||| Svasti śrī [||*] Pā-mannu yānar . . .
 27 kōv=I-
 23 rājakēśari[pa]nmai=ā[ṇa*] Tribhuvanaachchakkaravattigal śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladē-
 varṇu
 29 yāndu 15 āvadu . . .
 32 iṇv=āttai Magara-nāyar[ru] pūrvvapakshattu pin[dī]-
 pada[mu]m Viyāla-kkūlamaiyum perṛa Uṭṭirādatti-nāl

¹ No 401 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 316 of the same collection

³ Read *paḍṇaiṇḍārādu*

⁴ Read *śaśāthiyun*

⁵ *Viz* the introduction *p^o varṇu padumam*, etc. of Tribhuvanaachchakkaravartin Kulōttunga Chōlādēva mentioned in No 315 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902 (No 251, below)

⁶ No 83 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttarāshādhā which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the first *tithi* (*prati-padā*) of the first fortnight of the month of Makara in this year"

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th December, A D 1147, on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Pausa ended at 29½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā ended at 20½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise on the same day. The same day was also the first of the solar month Makara

251 —In the Kripāpuriśvara temple at Tīruvennainallūr¹

1 [P]ū-mannu-padumam . . .

2 śi-mey-kki[1*]tti-y-udaiya Tribhu[va*]nachchakkaravatt[ga]l śri-
Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarakku yāndu [1]ṣ vadu Ishaba-nāyarṇu=ppadinārān=diyediy=āna
Nāyarṇu-kkalamai-nīl

"In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had (*this*) panegyric poem (in his honour), the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on a Sunday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha "

The lunar *tithi* is not cited, but the week day affords a clue to the date. During the 15 years A D 1135 to A D 1149 there were only two years in which the 16th day of solar Vṛishabha was a Sunday, and they were A D. 1137 and A D 1148. We reject the former date, as it obviously was not the 15th year of our Chōla king, and we conclude that the date of the inscription was Sunday, 9th May, A D. 1148, which was the 16th day of Vṛishabha

Summary

We can now arrange the eight dates discussed above in chronological order and endeavour to discover therefrom the commencement of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla II

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| (244) | 2nd year | Monday, 10th December, A D 1134 |
| (245) | 4th year | Monday, 17th August A D 1136 |
| (246) | 8th year | Friday, 7th February A D 1141 |
| (247) | 10th year | Monday, 30th November A D 1142 |
| (248) | 14th year | Thursday, 10th April A D 1147 |
| (249) | 15th year | Monday, 18th August A D 1147. |
| (250) | 15th year | Thursday, 25th December A D 1147 |
| (251) | 15th year | Sunday, 9th May A D 1148 |

Dates disclosed by Inscriptions

We see that the 15th year of the reign must have commenced between the 10th April, A D. 1147, which fell in the 14th year and the 18th August A D 1147 which fell in the 15th year. At the same time the last inscription shows that the regnal year did not change till after 9th May. Therefore regnal years of Kulōttunga-Chōla II must have regularly commenced between 9th May and 18th August, rather 9th May and 17th August, if we bear in mind the result of inscription 245, that is, the reign itself commenced between 9th May and 17th August A D. 1133, the 2nd year of the reign in May, June or July, A D 1134, and so on with the 3rd and subsequent years

¹ No 315 of the same collection for 1902

No 30—MANNARKOYIL INSCRIPTION OF JATAVARMAN
SUNDARA-CHOLA-PANDYADEVA

B. K. V. SURIYANARAYANA Aiyar, B.A., Ootacamund

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the base of the north wall of the central shrine in the Gōpālākṛiṣṇasvāmī temple at Mannūrkōyil in the Ambāsamudram taluk of the Tinnevely district. With the kind permission of the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I edit it from an inked impression prepared in 1905.

The inscription which is in tolerably good preservation consists of 8 lines of Tamil prose written in the Tamil alphabet of the period to which the record belongs. The letters are well engraved. There are a large number of Sanskrit words and syllables in Grantha characters.² Two forms of *ya* occur, one with a closed loop to the left which occurs only in the beginning of line 1, and the other, which is more common, without this loop. The secondary *ā*-symbol is, in a few cases, not separated from the consonant to which it is added. In the majority of cases the central loops of the consonants *n* and *ṇ* appear fully developed, though there are instances where they are written without the loops. Another peculiarity is that the secondary *i*-sign is marked on the left top corner instead of on the head of the letters as is generally seen in records of this period. This is especially the case with *pi*, *ti*, and *li*, while in *ni* the *i*-sign is sometimes added on to the top of the letter and sometimes by its right side, according to the shape of the letter *n* which, in this record, is not uniform. The signs for *u* and *ū* in the letters *mu* and *nu* are not distinguished. Only in one case a curve has been added to the *u* in *mu* in order to denote the length. Except in the letters *lai* and *lai* where the first part of the vowel *u* is used to denote the *ai*-symbol, the secondary *ai* is invariably marked by two secondary *e* signs written side by side as in Grantha. The group *nta* is always employed whenever the two letters come together. The palatal *ñ* is so shaped in some cases that it may at first sight be mistaken for *nī*. The guttural *ṇ* occurring in *purangarai* (l. 3), *—Tiruvāranga-* (l. 6) and *Irungandi-* (l. 8), and the syllable *ru* are peculiarly shaped.

The object of the inscription is to register a sale of land to the Vishnu temple called Rājēndrasōla-Vinnagar. Lines 2 and 3 give the boundaries and extent of the various fields that were sold, and line 4 describes the formal transfer of the land to the temple by the assembly of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam. Lines 5 and 6 give the names of some of the members of the assembly at whose instance the lands appear to have been sold. The conveyance was drawn up by the accountant (*lavanattān*) of the village and was attested by several of the persons who ordered the sale (ll. 7 and 8). It is interesting to note that most of the members of the assembly were learned men, and this is indicated by the titles *bhaṭṭa*, *samayājīn* and *īramant* affixed to their names. Further, it might also be pointed out that these members were not natives of the village but immigrants from other parts of Southern India who had settled in the several suburbs (*śēri*) of the village. A list of these suburbs and villages is given at the end of this paper.

This inscription is a record of one of the Chōla-Pāndya kings.³ South-Indian inscriptions point to the existence of at least three Chōla princes who bore the title Chōla-Pāndya. Rājēndra-Chōla I (A.D. 1011-44), after he had subjugated the Pāndya country, is said to have appointed his son Chōla-Pāndya to rule over it. Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva (A.D.

¹ No 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² It is worthy of note that two of the signatures at the end of the inscription are in Sanskrit. Such admixture of Sanskrit words in a Tamil record of this period may be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the revival of learning brought about by the immigration to the Southern country of a large number of Brāhmanas from the north as a result of the conquests of Rājēndra Chōla I, which extended as far as the Ganges.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, Part II, p. 56, paragraph 25.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 1906, Part II, p. 68, paragraph 17.

1052-64) is reported to have conferred the title of Śōla-Pāndiyan¹ on his younger brother, the victorious Mummada śōlan². The Chōla king Vīraśajjendra (A.D. 1062-70) is also stated to have been pleased to grant the Pāndimandalam "whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son Gangaikondasōlan³ along with the title Śōla-Pāndiyan, the leader of an army of very tall elephants"⁴. Inscriptions discovered so far reveal the names of two Chōla-Pāndya princes, viz. Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya and Māravarman Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya. The former of these is spoken of in a Mannarkōyil record as one of the sons of Rājendra-Chōla I⁵ and he is, therefore, identical with the first Chōla Pāndya ruler. It is perhaps the same king that we must attribute inscriptions dated during the reign of Jatāvarman *alias* Udayār Śōla-Pāndyaśēva found at Suchindram⁶ and Śevilipēri,⁷ though the name Sundara does not occur.

The title Chōla-Pāndya given to them seems to have been invented to indicate the double fact that they were members of the Chōla family and were made to rule over the Pāndya territory. The position held by them was apparently that of a viceroy acting under the orders of the Chōla king ruling at Tanjore. The necessity for their appointment arose from the fact that the Pāndyas could never be completely subdued. They continued in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōla yoke during the whole period of Chōla supremacy in Southern India.⁸

The subjoined record is dated in the 13th year of the reign of king Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndyaśēva. As his accession to the throne has been fixed at A.D. 1020-1 from the fact that his 15th year probably coincided with the 24th of his father⁹ it follows that this inscription should have been engraved about A.D. 1035-6 which corresponded to his 13th year. A few facts concerning the king's reign deserve mention.¹⁰ His latest known date is the 23rd year¹¹ corresponding to A.D. 1043-4, which was the last year of the reign of his father. Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya's inscriptions have so far been traced in the ancient Pāndya and Kōlīla dominions, i.e. in the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely and portions of the Pudukkōttai and Travancore States.¹² His Chōlapuram¹³ inscription is dated in the 11th year and registers the gift of a lamp by a certain Sarvalōkāśāya Vishnuvardhana-Maīrīja *alias* Śalukki-

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 62.

² The title Mummada śōlan was first borne by Rājaija I.

³ Rājendra Chōla I appears to have first assumed the title Gangaikondasōlan after his conquest of the North. The city of Gangai-ondichōlapuram owes its name to him.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 36.

⁵ No. 112 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ Nos. 69 and 70 of the same collection for 1896.

⁷ No. 408 of the same collection for 1906.

⁸ Parāntaka I is known to have defeated the Pāndyas thrice in the field. His grandson Sundara Chōla claims to have driven the Pāndya king into the forest, while Āditya II (Karikala), even when he was a youth, fought against Vira-Pāndya. Uttama Chōla's title Madhurīntaka indicates his hostility to the Pāndyas and the Tiruvālangādu plates give Amarabhujaṅga as the name of the Pāndya sovereign defeated by Rājaija I. Rājendra-Chōla I, Rājadhiraṅga and Virarājendra I claim to have defeated the Pāndyas. The Pāndyas seem to have asserted their independence already during the reign of Kulōttunga I. At any rate, we have no reason to suppose that the Chōla Pāndya kings continued very long. In fact their rule could not have lasted more than half a century, which was probably occasioned by the rule of the few princes known from inscriptions.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, Part II, paragraph 25.

¹⁰ Sundara Chōla Pāndyaśēva, the ancient name of the ruined Śiva temple at Perundurai in the Pudukkōttai State suggests that the temple was probably called after the king and built in his time.

¹¹ No. 18 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894 and No. 438 for 1909.

¹² His inscriptions found at the following places roughly indicate the extent of the country ruled by him —

Ānaimalai, near Madura, Perundurai in the Tirumayan tāluka of the Pudukkōttai State, Mannarkōyil, Tiruvāli-varam, Ambāsamudram, Viraśikhāmani, Kālugumalai, Gangai-ondān, Śevilipēri, Shērmādēvi, and Ādanūr in the Tinnevely district, Chōlapuram and Suchindram in the Travancore State.

¹³ No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896.

Vijayādittan-Vikkī-annan. The terms Śalukki and Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja, occurring in the name of the donor, suggest that he must have been a member of the Eastern Chālukya family.¹

According to the Tiruvālangādu grant, the Pāndyas were first attacked by Rājendra-Chōla I, with the result that their king deserted his country from fear. Establishing his son Chōla-Pāndya as the protector of the Pāndya territory, Rājendra-Chōla proceeded westwards, conquered the forces of the Kērala ruler in a fearful battle and returned to his capital leaving that country also in charge of the same prince. That the Chōla-Pāndya here referred to is none other than Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya of our record has already been noticed. It may be pointed out now that while the stone inscriptions of the 5th and 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla I, mention his conquest of the Kēralas, the invasion of the Pāndya country is practically omitted in the historical introduction of all his records. If, as stated in the Tiruvālangādu grant, the Chōla king conquered the Kēralas immediately after he had overcome the Pāndyas, the latter event would have taken place before A D 1016-7, which corresponds to his 5th year.² It would thus appear that Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya was in charge of the two conquered countries from or prior to A D 1016-7, i.e. four years before his accession.³ That he actually ruled over the Kēralas is borne out by some of the inscriptions at Mannārkōyil, where mention is made of two of his Chēra feudatories named Rājasimha and Rājarāja.⁴ In one of his inscriptions,⁵ it is stated that the Chēra king (Śēramānār) Rājasimha built the Vishnu temple called Rājendraśōla-Vinnagar, i.e. the modern Gōpālakrishnasvāmī temple at Mannārkōyil. The name of the Chēra king conquered by Rājendra-Chōla is not given. Nor do we know if it was Rājarāja or Rājasimha.

Among the geographical names that occur in this inscription, Mannārkōyil does not find a place. It seems to be a shortened form of Mannanārkōyil⁶ and probably denotes the modern Gōpālakrishnasvāmī temple. The village in which the temple was situated, was called Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam in ancient times. It was a *brahmādēya* in Mulli-nādu, a district of Mudigondaśōla-valanādu which was a subdivision of Rājarāja-Pāndinādu. A number of hamlets appear to have been attached to this village in early days. The modern villages of Ambāsamudram⁷ and Kalladaikkurichchi⁸ were its southern hamlets, while Pāpāngulam⁹ (Vēlārkurichchi) and Ālvārkurichchi¹⁰ (Kādēru, text 1 2) situated at a distance of about 8 miles from Ambāsamudram, formed its hamlets on

¹ We do not know of any Eastern Chālukya prince with this name at the time. About A D 1030 the approximate date of the Chōlapuram inscription, the ruler of Vēngī was Rājarāja I (A D 1022-1063).

² It cannot, however, be inferred from this that the Pāndyas remained independent even until this date, because earlier inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I have been found in the Tinnevely and Madura districts. The existence of these records in that part of the country might be taken to show that the Pāndyas acknowledged the overlordship of the Chōla sovereign even before the invasion, conquered as the Pāndya country was by Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I. It was perhaps the Pāndya king's attempt to assert his independence that caused the invasion in the present instance.

³ Perhaps he was not formally installed in the Viceroyalty but allowed to issue orders in his own name as soon as he was placed in charge of the Pāndya territory. This privilege was probably granted some time after he had been actually governing the subjugated province.

⁴ Nos 111, 113 and 114 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ No 112 of the same.

⁶ Mannanār means Vishnu.

⁷ No 102 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905. The ancient name of Ambāsamudram was Ilan-gōykhudi.

⁸ No 90 of the same collection for 1907.

⁹ The Vishnu temple of Rāmasvāmī at Pāpāngulam is called in its inscriptions Bagavadi-Vinnagar-Ālvār at Vēlārkurichchi, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja chaturvēdimangalam (No 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

¹⁰ The Vanniyappar temple at Ālvārkurichchi was called in ancient times Tiruvannichchuramudaiyār at Kādēru, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja chaturvēdimangalam (No 121 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

the north-western side Four other hamlets of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam, viz Pāmbunāri, Kōnādu, Kadaiyam and Pulakkulam *alias* Vārimāyiletti are also mentioned in this inscription Of these, Kadaiyam may be identified with the village of the same name, situated to the west of Ambāsamudram The modern name of Pulakkulam is Punnakkulam¹ and it is also in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram I am not able to identify the two others The position assigned to several of the hamlets would point to the identification of the *brahmadēya* of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam with the modern village of Brahmadēsam in the same tīluka and it may be noted that the Śiva temple of Tiruvāliśvaram and the Vishnu temple of Rājēndraśōla-Vinnagar which are stated in their inscriptions to be in Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam, are quite close to Brahmadēsam From the boundaries described in the grant portion of the subjoined record it appears that at Mannārkōyil there was in ancient times another Vishnu temple called Rājārāja-Vinnagar. This has now disappeared The district of Mulli-nadu mentioned above seems to be different from another of the same name in which Shērmādēvi was situated, because while the first was in the subdivision of Mudigondaśōla-valanādu the second was in Uttamaśōla-valanādu² Though the names Uttamaśōla and Mudigondaśōla after which the two subdivisions are named may refer to the same Chōla king (perhaps Rājēndra-Chōla I), yet, as these divisions occur in the inscriptions of the same period, there is not much doubt as to their representing different local areas Further, it may be pointed out that the two subdivisions named above comprised different districts Thus, for instance, the districts of Nechchura-nādu,³ Kīlkala-kūrnam⁴ and Kīlvēmba-nādu⁵ were in Mudigondaśōla-valanādu, while Purattāya-nādu,⁶ Nāñji-nādu⁷ and Marugal-nādu⁸ were in the subdivision of Uttamaśōla-valanādu A rough idea of the extent of Mudigondaśōla-valanādu might be formed from the fact that Tinnevely, Kalugumalai, Ambāsamudiam and the villages near them were originally included in it In Uttamaśōla-valanādu were situated Cape Comorin, Shērmādēvi, and Chōlapuram near Nīgerkoil Rājārāja-Pāndinādu was the name applied to the Pāndya country after its conquest by the Chōla king Rājārāja I, and it mainly consisted of the districts of Madura and Tinnevely and a part of the Travancore and Pudukkottai States Though the Pāndyas were defeated several times on previous occasions and their dominion acquired by the Chōlas by conquest, the name of their country does not appear to have been altered prior to the time of Rājārāja I

Two rivers are mentioned in this record, viz Mudigondaśōlappērāru and Rājārājappērāru As one of the fields sold to the temple is said to have been situated to the north of the former and south of the latter, the relative position of the two is established beyond question and affords facilities for the identification of both Porundam, the original name of Mudigondaśōlappērāru is synonymous with the Tāmraparni, which near Mannārkōyil runs parallel to its tributary, the Gatanā, and is to the south of it Rājārājappērāru is, therefore, identical with the Gatanā In passing, it may also be pointed out that the two rivers join within a mile's distance of Mannārkōyil at a place called Tuuppudaimarudūi

TEXT

1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō=Chchadaiyapanmar-āṇa Udayār śri-Sunta(nad)ra-Śōla-
Pāndiyadēvarkku yāndu padin[mū]nrā[va]du⁹ śri-Rājārāja-Ppāndināttu
Mudigondaśō[la]-valanāttu Mulli-nāttu brahmadēyam śri-Rājārāja-

¹ It may be noted that in the Tinnevely district there are two kinds of tanks *punaltilai* and *lālarattukukulam* The former depends on rain for its supply of water, while the latter is fed by a channel from a river

² Nos 193 and 194 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 and No 106 of the collection for 1905

³ No 18 of the collection for 1894

⁴ See remarks against No 416 for 1905

⁵ No 408 of 1906

⁶ No 100 for 1896

⁷ No 34 of 1896

⁸ No 32 for 1896

⁹ The *ca* in *mūgrāvadu* is written above the line

- chcharuppēdima[n]galattu śī-Rājēnta(ndra)śōla-Vin[naga]r [pa]ramasvamiga-lukku śrī-Rājarāja-chchatu[r]vvēd[ī]mangalattu mahāsabhaiyōm viṟṟu=kkudutta bhūmiyāvadu [||*] Engal padāgai Pāmbunā[rī] Idaikku[n]ṟavettikkum mērkum [ī] śrī-Rājarāja-Vinnagardēvar dēvadā[na]-
- 2 ttukku=kkīlakkum [ī] Tan-Porundam=āna Mudigondaśōlappērātrukku vadakkum [ī] śrī-Rājarājappērāṟru[k]ku=ttēkkum [||] āga ivv=e[1*]laiyul agappa[t]ta iru-pū¹ ārupāychchal nila[n*] āru-vēlyum mērpadi maḷuk-[kā]du² vaśakkāninra nilan mū-vēlyum pu[n]ṣey maḷukkādu nilan mū-vēlyum engalūr=ppadāgai Kōnattu iru-pū ārup[p]āychchal³ nilan onṟēy-ēlu māyum ivv=ūr=ppadāgai Kadaiyattu-Padaiyāvlī Kādēṟru iru-pū ārupāychchal nilan araiyum ivv=ūr=ppadāgai Pulakkula-
- 3 m=āna Vārimāyiletti ēri-puṟan=garaī oru-pū nilan araiyum i=kkulatt-agam pu(pū)-nir-kōvai nilan araiyum [ā]ga iru-pū ārupāychchal⁴ nilan ē[ī]ē-mukkālēy-irandu-māyum mērpadi maḷukkādu nilan mū-vēlyum puṟṣey maḷukkādu nilan mū-vēlyum oru-pū nilan araiyum kulattil ni[r*]-kōvai-[nī]lan araiyum āga nilan padinālē[y]⁵-mukkālēy-irandu-māyum viṟṟu-kkuduttōm śrī-Rājēndraśōla-Vinnagar [parama]svāmigalukku śrī-Rājarāja-chcharuppēdimangalattu mahāsabhai-
- 4 yōm [||*] I=ppariśu viṟṟu=kkudutta i-bhūmikkum emmil=iśaiñja vilai=pporul=ellān-guṟyilēy ara=kkondu iduvē[y]⁶ vilai-ōlaiyu[m] poru[ī]-śēla olaiyum=āvid=āgavum iduv=alladu vēru vilai-māvaṟudi=pporul-śēla olai kātta=kkadamaiy=inṟi vilai=kk=ara-viṟṟu=p[poru]l-ara=kkondu viṟṟu vilai-ōlai-śeydu nīrōdu atti=kkuduttōm Rājēndraśōla-Vinnagar paramasvāmigalukku śrī-Rājarāja-chcharuppēdimangalattu mahāsabhaiyōm [||*] I=ppariśu viṟṟu=kkudukka=ppanichchōm śrī-Rājarāja-
- 5 chchēri=Kkottaiyūr-Chchangaran Śivadēvabattachchōmāśiyārum⁷ śrī-Mummadīśōlachchēri Tiruppēr=Ddēvadēvēśa-[Nā]rāyananum śrī-Arumolīd[ī]vachchēri=Kkīrāñchi Mahēśvarakṛmavittanum⁸ śrī-Nittavinōdachehēi Kōrōvi-Kāḷidāda⁹batta[ch]chōmāśiyārum śrī-Chōlēnta(ndra)śingachchēri Karāmbiṟchēttu Śīdarabattanum śrī-Sundaraśōlachchēri Kōrōvi śrī-Mādiavachchōmāśiyārum śrī-Vāraṇamādevichchēri=Kkōttattu=Ddēvadēvēśa-Śāndiraṇum śrī-Uttamaśōlachchēri=Kkarpurattu=Pporokku-
- 6 māraḱramavittanum śrī-Śembīyanmādevichchēri=Kkiranūr Śōlaipparān-Śuppiramanīyabattanum śrī-Kundavachchēri Nimbai-I[ī]yanambi-battanum śrī-Pañchavanmāde[vi]chchēri=Kkundūr=Ttiruvaranga-Nārāyana-kkiramavittanum śrī Olōkamādevichchēri Idaiyāṟrukkudī=Chchōmanakkanum āga i=ppari[śu] panichchu viṟṟu=kkuduttōm śrī-Rājēndraśōla-Vinnagar paramasvāmikalukku¹⁰ śrī-Rājarāja chatu[r]vētimankalattu¹¹ mahāsabhaiyōm [||*] Ippadi aṟivēn Kot[ī]yūr-Chchangaran śivadēvabatta-

¹ *oru-pū* and *iru pū* are terms still employed in some parts of the country to mean single crop and double crop lands

² The *akshara* *kā* seems to be corrected from *ku*

³ Read *ārupāy hchal*

⁴ The *y* of this word is a correction from *p*

⁵ *Sōmāśi* is the abbreviated Tamil form of the Sanskrit *sōmayājīn*

⁶ *kīraṇavittar* stands for the Sanskrit *kramavīd*, one who knows the *kramapāṭha* of the Vēdas.

⁷ *Kāḷidāda* is the Tamil form of *Kāḷidāsa*.

⁸ Read *chaturvēdimangalattu*

⁹ This word is written below the line in the original.

¹⁰ The *akshara* *y* looks like *p* in the original

¹¹ Here the original reads *pa* instead of *ya*

¹² Read *paramasvāmigalukku*

- 7 chohōmāśiyēn ivaī en eluttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Kōrōvi-
 Kālidādachchōmāśiyēn ivaī en eluttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Tiruppēr
 Dēvadēvēśa-Nārīyanan eluttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Kīrāñchi Mahēśvara-
 kkiramavittan eluttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Śrīdanūr=Kkēśavan Śēnduppīrān
 eluttu [i*] Ippadi [ari]vēn Karāmbich[chēt]tu Śrīdarabattan eluttu [i*]
 ippadi arivēn Kōrōvi śī-Mādivachchōmāśi[y]ēn eluttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn
 Nimbai-Ilayyanambibattan eluttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn
 8 Irungandi-Dēvadēvēśibattan eluttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Irāḡippurattu¹
 Yaññan² eluttu [i*] Ittham Virasya p[u]trēna Śāstamamka(ga)lavāsina [i*]
 [Nā]rāyanēna vidita[m] bhakta-bhaktina Śārgginā³ [i*] Iti viditam Sōlaipān
 Subramanyūna ||o Mahāsabhaiyār-ppanikka ivv-ōlai eludinēp ivv-ūr sabhai=
 kkaianattān [Śūrri]-Śāngaran-ūna Śamanjāsappiryanēn eluttu ||o

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Jatāvarman *alias* Udaiyār śrī-Sundara-Chōla-Pāndyadēva, the great assembly of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam sold the following land to the Supreme Lord (*paramasvāmin*) of śrī-Rājēndrasōla-Vinnagar at śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mulli-nādu (a district of) Mudigondasōla-valanādu (which was a subdivision) of śrī-Rājārāja-Pāndinādu (The land lies) to the west of (the path called) Idaikkunravetti⁴ (leading to) our hamlet (*padāgar*) of Pāmbunāri, to the east of the *dēvadīna* of the god of śrī-Rājārāja-Vinnagar, to the north of (the river) Tan-Porundam *alias* Mudigondasōlappērāru⁵ and to the south of (the river called) śrī-Rājārājappērāru. The great assembly of śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam sold to the Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndrasōla-Vinnagar, six *vēli* of river-fed double-crop land lying within these boundaries together with three *vēli* of malukkādu-land of the same (class) which was being brought under cultivation,⁶ three *vēli* of dry malukkādu-land, one (*vēli*) and seven *mā* of river-fed double crop land in Kōnādu, a hamlet of our village, half (a *vēli*) of double-crop river-fed land at Kādēru in Kadaiyattu-Padaiyāvili, a hamlet of this village, half (a *vēli*) of single crop land close to the bank of the tank at Pulakkulam *alias* Vārimāyiletti, a hamlet of this village, half (a *vēli*) of crop-yielding marshy land in the bed of this tank,—in all measuring seven (*vēli*) three quarters and two *mā* of river fed double crop land, three *vēli* of malukkādu-land of the same (class), three *vēli* of dry malukkādu-land, half (a *vēli*) of single crop land, half (a *vēli*) of marshy land in the tank, together making a total of fourteen and three fourths (*vēli*) and two *mā*. For the land thus given away by sale, this shall be the sale deed and the document evidencing the receipt of the money for our having obtained on hand the entire sub amount agreed upon by us. Besides this, no other deed evidencing the payment in full of the sale money (*ilai-māv-arudi-porul-śēlav-ōlai*) shall be demanded. We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājārāja chaturvēdimangalam, gave the land with libation of water to the Supreme Lord of Rājēndra-sōla-Vinnagar, having sold it completely and obtained the entire price and having executed the

¹ Read *Rāḡipurattu*² Read *Yajñan*³ Read *Śārgginā*. This is a verse in the Anushtubh metre⁴ Literally this word means a path cut through a hill⁵ At first sight one would take the expression *Tanporundamāna Mudigondasōla-ppērāru* to mean 'Mudigondasōlappērāru which is ever filled with water', but the real significance of the words seems to be that Mudigondasōla-ppērāru is another name for Tan Porundam or the cool Porundam. Porundam and Porunai are other names of the river Tamraparni⁶ The word *vaṣakkānra* seems to be used in this sense also in No. 326 of the Epigraphical collection for 1908, in the passage: *nnilattukku kālum-kāli i āaum veṭṭi nilamum-vaṣakki payir ēṭṭi*. Here *vaṣakki* seems to mean cultivating or ploughing in which sense it does not appear to be used at present.

sale deed We (the following persons) thus ordered the sale (of the above mentioned land) — Kottaiyūr Śangaran-Śivadēvabhāta-śomāśiyār of śrī-Rājarājachchēri, Tiruppūr Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇa of śrī-Mummaḍiśōlachchēri, Kīrāṇṇi śrī-Mahēśvara-kramavittan of śrī-Arumoḍēvachchēri, Kōrōvi Kālīdādashchēri-śomāśiyār of śrī-Nittavinōdashchēri, Karāmbichchēttu-Śīdarabhāttan of śrī-Chōlēndrasīngachchēri, Kōrōvi Madhava-śomāśiyār of śrī-Sundaraśōlachchēri, Kōttattu-Dēvadēvēśan-Chandran of śrī-Vānavanmādevichchēri, Karippurattu-Porkumāra-kramavittan of śrī-Uttamaśōlachchēri, Kīranūr Śōlaippirān-Subrahmanyabhāttan of śrī-Sēmbiyanmādevichchēri, Nimbai Ilaiyanambibhāttan of śrī-Kundavachchēri, Kundūr Tiruvaranga-Nārāyaṇa-kramavittan of śrī-Paiṇṇavanmādevichchēri, Idaiyāṇṇukkudī Sōmanakkan of śrī-Lōkamādevichchēri We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājarāja-chaturvēḍimangalam, thus ordered and sold (the land) to the Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndiaśōla-Vinnagar I, Kottaiyūr Śangaran-Śivadēvabhāta-śomāśi know this, this is my signature I, Kōrōvi Kālīdāda-śomāśi know this this is my signature I know this the signature of Tiruppēi Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇa I know this the signature of Kīrāṇṇi Mahēśvara-kramavittan. I know this the signature of Śīdanūr Kēśavan Śēnduppirān I know this the signature of Karāmbichchēttu-Śīdarabhāttan I know this the signature of Kōrōvi śrī-Mādhava-śomāśi I know this the signature of Nimbai Ilaiyanambibhāttan I know this the signature of Irungandī-Dēvadēvēśabhāttan I know this the signature of Rāśipurattu-Yajñan Thus known by Nārāyaṇa, son of Vīra, who was the devotee of the devotees of Viṣṇu (and) resident of Śāstamangala Thus known by Śōlaipp[ī]rān Subrahmanya At the command of the great assembly I, Śūṇṇi Śangaran *alias* Samañjasapriyan, the accountant (*karanattān*) of this village assembly, wrote this document, (this is my) signature

List of villages and chēris mentioned in the inscription.

Serial Number	Names of villages	Serial Number.	Names of <i>chēris</i> of Rājarāja-chaturvēḍimangalam ¹
1	Kottaiyūr	1	Rājarāja-chēri
2	Tiruppēi	2	Mummaḍiśōla-chēri
3	Kīrāṇṇi	3	Arumoḍēva-chēri
4	Kōrōvi	4	Nittavinōda-chēri
5	Karāmbichchēttu	5	Chōlēndrasīnga-chēri
6	Kōttam	6	Sundaraśōla-chēri
7	Karippuram	7	Vānavanmādevi-chēri
8	Kīranūr	8	Uttamaśōla-chēri
9	Nimbai	9	Sēmbiyanmādevi-chēri
10	Kundūr	10	Kundavai-chēri
11	Idaiyāṇṇukkudī	11	Paiṇṇavanmādevi-chēri
12	Śīdanūr	12	Lōkamādevischēri
13	Irungandī		
14	Rāśipuram		
15	Śāstamangalam		

¹ Of these *chēris* Nos 1—5 are named after the surnames of Rājarāja I, No 6 after his father Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōla, No 7 after his mother Vānavan-mahādēvi, who performed *śahagamana* on her husband's death, No 8 after the Chōla King Uttama-Chōla, son of Gandarāditya, No 9 after the mother of Uttama-Chōla, No 10 after Rājarāja's sister and Nos. 11 and 12 after his queen In *Ind Ant*, Vol XL, p. 135, I have shown that Chōlēndrasūmha was a surname of Rājarāja

No 31 —DADHIMATI-MATA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHRUHLANA,
[GUPTA-]SAMVAT 289

By PANDIT RAM KARNA, JODHPUR

This inscription is the oldest of all so far discovered in Mārwar. It was found in a very ancient temple, which is dedicated to the goddess Dadhimati, commonly called Dadhamat-mātājī, situated in a desert where the boundaries of two villages named Gōth and Mānglōd meet. These villages are 24 miles north-east of Nāgōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, in the Jōdhpur State. The rims of the slab are raised one inch high on all sides, and it was discovered lying upside down in one of the corners of the hall of the temple of the goddess.

When the news of this find reached Jōdhpur, the stone was brought to the Tawārīkh Mōhkma or Historical Department of the State, where its contents were first deciphered by me. The stone had been kept there for several years when, on the request of the *pañchas* of the Dāhimā-Brāhmana community of Jōdhpur, the Darbār kindly ordered that it should be returned to them with instructions to take proper care of it, it being the most valuable and oldest inscription in the State. The reason why it was made over to them was that all the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas recognise Dadhimati as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess, and that they consequently urged that the presence of such an inscription rendered the edifice more sacred and important in their eyes and proved the antiquity of the temple of their *mātājī*. The stone is, therefore, now lying in its former position in the *sabhā-mandapa* of this temple.¹

The inscription covers a space of writing 1' high by 1' 7½" broad. The average size of the letters is about ⅜". Considerable skill seems to have been exercised in engraving this inscription, and the rims are raised one inch high, as noted above, presumably with a view to protect the writing from the effects of weather and rain or from other stones coming into contact with the written surface, but, in spite of this care and foresight, the right half of the sixth line has been rubbed off, apparently with an instrument, by somebody. Otherwise, the inscription is in an almost perfect state of preservation. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit, which is grammatically faulty and inaccurate in some places, e.g., *Avighnanāgaḥ-pramukhā* (1 2), *datta drama-pamchāsah* (1 7f), *datah dramaśatah* and *Bappakaḥ Pūrnamukha putrēna* (1 10), etc, etc. Besides, there are several minor mistakes of engraving. The text is in prose excepting lines 11 and 12 wherein a verse occurs, which is a quotation from the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*, as will be shown subsequently. The date of the inscription is given in the last line. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and the letters *r*, *ś*, *n*, *ṇ*, *ḡ*, *h*, *ḍ*, and *ḷ*, are identical with those of the Mandasor inscription of *Bājādhirāja* Yaśodharman-Vishnuvardhana of M. V. 589.² In respect of orthography it may be noticed (1) that in all cases where the word Brāhmana occurs (except in 11 3 and 12), the sign for *v* is used for *b*, though in the case of other words wherein the letter *b* occurs the sign for *b* is invariably employed, (2) the consonant following *r* has been doubled only once in the word- *Pūrṇa*- in 1 10, (3) the rules of *parasaiarna* have been throughout observed with the exception of the word-*samnidhya*- in 1 1.

¹ Its contents have since been committed in Dvānāgarī characters to a copper plate which has been fixed on the left hand of the entrance and in the front wall (facing the deity) of the Sabhāmandapa for the reason that if the stone, which is now old enough, be broken, the contents may not be destroyed. A new *prasaśi* has been added, composed by Pandit Ram Karṇa, and giving the genealogy of the Rāthōrs from Sihā and down to the late Mahārāja, Sir Sardar Singh. [The accompanying plate has been prepared from an impression prepared by Pandit Ram Karṇa himself.—Ed.]

² Published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 224 ff., and *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 152.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the goddess *Sarasvatī*. Then follows a request to *dēvī Dadhimatī* by the community (*gōshthikā*) of *Dadhya-Brāhmanas*, headed by *Avighnanāga*. These *Brāhmanas* used to reside, it appears, in the same temple and were the worshippers of the *dēvī*. A passing reference is also made here to one *Sri-Dhrūhlāna*, who appears to have been then the ruling prince, but who this chief was and where he ruled we are unable to ascertain. Lines 3 to 10 contain the names and *gōtras* of the donors with their fathers' names and the amount contributed by each, the details whereof are embodied in the sub-joined table.

No	Name of donor	Name of father	Gōtra	Clan	Amount contributed
1	Avighnanāga	Lungala	Vachichha ¹	Āvā	1,100
2	Mūra	Kataka		.	
3	Mitulya	Pūphala	.	.	
4	Yasapati	Yalshadimna	.	.	
5	Majhabāha	Ganabhata			100
6	..				120
7	Vishnudēva	Dhūlana			50
8	Nimbagana	Śūrala		.	100
9	Dhanijala	Achintita	.		300
10	Bālāditya	Avigahala		Mahattara	100
11	Bappala	Pūrnānamukha			150
12	Sōmānala				4
13	Achilakadē [va ²]	Nimbāditya			
14	Sutala				

Line 11 contains the verse² *sarva-mangala-mangalyē śrē sarvārthasādhikē | saranū tryambakē Gauri Nārāyaṇi namō=stu tē*, quoted from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*, as said above. Then follow (1-12) the names of the *Brāhmanas* numbered 12-14 in the above table. The reason why their names are mentioned after this verse and not along with those of their caste fellows specified above, is not quite clear. Probably they contributed their mite after the engraving of the inscription had commenced. The last line, i.e., the 13th, gives the date which is the 13th of the dark half of Śrāvana of the year 289 (Gupta, equivalent to Vikrama-Samvat 665 or 608 A.D.)

It may be noted that the date of this inscription has been expressed in numerical symbols. The numeral 200 has been represented by a sign resembling ५ which is just after the fashion

¹ [Perhaps the same as *Vatsa*—V V.]

² Its meaning is, O goddess *Nārāyaṇi*, obeisance to thee, who art the source of all blessings, doer of good, accomplisher of desired objects, giver of shelter, endowed with three eyes and *Gauri* (i.e. the spouse of the god *Mahādēva*).

so often observed in the Jaina manuscripts¹ (vide Bühler's Table IX). Again, 80 has been expressed by a symbol which differs but little from that given in Bühler's Table. Then follows the sign for 9, which is also in harmony with the Valabhi system. So that 200 80 9 stand for the year 289, which has been given in the symbolical system so often met with in early inscriptions. Then follow the words *Śrāvana ba* apparently for *Śrāvana badī* (i.e. the dark half of the month of Śrāvana), the letter *di* after *ba* having been omitted for want of space. The date 13th has, again, been expressed by numerical symbols. 10 has been represented by a sign which is just like that met with in the Vākāṭika inscriptions (vide Table No IX of Bühler, referred to above) and 3 is denoted by three more or less parallel lines (≡) which is also after the Gupta fashion. Similarly, the numeral 4 in the last line has also been represented by the symbol (𑀘) which is after the same Gupta or Nāgī system (vide table quoted above). There is a dot after this symbol in the original stone, but it appears to have been inadvertently engraved by the mason. If the author had meant 10, the sign for 10 and not that for 1 would have been used in its place. From the above, it is quite clear that the date of the inscription is of the Gupta era and not Vikrama or Harsha. Secondly, the formation of the characters resembles that of the Mandasor pillar inscription of King Yaśodharmā, as already noted, which fact also corroborates the conclusion arrived at above, and thirdly, we know that the Gupta rule, which had extended far and wide over the land, came to its end at about the same period.

It may be inferred from the words *asmān dīvyā nṛvā* of line 3 that the temple of the goddess Dadhimatī was in situ when the contribution was raised by the Dadhya-Brāhmanas headed by Arighnanāga. Had this subscription been called for erecting the shrine, some such word as *lūṛita* would have been used. The temple is therefore a very old one. Additions to the temple were made by a Dāhimā Brahmacārī named Viśnuśāstri in V S 1906².

In the beginning of this inscription there is a mention of Dadhya-Brāhmanas³. These are now-a-days known as Dāhimā Brāhmanas, and are one of the *chha-nyāti* (six castes⁴) of Brāhmanas of the Pañcra-gauda section. "There is no doubt that the Dadhyas of our inscription are the modern Dāhimās, because, first, the whole of the community of the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas recognise this goddess (Dadhimatī) as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess, secondly, the majority of the population of the villages, adjoining the temple within the limit of 10 to 20 *lās*, consists of these Brāhmanas, thirdly, most of the modern names of the Khāmpas (clans) of this community are after the names of the villages situated round about the temple, e.g., Gōthichā after Gōth, Māngulōdyā after Mānglōd, Āsōpā after Āsōp, Īnānyā after Īnānā, Khatōda after Khātū, Bōrādā after Bōrāwāi, Dīdāwānyā after Dīdāwānā, etc. The Dāhimā-Brāhmanas assert that they are descended from the well-known Dadhichi-Rishi and style themselves *Dādhihas*, while in this inscription they are termed *Dadhyas*, certainly after the name of the goddess Dadhimatī. A reference to No 2 in the above table would show that the epithet *Misra*, which is still used by the Dāhimās, was common in those days. In the third line there occurs a word *āiṣ*, but there is no clan amongst the

¹ [A closer approximation to the symbol used in the present inscription occurs in Pandit G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of Ind*, plate 42, column 2, where it is stated that the symbols in that column are taken from "various records and charters"—V. V.]

² Further repairs to the temple are being executed by the Dāhimā mahāśābhā, by raising subscriptions from the whole community of Dāhimā Brāhmanas residing in all parts of India. Nearly a sum of Rs. 10,000 has already been collected and spent for the purpose.

³ [Though it seems most natural to read *śrī dadhyā*, I feel little doubt that what the engraver had before him was *śrī-dēvyā*—S. K.]

⁴ The names of the six castes who interdine but do not intermarry are —1 Dāhimā, 2 Pārikha, 3 Gauḍa, 4. Gūjara gauḍa, 5 Sārasvata, and 6 Śilhawāla (some say Khandālawāla).

Dāhimā-Brāhmanas known by this name. It therefore appears that it is perhaps a contracted form of the word *āvōti*, just as the word *brāhmana* is written in the abbreviated form *brāhra* in line 12. It is also possible that the letter *ti* of the word *āvōti* has been carelessly omitted. The word *āvōti* or *āvōti* means a worshipper, and hence it may be inferred that the Dadhyas were worshippers of the goddess Dadhimatī in those days. The office of worshipping this goddess is now held by the Sēvagas (or Bhōjikas). It is just possible that the Dadhya-Brāhmanas, as they took up some other profession, later on employed a Sēvaga for this purpose, whose descendants are up to this day doing the same work. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas of the village Rōl, 10 miles from this temple, even now personally perform the worship of the deity and offer oblations in her honour in the months of Chaitra¹ and Āśvina when fairs are held in and around the temple. In these fairs the inhabitants of the adjoining villages meet together to worship the goddess and offer their cattle for sale.

The most noteworthy information furnished by this inscription is the light it throws on the date of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*. In line 11 of our inscription is quoted the 9th verse of the 91st chapter of that *Purāna* or the 10th chapter of the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*, as the latter begins from the 81st chapter and ends with the 93rd. From this quotation we can conclusively and convincingly assert that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was composed before V S 665, i.e. before the 7th century A.D. It would, therefore, be futile if any one were to assign a date, later than the 7th century, to the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* or the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*. The section *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is regarded by some scholars as an interpolation, but what can with certainty be contended is that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not a production later than the 7th century or thereafter. Rev K. M. Banerjea writes in the introduction to his edition of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna* as follows² —

“We cannot help noticing in this place the dignity imparted to the work under review. It is classed in the same category with the Vēdas, and described as an immediate product from Brahmā's mouth. Although a *Purāna*, it is not attributed to Vyāsa, whom other Śāstras consider as the author of all works bearing that title. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, however, does not acknowledge him as its composer, editor or compiler.³ It claims equal honour in this respect with the Vēdas themselves.”

And he says in the beginning of his preface⁴ that “the section called *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was probably an interpolation.” A reference to chapter 94, verse 1,⁵ would show that when recapitulating the past, the speaker (i.e. Mārkaṇḍeya-Rishi) says that he has caused him (the addressee, i.e. Kraushtaki-Rishi) to hear the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. This internal evidence alone is sufficient to prove that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not an interpolation but forms a part and parcel of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*. Besides, if the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* were to be removed from it, the

¹ In the months of Chaitra and Āśvina falls the *Nava-rātra*, i.e. the first nine days of the bright half of the months when worship of the goddess is eloquently recommended in the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. The Dāhimā-Mahāsabhā is contemplating to re-assume the management of the temple which was formerly in their own hands even when the Sēvagas were the worshippers. The annual meetings of the *sabhā* have been held in this temple for three consecutive days in every Chaitra-Navarātra, for the last four years, and the Mahāsabhā has recently started a school there.

² P. 15 of the Bibl. Ind. Edition, Calcutta, 1862.

³ This statement has apparently been made on the authority of the Bengal manuscripts of the *Purāna* that were at Mr. Banerjea's disposal when editing the work, but the Maithila and other manuscripts of the same *Purāna* recount in the ordinary way the names of the eighteen *Purānas* and their author.

⁴ *P.* p. 1.

⁵ सार्वभौमिदं सम्यक् प्रोक्तं मन्त्रान्तरं तव । तयैव देवीमाहात्म्यं सहिषासुरघातनम् ॥१॥

total number of verses attributed to this Purāna in the commencement would fall short by the number contained in the *Mahātmya* ¹

But to return to our inscription It does not give the names of the clans wherewith the Dadhya-Brāhmanas were then known, and the two names *āvō* and *mahattara*, which may be presumed to be clan-names, are not identical with the modern ones It is therefore evident that the present Khāmpas, such as Gōthēchā, etc., must have been introduced only after V. S 665. There is one *gōtra* mentioned in the inscription, viz. Vachchha (Vatsa) which is even now found among the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas Had their present clans been well known, they would certainly have been mentioned as the epithet "Mīra" has been in l 4

The record does not contain the name of the person who composed it, nor of the mason who engraved it.

TEXT ²

- 1 श्री³ नमः (॥) [स]स्वत्यै [॥*] श्रीदध्या⁴ दधिमतीसंनिध्यपादानुध्याता[:*] श्रीधू-
ह्वाणपादानु[पा]-
- 2 लिता ब्राह्मण⁵ अविघ्ननागः प्रसुखा⁶ देवी⁷ दधिमतीं विज्ञाययन्ति⁸ ॥ अ-
- 3 स्मि⁹ देव्या [नि]वेशे गोष्ठिकाप्रथमं¹⁰ आवी[ब्राह्म]ण¹¹ अविघ्नना[ग]¹²
ब्राह्मण[ल]ग-
- 4 कपुत्र¹³ वच्छसः गोत्र¹⁴ तथा¹⁵ ब्राह्मणमिष्य . . . कटक[पुत्र¹⁶ मा]तुल्य¹⁷
पूफकपुत्रै¹⁸ त[या]
- 5 ¹⁹ब्राह्मणयशपतिः यच्चदित्रपुत्रः²⁰ ए[तै]मीष्ठिकै²¹ प्रतत्तः²² द्रमसहस्रं शताधिक । ब्रा-²³
- 6 ह्मणमभ[ही]ह (॥) गणभटपु[त्रे]ण दत्त²⁴ द्रमशतं ।
-
- 7 ब्राह्मणैर्दत्ते²⁵ द्रमशतं विशोत्तर²⁶ । तथा²⁷ ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवः दूलणपुत्रेण द[त्त]²⁸
- 8 द्रमपचाशः²⁹ [॥*] तथा³⁰ ब्राह्मणनिस्वगण (॥) शूस्कपुत्रेण दत्त³¹ द्रमशतं [॥*]
[त]था ब्राह्म-³²

¹ [The above should be compared with the able discussion of the age of the Mārkaṇḍeya by Mr Pargiter, in the introduction to his translation in the Bibl Ind, Calcutta, 1904, where he sums up his results on p 22 as follows,— "The *Dēvimāhātmya*, the latest part, was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A D. The third and fifth parts, which constituted the original Purāna, were very probably in existence in the third century, and perhaps even earlier, and the first and second ts were composed between those two periods"—S K]

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol,

⁴ Read °सानिध्य°

⁵ Read ब्राह्म°

⁶ Read °नागप्रसुखा

⁷ Read देवीं दधिमतीं.

⁸ Read विज्ञाययन्ति

⁹ Read °स्मिन्दे°

¹⁰ Read °ष्ठिकाप्रथम

¹¹ Read °ब्राह्मणीवि°

¹² Read °नागी ब्रा°

¹³ Read °पुत्रो

¹⁴ Read वच्छसगीत्रस°

¹⁵ Read ब्राह्म°

¹⁶ Read °पुत्रो

¹⁷ Read नातुल्य .

¹⁸ Read °पुत्रस°

¹⁹ Read ब्राह्मणयशपतिर्य°.

²⁰ Read °पुत्र

²¹ Read °मीष्ठिकै

²² Read प्रदत्त

²³ Read ब्रा°

²⁴ Read दत्त

²⁵ Read ब्राह्मणैर्दत्त°.

²⁶ Read °शोत्तर

²⁷ Read ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवदू°

²⁸ Read दत्ता

²⁹ Read °शत°.

³⁰ Read ब्राह्म°.

³¹ Read दत्त.

³² Read ब्राह्म°

- 9 एधनियक (i) ¹अचिन्तितपुत्रेण दत्त² द्रम्भत्रिशति³ ॥ तथा महत्तरवा-
लादित्य (i) अ[वि]-
- 10 गहकपुत्रेण दत्त⁴ द्रम्भशत⁵ [॥⁶] तथा वप्पक(°)पूर्णमुखपुत्रेण दत्त⁶ द्रम्भ-
11 शत (i) साई⁷ [॥⁷] सर्वमङ्गलमङ्गले शिवे स[र्वा]र्थसाधके⁸ । अरण्ये⁹
चास्वके¹⁰ गौरि(i) [ना]-
- 12 रायणि नमोस्तु ते ॥ तथा ब्राह्म¹¹सोमानक¹² ब्राह्मण¹³अचिलक[टि][व¹⁴]सुवकः¹⁵
[नि]-
- 13 [स्व]ादित्यपुत्रैर्दत्त¹⁶ [द्र]म्भा¹⁶ ४ ॥ ¹⁷संवच्छरशेतेषु २०० ८० ६
आवण व¹⁸ १० ३

No 32 —SEVADĪ COPPER-PLATES OF THE CHAHAMANA RATNAPALA,
VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1176

By PANDIT RAM KARNA, JODHPUR

These copper-plates were found at Sēvādī, a village in Bāli district, Gōdwar province, Jodhpur State. They were brought to light in a house in this village in consequence of a heavy downpour of rain. The news of the find reached the Police Sub-Inspector who forwarded the plates to the Mēhkmā Khās, Rāj Mārwar. They were thence sent to the Historic department (Tawārikh Mēhkmā) of the State for being deciphered and for impressions being prepared therefrom. One set of impressions has been furnished to the Ajmer Museum at the request of the Curator¹⁹. The original plates are now in charge of the Superintendent of the Tawārikh Mēhkmā.

The plates are three in number, of which the first is inscribed on one side only. The second is written on both sides, and the third bears but three lines of writing on its inner side. The inscription is perhaps incomplete as shown by the isolated and unconnected letter *ka* at the end. The average breadth of the plates is 9" while the average length is 11½". The edges have been slightly raised into rims, and the plates are strung on two almost circular rings, the ends of which are open and bear no sign of any seal. The ends of the rings are so wide apart as to permit the plates passing out of them without any difficulty. Their diameter varies from 2" to 2½", and their thickness is slightly over ¼".

The inscription consists of sixty lines of writing and is in an almost perfect state of preservation. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare forms of the letters *z* and *bh*, while the archaic formation of

¹ Read °यकाचि°.

⁴ Read दत्त.

⁷ Read साईम्.

¹⁰ Read चास्वके.

¹² Read ब्राह्मणाचिलक°.

¹³ Read द्रम्भा.

² Read - दत्ता ;

⁵ Read °शत.

⁸ Read °साधिके.

¹¹ I.e. ब्राह्मण.

¹⁴ Read °सुवकी.

¹⁷ Read संवत्सरश°.

³ Read द्रम्भत्रिशती.

⁶ Read दत्त.

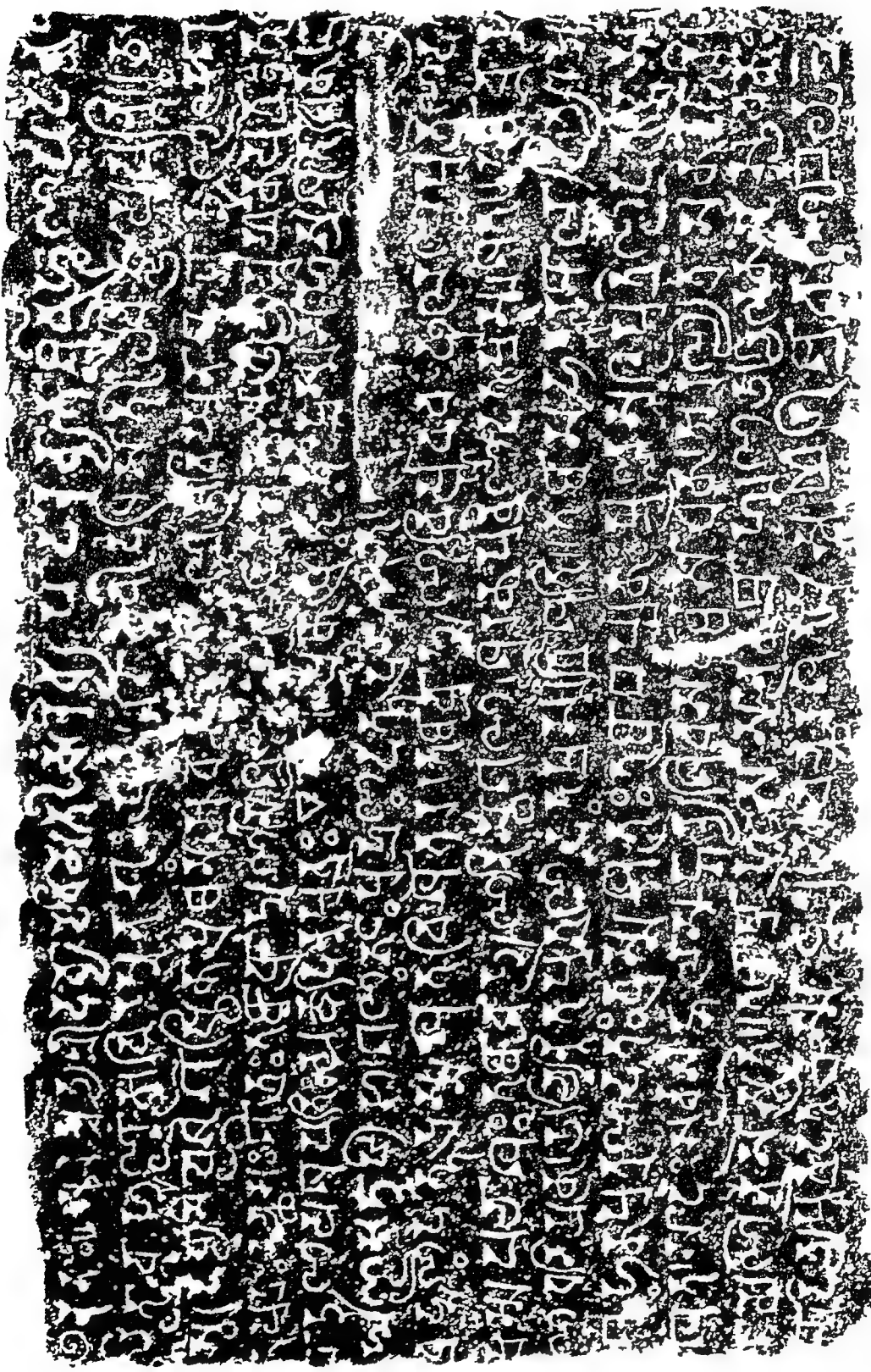
⁹ Read शरण्ये.

¹² Read सोमानकी.

¹⁵ Read °पुत्री । एतैर्दत्ता.

¹⁸ Read यदि.

¹⁹ [The accompanying plate has been prepared from impressions sent by Pandit Ram Karṇa —V V.]



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SCALE 4

V VENKATYA

the labial *ph* is rather peculiar to this inscription. The language is Sanskrit, and the text is in prose with the exception of thirteen lines at the beginning and seventeen at the end containing 11 and 15 verses (numbered), respectively, although the numbers of the last two are omitted. In respect of orthography the following may be noted: (1) the sign for *ṛ* is also used for *ḥ*, (2) there is an indifference about the doubling of the consonants after *r*, e.g. *-Iarmānan* in l 52, (3) rules of *parasavarṇa* have in some places been violated, (4) *ś* and *s* have been confounded, e.g. *-yasaskarān* (l 53), *-sahasrān* (l 58).

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of a village named Gumdakūrchchā (the modern Gündoch as we shall see later on) to Brāhmanas residing in the same village, by a Chāhamāna king named Ratnapāladēva,—the son of Prithvipāla, in V S 1176.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Brahman. The introductory verse extols the word *śasṭi*. A person came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the east, while looking, and from this person sprang the Chāhamāna dynasty (v 2), which is extolled in the succeeding verse (v 3). The next eight verses unfold the following Chāhamāna genealogy. There lived a king named Lakshmana, whose son was Śōhita, who is here called lord (*pati*) of Dhārā. His other name is Śōbhita.¹ From him sprang Balirāja, who was succeeded by his paternal uncle¹ Vīgrahapāla. Vīgrahapāla's son was Mahēndra whose other name is Manindu to whom the Rikshakūta king Dhavala lent a helping hand against Muñjuaja.² Mahēndra's son was Anahilladēva, who was blessed with two sons named Bālaprasāda and Jēsaladēva, whose (latter's) other name is Jēndrarāja¹ or Jindarāja. Jēsalā's son was Prithvipāla. Then comes the prose portion of the inscription. Prithvipāla's son was Ratnapāladēva, who is styled a *Mahārājādhirāja*. He issues the following order after having called together all his ministers, civil and military officers, the headmen as well as the leading persons among his subjects and all the resident Brāhmanas of the *Saptaśata-ūshaya* (of 700 villages) —

"Be it known to you that, the seat of our Government being in Nadūla (Nādōl) and the head quarters of our armies in the village Nahurā, after having bathed and put on two cleaned clothes, setting aside such faults as vehement desire, hatred, jealousy, moral decline, and others of like nature, being in the state of absolute goodness, realising the instability of the world, holding *tila* (sesamum), unhusked grain (barley), *lusa* (grass) and water in our right hand, having satisfied gods and *pitris* with water, remaining true to our duty, comprehending (the fact that) life is more unsteady than the drop of water on the petal of the day-lotus, having worshipped the consort of Pārvatī (*i.e.* the god Mahādēva), who is the ruler of both the moveable and the immovable, having adored Vishnu (*who is*) the greatest in the world and is skilful in destroying heaps of sins and is able to save from (the pains of) birth, old age and death, having restrained the totality of the senses for a moment, having realised (the fact that) wealth (would) collapse in a moment and such other inconstancies (of the world), having satisfied Brāhmanas and other venerable persons by gifts of gold, food, and clothes, favouring (*i.e.* following) the right path, recalling (mentally) the fear of the next world, accepting the fruit of (actions in both) this and the next world, having seen that the lettering of the charter formerly issued by the *Mahārāja* Jindarāja has disappeared, and (having) a mind to renew the same in its former state, for the increase of our religious merit and fame, and for our well-being in the next world, with a pure mind inspired by great devotion, our sins vanishing far (from us) and we being conscious of self (*i.e.* being in our right senses), we have, with libations of water, granted this charter according to the former state of things on Thursday, the 8th of the dark half of the month of Jyēsthā, when 1176 years, reckoned (in the

¹ See above, Vol IX, p 28² Above, Vol X, p 68.

name of) Vikramāditya had elapsed, to all the resident Brāhmanas of the great Brāhmana village named Gumdakūrchechā, that has survived in all the four *yugas* who delight in the first acts of sacrificing, etc., prayer, study of the Vēdas, meditation and religious practices, who are well-versed in the sacred lore of *Itihāsas* (epic poems), *Purānas* (legends), *Rāmāyana*, *Bhārata*, in words and sentences, and in (the *Smritis* of) Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Bṛhga, Aśvins, and Māikanda, in the six *darsanas*² beginning with the *Bhatta darsana* (Pūrva-mīmāṃsā) and other sciences, who are performers of sacrificial rites prescribed in the *Yajur-veda*, such as *Āśvathya* (sacred domestic fire), *Agnihōtra* (daily offering to fire), *Agnishōma* (liturgical rite in the Sōma sacrifice), *Sautrāmanī* (rite sacred to Sutrāman, i.e. India), *Paśubandha* (animal sacrifice lit. binding of victim to sacrificial post), *Chāturmāsya* (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month) and others, who are competent to break the hard knot of sins, who are well-versed in the Vēdas³ and the Vēdāṅgas⁴, and whose fame is as brilliant, extensive and praiseworthy as that of the full moon. In the beginning of the Kali age a pious *Mahārāja* (named) *sri-Jāyuka* who was ruling *Kanyakubja*, rode a mare, and the land that he could traverse in 4 *praharas* (or 12 hours), was granted by him, with the pouring out of water, for his welfare in the next world, to a Brāhmana named Gōvinda, by a *sīsana*, the glorious Gumdakūrchechā, a bush (*kūrchā*) for manifesting the picture of good conduct, circumscribed by the four boundaries, (ll 16-36). From that time the name Gumdakūrchechā (of the village so) named after the Brāhmana Gōvinda became famous on (this) earth (l 37). In the *Kṛita*-age it was known by the name of Nishadhā, in *Trīti* as Triyambakī, in *Dvāpara* as Khanitri and in *Kali* as Gumdakūrchechā (l 38). Its (four) boundaries (are described as follows) —

“To the east (lies) the way (leading) to the village (named) Vērā and passing by (the village) Ghōdiyā, the reservoir (*raduka*), (locally called Nādi), (the village) Tōusāla, and the Śiva temple of the village Ārāchandra

To the south (are situated) the pond (named) Rājji near the village of Khavada, and the villages Chāmgauḥā, Krikudapadra, Gugī and the proximity of the *pratoli* (main gate) of the village Chadarapadra

To the west (are to be found) the villages (named) Mīlva, Ākandhāpadra and Godāini, and three reservoirs of water (*raduka-tīaya*)

To the north (passes) the way which leads to Lavana-khēda, going from the three reservoirs of water (*raduka-tīaya*) to (the village named) Sumnēvi, thence going round the mountain named Sēhatunga and (finally) reaching the village Vērā” (ll 39-43)

“These are the four boundaries marked out. Within these limits, future kings, whether of our own family or others, should not demand even a single flower from the *sri-śiḥas* (i.e. Brāhmanas) residing in Gumdakūrchechā (i.e. should levy no tax, flower being mentioned as an insignificant article of no practical value) (l 44)”

Then follow 15 imprecatory verses, after which there stand the first half of a verse and the letter *ka* which perhaps was the beginning of the second half left out for some reason unknown to us.

We thus see that the inscription refers itself to the Chāhamāna family of Lakshmana, whose progenitor is, in this inscription, said to have been born out of the eye of the god Indra, while, in other inscriptions of the family it is recorded that, “when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vachchha (i.e. Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race

¹ The six acts prescribed for the Brāhmanas are sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, giving and taking

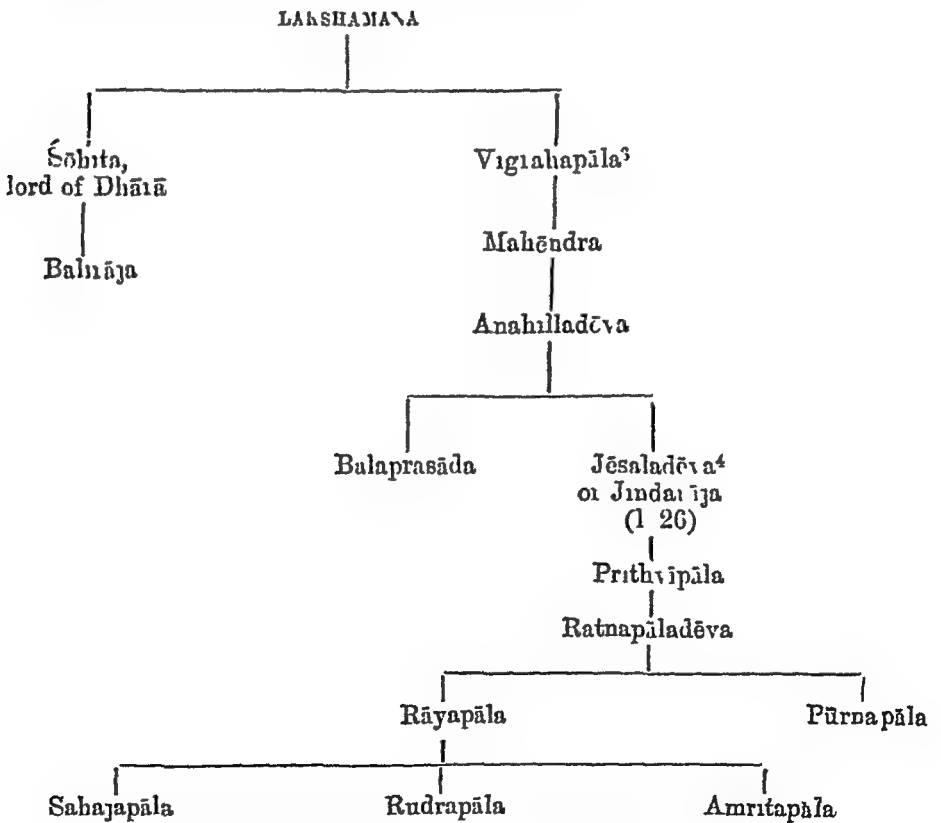
² The six *darsanas* are *Pūrva mīmāṃsā* of Jaimini, *Uttara mīmāṃsā* of Vyāsa, *Nyāya* of Gautama, *Tantrika* of Kanūda, *Sāṅkhya* of Kapila and *Yōga* of Patañjali

³ The four Vēdas are, *Rik*, *Yajur*, *Sāma*, and *Atharvan*

⁴ The six *Vēdāṅgas* are, *Śikshā* (orthography or phonetics), *Kalpa* (rituals or liturgy), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology and lexicography), *Chhandah* (prosody), and *Jyōtiṣha* (astronomy)

of warriors, the Chāhamāna race"¹ This fact is further corroborated by an inscription where we read² that "there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi Vatsa* ' Professor Kielhorn also points out³ that "according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmēśvara (No 154 of his *Northern List*) Sāmanta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the *Vatsi-gōtī* at Ahichchhatrapāra " The current belief that the four races of Paramāras, Chālukyas, Chāhamānas and Pratihāras sprang from the *agnihunda* receives no support from this inscription

The genealogy unfolded by our inscription, is the same as that given by Prof Kielhorn in his paper on the Chāhamānas of Naddūli, referred to above, as far as Prithvīpāla, and the name of Ratnapāladēva, the hero of our inscription, is an addition to it But an inscription recently discovered at Māndōr, when archaeological excavations were being carried out under the supervision of Dr Marshall, reveals the name of two further generations, viz, Rāyapāla, son of Ratnapāla, and Sahajapāla, son of Rāyapāla Before the discovery of the inscription at Māndōr, it was not known whose son Rāyapāla was, though he was known to be a Chāhamāna from his eight inscriptions found in the Gōdāwari District From these latter we further learn that Rāyapāla had besides Sahajapāla two other sons, viz, Rudrapāla and Amritapāla; while in another inscription of Ratnapāla (published in the *Bhāvanagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*), the name of Ratnapāla's son is given as Pūnapāksha, which I am inclined to read as Pūrṇapāla So the dynastic list would now stand as follows —



¹ *Ep Ind* Vol IX, p 79

² *Ibid*, p 71

³ The present inscription does not give us the relation which Vigrahapāla bore to his predecessor Bahirāja. It is taken from Kielhorn's Genealogical Table (above, Vol IX, p 83)

⁴ Called Jēndrarāja (Jindurāja) in Prof Kielhorn's Table

In our inscription, Śōhita is styled lord of Dhārā Śōhita's time is after V S 1039¹ when Muñja was ruling over Dhārā It is possible that he defeated Muñja and became, for some time, lord of that city or country This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Śōhita's son Balirāja, routed the army of Muñjarāja² The *Mahārāja* Jindarāja mentioned in line 26 is the same as Jēsaladēva of verse 10 above We may also note that the grant, the renewal of which is recorded in this inscription, is stated to have been originally made by *Mahārāja ri-Jāyuka* in the beginning of the Kalī age

Of the localities mentioned in our inscription, all of them except 5 have been identified —

Gumdakūrchchā—is the modern Gündōch, 5 *lōs* south of Pāli (called Mārwar-Pāli), the principal town of the district of the same name and a railway station on the Jōdhpur-Bikaner Railway. It is a *Jāgīr* village held by Thākur Gopāl Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, of the Ūdāvat clan of Rāthore.³

Vērā—Bēd (now desolate) 1 *lōs* east of Gündōch.

Khavada—Khōd, 4 *lōs* south of Gündōch,

Gugī—Gōgāvās (now deserted)

Chadarapadra—Chāñchōdī, 7 *lōs* south

Milua—Mālōla (now uninhabited), 1 *lōs* south

Ākandhāpadra—Kāndā, 1 *lōs* west of Gündōch.

Gōdāni—Gurdāi, 3 *lōs* west.

raduha-traya—are the 3 Nādis (or reservoirs of water) called Dūli, Bhāndlāi, and Ghānēvara, 1 *lōs* (west)

Sēhatunga—Kāhyōtūmka and Badā Bhākara are the names of 2 small hills and a way leading to Bēd passes between the two

Ghōdiyā—Bachūjī-rō-Gurbō, 1 *lōs* east of Gündōch

raduha—is the Nādi called Sānvaliyō, 3 *lōs* east

Ārāchandra—now desolate, but there is still a temple of Śiva in the desert, $\frac{3}{4}$ *lōs* south of Gündōch

Nahurā—now called Bāmanān-rō-Nōrō It lies in the Jālōr District and is situated at a distance of 11 *lōs* to the west of Gündōch

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 ओं⁵ ओं ब्रह्मणे⁶ नमः । [१*] 'स्वस्तीति चतुरो वेदान् सषडंगपदक्र-
मान् [१*] सर्वाशिष्यमया⁸ स्वस्ति स्वस्तीति परमं
2 पदं ॥ [१*] 'पपात पुरषे⁹ तित्रादीक्षतः पूर्वादकातेः¹⁰ । ¹¹चाहमानात्-
यस्तस्माद्भूव¹² गुणिना प्रियः ॥ [२*] ¹³वशः सता य¹⁴

¹ This is the latest date given for Lakshmana by Mr D. R. Bhandarkar, above, table opposite p 78

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX, p 71

³ Besides Gündōch proper, he holds the following villages as his *Jāgīr*—Kōnalā, Bachūjī rō Gurbō, two *dhānis* (hamlets) near Gündōch, Pratāppurā and Gōpālgarh The annual rental of all these villages is estimated at ₹7,000 per annum by the State for the purposes of levying State taxes, etc The majority of the population consists of two different castes of Brāhmanas, viz Gurjar Gundas and Sankhavālas The former claim the village to have been granted to their ancestor named Gangōya (a corruption of Gōvinda of our inscription) The *kūrcha* grass still grows here in abundance—a fact which leaves not even a shadow of doubt as to its being the same village

⁴ From the original plates,

⁷ Metre Anushtubh

⁹ Read पुरषो नेत्रा⁰.

¹² Read °इमव.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol,

⁸ Read सकलाशीर्षया.

¹⁰ Read °वैदिकृते

¹³ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁶ Read ब्रह्म⁰

¹¹ Read °नाग्वय⁰.

¹⁴ Read य,

- 3 'सफलः सपुण्यो लोके प्रसिद्धः सगुणो बभूव² । सारोक्तारण्डेदविभेदहीन³
आकारवर्मानुरतोऽभिपेक्षे⁴ ॥३
- 4 'शीलक्षणो⁵ 'लब्धवरप्रदानस्तता⁶ 'बभूवाखिलराज्ञपत्यः⁹ ॥ ¹⁰वृद्धाभिषिक्तोतिव-
रण¹¹ पुष्टसप दृशीवा-¹²
- 5 स्थिरमविकाया¹³ ॥४ ¹⁴तस्यात्मजोरातिच्यावमर्दी¹⁵ य[सो]भिराक्रांतसमग्रकाष्ठः ।
नरेन्द्रवृद्धैः¹⁶
- 6 तुतपादपद्मो बभूव¹⁷ धारापतिशोचिताख्यः ॥५ ¹⁸ततो बभूव¹⁹ राजन्यो ²⁰वलि-
राजो महोपति. [1²¹] वलिसमा-²¹
- 7 नदानो यो जितनिःशेषसगरः ॥६ ²²संख्याजिर²³ विग्रहपालसूनुः प्रतापनिःशे-
पितवैरिजा[तः 1²⁴]
- 8 ²⁵सक्रन्दनाद्यो ²⁶वलवा[न्नि]तांतं ततश्च राजा समभून्महेंद्रः ॥७ ²⁸तस्याभवच्छीअ-
णहिल्लदेव.²⁷ सु-
- 9 तः ²⁹शमांकोज्वलदानकीर्त्ति³⁰ । येनाहवे वैरिजनोपि साक्षो[क्]तः स्वशैर्यस्य²⁹ जना-
तिग[स्य] ॥८ ³¹त[स्या]-
- 10 लजोरातिगण[स्य] हंता बालप्रसादो³¹ नृपतिर्वभूव³² । रणाजिरे येन जिताः
³³सपत्ता सुख[क्]-³⁴
- 11 ता शेषजना तिदापै.³⁵ ॥९ ³⁶तस्यानुजो जेसलदेवभूपो बभूव³⁷ पुण³⁸ कमनीय-
काति³⁹ । जात मता-
- 12 नां परिपूर्णतायाः शत(तं) स्थिवास्वर्णतुरंगदानैः⁴⁰ ॥१० ⁴¹सनुस्तस्या⁴¹भवद्राजा
पृथ्वीपाल⁴²

¹ The letter स is probably a subsequent addition

² Read सारोक्तारण्डेद⁰

⁴ Read 'वर्मानु⁰

² Read बभूव.

⁵ Metre Upajāti

⁶ Read 'लब्धपुण्य

⁷ Read लब्धवरप्रदानस्ततो

⁶ Read बभूवा⁰

⁹ Read 'राजपुण्य

¹⁰ Read वृद्धा⁰ [The first alshara appears to be चू Perhaps the reading intended is चूडा⁰—V.V.]

¹¹ Read 'वरेण

¹² Read पुष्टसप प्रभावात्

¹³ Read 'सविकाया .

¹⁴ Metre Upajāti

¹⁵ Read यशीभि⁰ [There is a blank space for at least three letters between रा and क्रा in the original—V.V.]

¹⁶ Read वृद्धेनुत⁰

¹⁷ Read बभूव

¹⁸ Metre Anushtubh

¹⁹ Read बभूव

²⁰ Read वलि⁰

²¹ Read वलि⁰ This line offends against the metre [Perhaps we have to read वलिसमा⁰—V.V.]

²² Metre Upajāti

²³ Read 'जिरे

²⁴ Read सक्रन्द⁰

²⁵ Read वल⁰

²⁶ Metre Upajāti

²⁷ Read 'क्षी⁰

²⁸ Read शमांकोज्वल⁰

²⁹ Read 'शोय⁰

³⁰ Metre Upajāti.

³¹ Read बाल⁰

³² Read 'वभूव

³³ Read 'पद्मा

³⁴ Read स्वस्थीकृता

³⁵ Read निदापै

³⁶ Metre Upajāti

³⁷ Read बभूव

³⁸ Read पुण्य

³⁹ Read स्थिरा⁰

⁴⁰ Metre Anushtubh,

⁴¹ Read सनुस्तस्या⁰

⁴² Read 'पाली.

- 13 महावलः¹ [I*] शूरो रणे कृती [त्या]गी कक्षाशोचे मदा रतः ॥११
तत्पुत्रो [नि]जकुलाभोजमित्रो म-
- 14 हाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्नपालदेवो महीं पालयन्² स्वीयमहामात्यग्रहसाटिनियोगिनो³
महासामन्तः⁴
- 15 'डडनायकदु.माधसाधनिकठकुरवलाधिप'पट्ट[कि]लजनपदादीन' 'सर्वान' 'सपञ्चत-
विषयातःस्थितः'⁵
- 16 महास्थानब्राह्मणाश्च¹⁰ बोधयत्यस्तु¹¹ वः सविदित¹² यथा । इह श्रीनदूले
निजराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमा-
- 17 ने नहुराग्रामस्थिते कटके ¹³श्रीविक्रमादित्येत्पादितातीतसम्बत्तरगते[ष्वे]कादश-
18 सु षट्सप्तत्यधिकेषु ¹⁴ज्येष्ठमासवहुलपक्षा[ष्ट]मीगु[रु]वासरे ॥ अकतोपि संव-
19 त् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ गुरौ¹⁵ एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने¹⁶ अस्या संवत्सरमा-
सप्तपूर्वायां तिथौ

Second Plate ; First Side

- 20 ज्ञान विधाय धौतपोतिके परिधाय रागद्वेषमत्सरकषायादिदोषान् हित्वा
सात्त्विकभावे¹⁷ स्थि-
- 21 त्वा ससारस्यासारता¹⁸ विदित्वा तिलाक्षतकुशावुप्रणयिनं¹⁹ दक्षिणकरं कृत्वा देवपि-
22 तृनुदकेन संतर्प्य धर्माशुष्ठानमुपसर्प्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतर
23 जीवितमाकलय्य चराचरगुरु पार्व्वतीपतिं सपूज्य जगन्महीयास पापपटल-
पाटनपटो-
- 24 यास²⁰(1) जन्मजरामरणरक्षणप्रभविष्णु विष्णु पूजयित्वा क्षणमेकमिन्द्रियग्राम जित्वा
क्षणिकां लक्ष्मी-
- 25 सुपलक्ष्य²¹ इत्याद्यनित्यतामवेक्ष्य ब्राह्मणान्²² गुरुश्च सुवर्णैर्नवस्तदानैः²³ सतीथ
सन्मार्गं सं-
- 26 पोष्य²⁴ परलोकभोरुत्वमाश्रित्य²⁵ ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य ²⁶प्राक्सहाराजश्री-
जिदराज-

¹ Read °वल

⁴ Read °सामन्.

⁷ Read °दीन्

¹⁰ Read °ब्राह्म.

¹³ Read °विक्रमादित्येत्पा°.

¹⁵ Read °नानेऽस्या

¹⁹ Read °कुशावु°.

²² Read °ब्राह्मणान्.

²⁵ Read °द्विऐहिका°.

² Read °यन्

⁵ Read °दण्ड°

⁸ Read सर्वान्.

¹¹ Read बोध°

¹⁴ Read °वहुल°

¹⁷ Read सात्त्विक°.

²⁰ Read °याम

²³ Read सुवर्णै°

²⁶ Read प्राड्म°

³ Read °रघहस्त्यादिनियो°

⁶ Read °वलाधिप°

⁹ Read समञ्चतविषयान्°

¹² Read सविदित

¹⁵ Read गुरावेव

¹⁸ Read °सारता

²¹ Read °लक्ष्येत्पा°.

²⁴ Read रुपीथ

[illegible]

22 a

[illegible]

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- 27 प्रदत्तशासनाक्षराणि भ्रष्टान्यवलोक्य तथा स्थित्या जीर्णोद्धारबुद्ध्या¹ स्वपुण्य-
यशोभिहृदये चातु-
- 28 'र्युगिकमहाव्यहस्यस्थानश्रीगुदकूर्चाहिधाननिवासिने² यजनादिषट्कर्मजपस्वाध्यायध्या-
नानुष्ठान-
- 29 विधायिने इतिहासपुराणरामायणभारतपदवाक्ययाज्ञवल्क्यकात्यायनभग्वगिरोमार्क-
डेय-⁴
- 30 'भट्टदर्शनादिषट्दर्शनशा[स्त्र]ाभिरताय⁶ आवसथ्याग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमसौत्रामणिपशुवंध-⁷
- 31 चातुर्मास्यादियजुक्रियानिरताय⁸ निविडतरकल्मषग्र(य)थिभिदे [वि]द्वेदांगविदे (i)
राकाश-
- 32 शो(शा)कविशद्विस्तृतज्ञाध्यक्षोकाय समग्रश्रीब्राह्मणलोकोय⁹ परत्र हिवुद्ध्या¹⁰
निजमनःशुद्ध्या भ-
- 33 क्तिभरप्रेरितमनोभिर्दूरप्रणश्यदेनोभिरात्मसवित्या पूर्वस्थित्या शासनमिदमुदकपूर्वमि-
- 34 त्यस्माभिः प्रदत्त ॥ कलियुगादौ तुरग्यारूढेन दिवसचतुःप्रहरमध्ये यावती
भ(भू)मिः परिभ्राता ताव-
- 35 त्या कृताघाटनैरुपलक्षिता¹¹ सराचारचित्रोन्मीलनकूर्चा श्रीगुदकूर्चा त[स्मै] गोवि-
दनान्न¹² द्विजन्मनो(ने ।) श्रीकन्य-
- 36 कु[ञ्ज]पातना¹³ सुकृतिना महाराजश्रीजाजुक(के)न परत्र श्रेयसे स्वश्रेयसे शा-
सनेनोदकपूर्व¹⁴ प्रदत्ता
- 37 तदाप्रभृति . तस्य गोविदविप्रस्य नामाकित गुदकूर्चति¹⁵ नाम वसुधायां विख्यातं
वभूव¹⁶ ॥ ¹⁷कृते तु
- 38 निषटा प्रोक्ता चैताया च चियवकी¹⁸ । हापरे च खनिचीति गुदकूर्चा
कलौ स्मृता ।(ii) अस्या आघाटनानि । पूर्वस्थां
- 39 दशि¹⁹ वेराग्रामवार्त्तनी²⁰ घोडिया रदुह तोउसाल आराचद्रग्रामशिवभवनसमी-
पगामिनी ॥

Second Plate , Second Side

- 40 दक्षिणतः खवडग्रामसमीपे राज्जीतडाग चागौहाग्रामः । ककुडपट्टं च । गुगी-
ग्रामः । चदर-
- 41 पट्टग्रामप्रतोलीसमीप च । पश्चिमतो मीलुअग्रामं च । आकंधापट्ट । गोडा-
इणी रदुहव-

¹ Read 'वृद्ध्या

⁴ Read 'भृग्विरोमार्क'

⁷ Read 'वन्ध'

¹⁰ Read 'हिवुद्ध्या

Read 'कुञ्जपातना

¹¹ Read 'वभूव

² Read 'त्रष्ट'

⁵ Read 'दर्शना'

⁸ Read 'यजु क्रिया'

¹¹ Read 'सदाचार'

¹⁴ Read 'पूर्व'

¹⁷ Metre Anushtubh

³ Read 'गुदकूर्चाभिधान'

⁶ Read 'षट्दर्शनशास्त्राभिरतायाव'

⁹ Read 'ब्राह्मणलोकाय

¹² Read 'नाम्न

¹⁵ Read 'कूर्चेति

¹⁸ Read 'चियवकी

²⁰ Read 'वर्त्तनी

¹⁹ Read 'दिशि

- 42 य¹ च । उत्तरतो लवणखेडवर्त्मनी । रदुहत्रयात् मुनेवोग्रामगामिनो
ततो² सहतुंगपर्व-
43 तं मध्ये कृत्वा वेराग्रामग्रामिनो³ ॥ इने⁴ चत्वार आघाटनाः प्रमाणं
अमोपा⁵ आघाटनाना मध्ये⁶ आ(ग्र)-
44 स्रहंशजैरन्यैश्च भावि[भृ]मिपालैश्च केनापि गुटकूर्वाया श्रीलोकपार्श्वे वदपुष्पं⁷
न याचनीयं । अस्मद्वशे य-
45 दा क्षीणे यः कोपि नृपतिर्भवत्तस्याहं⁸ करे लग्नः शासनं न व्यतिक्रमे⁹ ॥१
¹⁰ बहुभिर्बन्धुषु भुक्त्वा¹¹ राजभि स-
46 गराद्भिर्यस्य¹² यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥२ चोप्याहुरपि¹³ दानानि
गाव पृथ्वी सरस्वती [।¹⁴]
47 आसप्तम फलमित्येते¹⁵ दोहवाहनिवेदने¹⁶ ॥३ सर्वेषामेव दानाना¹⁷ एकजन्मानुके¹⁸
फल¹⁹ । हाटकक्षि-
48 तिगौरीणा सप्तजन्मुके²⁰ फलम् ॥४ यावन्ति मत्स्यमूलानि गोरोमाणि च सङ्ग्रह्या [।²¹]
नरस्तावन्ति²² व[र्षा]णि स्व-
49 नो तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥५ तडागाना²³ सहयेणाञ्ज[ने]धयतेन च । गवा कौटिप्रदा[ने]न
भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥६
50 सत्यं चैव हुत चैव यत्किञ्चिद्वर्त्मसचितं । अर्द्धगुलेन सोमाया²⁴ हरणेन
प्रनस्यति²⁵ ॥७ न्यायेनोपाजि-²⁶
51 ता भूमी²⁷ अन्यायेनोपहारिता । हरतो हारतश्चापि²⁸ हनत्यात्पसं कुलं
॥८ भूमी²⁹ य. प्रतिगङ्गाति³⁰ य-
52 स्तु भूमी³¹ प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ³² स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥९
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रे³³
53 दानानि³⁴ धर्मार्थसस्कराणि³⁵ । निर्माद्यवतप्रतिमानि³⁶ तानि को नाम साधुः
युनराददैतु³⁷ ॥१०

¹ Read °च

² Read ततः .

³ Read °गामिनी

⁴ Read इने.

⁵ Read अमोपा⁶

⁶ Read मध्येऽहं

⁷ Read बहुपुष्पं

⁸ Read °वेत् । एतन्ना⁹

⁹ Read व्यतिक्रमेत्

¹⁰ Read वहु¹¹

¹² Read स्रहा

¹¹ Read सगरादिभि । यस्य

¹² Read °रति¹³

¹³ Read °फलमित्येते

¹² Read °निवेदने

¹³ Read दानानामे.

¹⁴ Read °दु.

¹⁴ Read फल.

¹⁴ Read °स्रहादुग

¹⁵ Read °वने

¹⁵ Read सहस्रं चाश्व.

¹⁵ Read °सीमाया

¹⁶ Read प्रपश्यति

¹⁶ Read °नीपाङ्गिता.

¹⁶ Read °भूमिरन्यायेना

¹⁷ Read °रुष्टाति

¹⁷ Read प्रपन्नानामे.

¹⁷ Read °सन्ति

¹⁸ Read °नरेन्द्रे¹⁹

¹⁸ Read °सन्ति

¹⁸ Read °नियत

¹⁹ Read °राददैतु.

¹⁹ Read °यस्कराणि

¹⁹ Read °वान्

- 54 पूर्वदत्ता¹ नरेन्द्रैश्च यत्नाद्रच [श]तकतुः² [।*] महीनहिभृता श्रेष्ठा⁴ दानाश्रेया-
नुपालन⁵ ॥११ विंध्याट-
55 वीवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पा भि⁷ जायन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारकः⁹ ॥
56 १२ न विषं विष[मि]त्याहुः¹⁰ ब्रह्मस्व विष¹¹ उचाते । विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्म¹²-
57 स्व पुत्रपौत्रिकम् ॥१३

Third Plate

- 58 षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि¹³ स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । हरणेनानुमताश्च¹⁴ तस्यैव¹⁵ नरकं
वसेत् ॥० रिणह-¹⁶
59 र्त्ता भूमिहर्त्ता हारीताश्च¹⁷ हि ते क्षयः¹⁸ । एते च नरकं यांति ¹⁹यावदिन्द्रचतुर्द-
60 श ॥० ॥ ²⁰रिणहर्त्ता भूमिहर्त्ता द्वावेतौ तुलया धृती[।*] क²¹

No 33—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS OF KONDAVIDU

By J RAMAYYA, B A , B L

A

This inscription is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar planted in front of the temple of Virabhadra-svāmin in the village of Phirangipuram²² in the Sattinapalli taluka of the Guntur District. I first saw and copied it in April 1897. Subsequently, my friend Rao Sahib Krishna Sastri visited the place and took an estampage of the inscription, from which I edit it. The letters are cut deep and the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

The Telugu characters and orthography of this inscription are similar to those of the Tottarāmūdi plates of Kātaya-Vēma²³. In the present inscription, however, the aspirated forms of *b*, *d* and *p* are distinguished from the unaspirated ones by a stroke resembling the Telugu figure 1 affixed at the right-hand corner of the bottom of the letter. This sign is not found in the case of *bha*, *bhā* and *bhu*, the first and last of which are, however, distinguished from the corresponding unaspirated letters by the presence of the *talakattu* or top-stroke. Sometimes a consonant is unnecessarily doubled after an *anuvāra* as in *vinōdumddu*-(l 103).

A remarkable feature in the orthography of the Telugu portion of the inscription is the use of the sign of the *pūrnānūsāra* for denoting *ardhānūsāra* as in *-okhamdu*-(l 97 f), *-pati-*

¹ Read °दत्ता² Read शतक्रती.³ Read मही महीभृता⁴ Read श्रेष्ठ The syllable ४ is written below the line⁵ Read दानाश्रेयोनु°.⁶ Omit the first वी⁷ Read हि⁸ Read ब्रह्म°⁹ Read °हारका¹⁰ Read °त्याहुर्ब्रह्म°¹¹ Read विषमुच्यते¹² Read ब्रह्म°¹³ Read षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि¹⁴ Read हर्ता चैवानुमन्ता च¹⁵ Read तान्येव नरके¹⁶ Read क्षणहर्ता.¹⁷ Read तथा हारयिता¹⁸ Read क्षय¹⁹ Read °दिन्द्राश्च°²⁰ Read क्षण°²¹ The inscription abruptly stops here.²² A station on the Bezvada Guntakal branch of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway²³ Above, Vol IV, pp 318 ff.

yum *Grishna*- (102 f), =*anungum-butri* (104 f), =*nārāyanumdu*-(105 f), =*putāmbulam bari*-(123), and *vēmdim jēva* (125 f) In all these places, metre requires the *ardhānusiāra* only, and this was, no doubt, what was intended to be read The use of the complete circle which is the sign of the full *anusīāra* to denote the half-*anusīāra*, is common in inscriptions and in old manuscripts and shows that the modern sign of the *ardhānusiāra*—i.e. the left half of a circle,—had not yet come into vogue at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It shows also that '*ardhānusiāra* was *pūrnānusiāra* incompletely pronounced,' as the author of the *Āndhrabhāshāhūshanam* puts it, and disproves the view of some of the later grammarians who seem to think that *ardhānusiāra* was the earlier and *pūrnānusiāra* the later form of the sound It also falsifies the much bolder theory of the late Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastri who held that *ardhānusiāra* simply denotes the elision of a consonant¹ In modern Telugu the words *pūchi*, *dīchi*, and *nōchi* are pronounced only with an *ardhānusiāra* after the first vowel, but Nannachōda, in his *Kṛmāśambhavam*, used these words as *pūñchi*, *dāñchi* and *nōñchi* and made them rhyme with *eñchi*, and even now we hear, in the Guntur, Nellore, and the Ceded Districts, *vāndu* for *vādu* (he), *tūñchu* for *tūchu* (weigh), *mīnda* for *mīda* (above), *pēnta* for *pēta* (market town) and *pēnda* for *pēda* (dung) In the Roman text of the Telugu portion of the inscriptions, the *anusīāra* to be elided is printed in italics

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Telugu and it is throughout in verse The sixth and seventh verses are also found in the *Śringāradīpikā*, a commentary on the *Amarasataka* by Kōmati-Vēma², and the thirteenth verse is taken, with a slight modification, from the Madras Museum plates of Vēma³ The first verse is devoted to the praise of the boat-incarnation of Vishnu and the second and third to the praise of the Sun and Moon, and Vināyaka In the next verse, the poet appropriately eulogizes the feet of Vishnu which gave birth to the (Śūdra) caste, which is a veritable ocean of good qualities In that caste was born king Vēma who was 'a seventh emperor,⁴ as it were, and an eleventh incarnation of Vishnu' (v. 5) Vēma ruled for a long time, enjoying what was left of the kingdom after enjoyment by Brāhmins, and constructed the flight of steps from *Pātālagāṅgā* to the summit of the Śiśaīla as if to climb up to the abode of Śiva (v. 6) He had an elder brother named Mācha, who had three sons, viz., king Reddivōta, Śi-Kōmatīndra, and king Nāga, who were like *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* personified (v. 7) Ped[d*]ja-Kōmatī begot a son named Vēma—as great as Karna in charities—even as the ocean begot the moon (v. 8) Verses 9 and 11 describe the military greatness of Vēma, while vv. 10, 12 and 13 praise his charities which extended from Śiśaīla to Kāśī (Benares), touching on the way Kumārāchāla, Pañchārāma, Simhāchala, Śrikūrma and Purushōttama The queen of this king was Sūramāmbikā, who, on the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the year Virōdhī corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the moon, Rāmas, Rāmas and the earth (1331), performed the ceremony of *pratiṣṭhā* (completion and dedication to public use) of the tank called Santānapayōnidhī (vv. 14 and 15) The next three verses contain a hyperbolical description of the tank, and then follow three verses from the *Mahābhārata* on the merit of digging tanks The last Sanskrit verse tells us that this pure *dharmaśāsana* was composed by Śrīnātha who was the *Vidyādhikārin* of Vēma and a storehouse of learning

The three Telugu verses that are engraved on the east face of the pillar, are in the Sisa metre, each verse consisting of four long lines in the proper Sisa metre followed by four

¹ See his *Theory of Ardhānusiāra*, Edition of 1892

² See the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya's remarks on the Phurangipuram inscription, in his Report on Epigraphy for 1900, p. 21, paragraph 55

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff

That is, as great as any of the six emperors (*śatcakravartin*) spoken of in the Purānas

short lines in the Tēta-gīta metre. The first verse announces the fact of the completion of the tank and gives us the additional information that the day of the ceremony of *pratishtā* was a Friday and that Śūramāmbā was the daughter of king Ganna of Dhānyavātī (Dharamakōṭa). The next two verses contain a hyperbolic description of the tank of which it is stated that its waters were as purifying as those of Gangā, Yamunā, and all other sacred rivers, that it was full of water-lilies which blossomed at the touch of the rays of the moon which was the crest of (the idol of) Śiva established on its bank, that the deafening roar of its waters filled all space, that it was the sporting ground for fish, crabs, and other water animals, and that its waves kissed the sky (v 24). "How, to such a tank as this, can be likened the ocean which was trodden to dust by the hoofs of the false Boar that was Viṣṇu, which became dry by the touch of the fire of the arrows of Rāma, that was drunk up by sage Agastya, and that was dammed with stones by hosts of monkeys and bears?" (v 25).

In regard to the date of the inscription, the Honourable Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, the learned author of the "Indian Chronology," kindly informs me that "the *tithi* ended at 23½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise on Friday, 21st February, A. D. 1410."

The inscription confirms, but adds little to, what we know already of the history of the Reddis of Kondavidu, which I discussed at length in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma.¹

Special interest attaches to this inscription as well as to the two following ones from the fact that they were composed by the great Telugu poet Śrīnātha.

Vēma, son of Pedda Kōmati, bore the titles *Samgrāma-Dhanamjaya* (vv 9 and 11) and *Vīranārāyaṇa* (v 23). He seems to have been both a scholar and a patron of scholars. The *Śrīngārādīpī*, of which he is the reputed author, says that he was well versed in all the branches of knowledge and that his court was the resort of poets among whom was the great Sanskrit poet Vāmanabhatta Bāna, the author of the drama *Pārvatīparīkṣā* and of the poem *Vēma-bhūpālīyam* of which Vēma was himself the hero. Śrīnātha held the position of *Vidyādhikārī* (Poet Laureate²) under Pedda-Kōmati-Vēma and he seems to have held the same position under his son Rācha-Vēma, as will appear from the next inscription³. After the death of Rācha-Vēma he seems to have gone to Rajahmundry where he was patronised by Vēma-Reddi and Virabhadra-Reddi. He was a prolific writer and his poetry is characterised by originality and vigour of expression. He is the author of the following works —

1. Marudrācharitramu
2. Śāhvāhana-Saptaśati
3. Śrīngāranaishadhamu
4. Bhimakhandamu
5. Kāsikhandamu
6. Haravilāsamu
7. Panditārādhyacharitramu
8. Vīthi-Nātakamu

Nos 3 to 6 have been published. A *Vīthi-Nātakamu* purporting to be the work of one Vinukonda Vallabhāmātya has been recently edited by Mr. Mānavalli Rāmakrishna Kavi, M. A.,

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

² [*Vidyādhikārī* appears to have been a responsible high place somewhat similar to the 'President, Board of Examiners' of the present day. That Śrīnātha did occupy such a place is evident from what is said of him in the introduction to the *Bhimakhandamu*, in the Sisa foot *bhāṣimchīnādatu bahudēśa-budhalatō vidyāparīkṣana-vējalāndu* — H. K. S.]

³ Śrīnātha's connection with the Reddis probably began in the reign of Ana Vēma to whose minister he dedicated his *Śrīngāranaishadhamu*.

and I agree with the editor in considering that Śrīnātha, who was Vallabha's contemporary, was the real author of this little poem. The poetry is certainly that of Śrīnātha.¹

In the introduction to his *Bhīmakhandamu*, the poet tells us that he was a Brāhmana of the Pākanāti sect. The Pākanātis are found mostly in the Nellore District and there is a family of them at Sūlūrnpāta, whose house-name is Śīnātham (Śīnāthuni). These Brāhmanas usually call their sect Piānnāti to distinguish it from that of Pākanāti Kāpus or Reddis and interpret that term as meaning the "Eastern Country." This etymology is obviously incorrect.² The Telugu term Pākanāda is evidently derived from Tamil Pākkainādu, which is found in several Tamil inscriptions in the Nellore District³ and the word *pākkai* is the Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit *pūga*, meaning areca-nut. Pūngi, a variation of Pūgi, appears in inscriptions as the name of the country "which extended from the eastern slopes of Srīgiri to the eastern sea on both sides of the river Kundi."⁴ In my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma, I was unable to explain the significance of this term, but there is no doubt about it now. The Telugu form of *pūgi* is *pōka*—*ō* being nasal—and a sect of the Reddis of the Cudappah District call themselves Pōkanāti and not Pākanāti Reddis.

Śīnātha was a much travelled man for his times. He tells us, in a stiaṃ verse attributed to him, that he visited the courts of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II and Rāva Sarvajña-Singamanidu of the Velugōti family and that he was patronised by Sāluva Telungu Rāya. He spent, however, the best part of his life at the courts of the Reddī chiefs of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry and dedicated most of his works either to those chiefs or to their officers. The traditional history of the Velugōti family tells us that Lingamanāyudu of that family having killed Vēma-Reddī of Rajahmundry in battle and taken his sword called the *Nandikanti pōṭaṭi*,⁵ Śīnātha was deputed by Vēma's brother Virabhadra to get back the sword and that the poet succeeded in doing so by eulogizing Lingamanāyudu in three verses.⁶

B

This inscription also belongs to the time of Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma and is engraved on both sides of five copper plates. About ten years ago, the plates were sent by the Tahsildar of Guntūr to the Collector of the Kistnā District in which Guntūr was then included, and I edit the inscription from impressions taken by me at that time. The inscription consists of two

¹ Śrīnātha is also the reputed author of the ballad *Palāṭivīracharitam*, but some dispute his authorship and the point requires investigation.

² [The Bitragunta plates of Samgama II (above, Vol. III, p. 27, verse 19) describe Pāka-vishaya or Pāka-nādu as a district situated 'on the shore of the Eastern Ocean (i.e. the Bay of Bengal),' including within it the town Vikramasimhapura, i.e. the modern Nellore. Pūgi or Pūngi-vishaya, on the other hand, was a part of Pāka, confined in extent to either bank of the river Kundi or Gundlakamma and extending from Śrīśaila to the Bay of Bengal. Prannādu 'Eastern Country' as applied to themselves, by the Pākanāti Brāhmanas of the Nellore district appears, therefore, to have been the correct etymological interpretation of the term Pāka-nādu, though the form Pākanāda of Tamil inscriptions was undoubtedly derived from *pūngi*, *pūgi* or *pōka*, which formed a part of the name of the northern sub-division of Pāka-nādu and meant an areca-nut. Consequently it looks as if the larger territorial division Pāka-nādu or Pākanādu derived its name from the smaller Pūngi-vishaya, which was perhaps the earlier and the more ancient.—H. L. S.]

³ *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butterworth and Venu Gopaul Chetty, Vol. II, p. 873, and Vol. III, pp. 1297 and 1311.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

⁵ In another place it is called *Sandikantapōṭarāju*.

⁶ The *Telugōtīrāmaṣacharitam* by Vellāṭa Śaḍāsiva Śāstrulu and Avadhīnamu Śēṣa Śāstrulu. Madras edition of 1910, pp. 59 and 60. In this book the Reddī king who was killed, is called Anavēma-Reddī. But this is clearly a mistake for Allāya Vēma Reddī.

parts, the first part records the grant by Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma of the village of Ālapādu to a Brāhmaṇ named Viśvēśvarabhadda, and the second part records the distribution of the village by the donee, among a number of other Brāhmaṇs. The first part consists of twenty Sanskrit verses intercepted, after verse 18, by a long Telugu prose passage which describes the boundaries of the village. The first, fourth, fifth and eighth verses are found also in inscription A. We learn from this part of the record that Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma had a younger brother named Mācha who is known to have been killed in battle by Kumāra-Vēdagiri-Nāyudu of the Velugōti family.

The object of the inscription is to record the fact that on the Śivarātri day in the month of Māgha in the year Nandana corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the oceans, Rāmas, and the moon (1334), Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma granted the village of Ālapādu, situated on the eastern bank of the river Tungabhadra, in the beautiful Velanāndu district of the Trilinga-vishaya to Viśvēśvara-bhatta who was the great-grandson of Mādhava, grandson of Gundarya and son of the great poet Mādhava-bhatta of the Yajuh-sākhā and the Bhāradvāja-gotra. The enclosing boundary line of the village is specified in great detail in Telugu prose after which comes the usual imprecatory verse *śa-duttā*[d*]=*diṅṇam puṇyam*, etc. The last verse tells us that the inscription was composed by Śrinātha. The signature at the end consists of the phrase *srī-Vīraṇārāyanasya*, i.e. of the glorious Vīraṇārāyaṇa.

The second part of the inscription, which is engraved on both sides of the fourth and fifth plates, states that Viśvēśvara-bhatta, here stated to be a student of the *Āṅgīrāṣī*, of (the three *pravaras*) Āṅgīrāṣa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, to have been the son of Mādhavāchārya, 'who was capable (equally) of cursing or conferring boons,'¹ and to have been born as a gift of the glorious (God) Nṛsiṃha, divided the village Ālapādu-Vēmaṇa (i.e. Ālapādu renamed Vēmaṇa after the donor) given to him by king Pedda Kōmatī-Vēma, into 60 shares out of which he reserved apparently 15 shares for himself and distributed the remaining 45 shares as shown in the list appended at the end of this article.

Ālapādu is identical with the village of that name in the Tenali taluka of the Guntur District. Tungabhadra was a branch of the Krishna river and branched off from the main river near Bezvada. It has ceased to exist as a river after the construction of the Krishna aicut and its course is marked by the main and the Kommamūr canals of the Guntur taluka and the drain which is in continuation of the latter.

The Honourable Swamikannu Pillai has kindly furnished the following note about the date of the inscription — "Śaka 1334, Nandana, Śivarātri, i.e. Māgha *bahula* 13 or 14. I understand that Śivarātri is celebrated at midnight when the *nakṣatra* Śravana is current, whether the *tithi* be the 13th or the 14th. Now the *nakṣatra* Śravana was current at midnight between Monday, 30th, and Tuesday, 31st January, 1413 A.D. which was Nandana, Śaka 1334. The 14th *tithi* ended at 15½ *ghatikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413. The *nakṣatra* Śravana ended at 12½ *ghatikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413."²

¹ The description as usual includes the mention of a number of anthills distinguished by different trees that grow over or near them and of the villages, Pedapūndi, Mandūru (north east), Tāndiparati (south west), Jatalam-māpādu and Chundūru.

² The same is stated of Mādhavabhadda in the first part of the inscription (v. 15). It is also recorded here that Mādhavabhadda had thoroughly accomplished (the repetition of) the *mantra* (invoking the blessings) of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha.

³ [It will be seen from l. 29 that there was an eclipse of the sun in connexion with the Śivarātri. Mr. Sewell has kindly informed me that the Śivarātri ended at mean sunrise on Wednesday, January 1st. There was an important eclipse of the sun on that morning (Wednesday), conjunction taking place at 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.—S. K.]

Other Brāhman donees and their shares

Serial number	Names of Donees	Gōtra	Śikhā	Shares.
1	K[ā]ndrūrī Śingūya Śishta	Harita	Yajus .	2
2	Lakshmī-Narasimhabhatta, son of Mādhavāya	Bhāradvāja	Do .	2
3	His younger brother, Ananta-Narasimhabhatta	Do	Do .	2
4	Addanki Mallubhatta .	Śrīvatsa	Do .	2
5	Vel'aya Śishta of Velanāndu	Harita	Do	2
6	Kattangūrī Gangādhara-bhatta .	Kāśyapa	Do	2
7	Parami Pedd-Śishta .	Harita	Do	1½
8	Jampani Annama-Śishta	Śāndilya	Rig	1
9	Rudraya bhatta .	Kausika	Yajus	1
10	Kāmaya Śishta . .	Harita	Do	1
11	Kondūrī Tippaya Śishta	Śāndilya	Do	1
12	Ātukūrī Peddī Śishta .	Kausika	Rig .	1
13	His son, Kūnaya-Śishta . . .	Do	Do	1
14	His younger brother, Pinnaya-Śishta .	Do	Do .	1
15	Eraya Śishta .	Do	Yajus	½
16	Śingaya Śishta, son of Padmanābha .	Kāśyapa	Do	1
17	Gudiyamala Krishnaya Śishta .	Śrīvatsa	Do	2
18	Kāmaya Śishta, son of Pōtaya .	Do	Do	1
19	Krishnaya Śishta, son of Pōtaya .	Śāndilya		½
20	Chittibhatta, son of Annaya .	Śāndilya	Yajus .	1
21	Śingaya Śishta, son of Narahari .	Do	Do .	1
22	Mutta[na] Śishta, son of Māraya .	Bhāradvāja	Do	1
23	Kēśava Śishta, son of Narahari .	Audhula	Rig	1
24	His younger brother, Dēvarē bhatta .	Do	Do	½
25	Sūraya-Śishta, son of Aubhala	Kaundinya	Do	1
26	Māra-bhatta, son of Tallaya .	Do	Do	1
27	Vallabha-Śishta, son of Kēśava .	Do	Do	1
28	Lakshmana bhatta, son of Viśvāvara-bhatta .	Harita	Yajus .	1
29	His younger brother, Nāgaya-bhatta	Do	Do.	1
30	Kattangūrī Singanārya	Bhāradvāja	Do	1
31	Gundaya-bhatta	Kāśyapa	Do	1
32	Poldi bhatta, son of Pōtaya	Kaundinya	Do .	1

Serial number	Names of Donees	Gōtra	Śākhā	Shares
33	Rudra bhatta—on behalf of his wife A[ka]mān	Kāśyapa	Yajus	4
34, 35	hilā, daughter of the donor Viśvōśvara bhatta ¹ The village gods, Hari and Hara			2 (one each)
36	Tippaya Śishta, son of Śrīdhara ²	Sāndilya	Do	1
	TOTAL			45

C

This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sisa metre followed by another in the Tēta-gīta metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock called *pullaribōdu* north-east of Aminābād near Phrangipuram. Like the last two inscriptions, this was also composed by the poet Śrīnātha. It records that, on the full moon day of the month of Māgha in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expressed in words), King Vēmaya-Rāchavēmana³ (i.e. Rāchavēmana, son of Vēmaya, i.e. Pedda-Kōmatī-Vōma) had a channel called Jaganobbaganda-kāluva⁴ dug as a feeder to the tank Santāna-vārdhī which his mother Sūrāmbā had excavated. This tank is, no doubt, the same as that referred to in the Phrangipuram inscription A. As pointed out in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma,⁵ this inscription shows that Rāchavēmana was Pedda-Kōmatī-Vōma's son and *not* his brother.

The Honourable Swamikaunu Pillai informs me that the *pūrnimā-tithi* referred to in the inscription ended at 43 *ghatikās* after sunrise on Tuesday, 14th January, A.D. 1416.

Inscription A

TEXT⁶

West Face.

- 1 कल्याणं जगतां तनोतु
- 2 स विभुः कादविनीमेचकः क्रीडा-
- 3 [क्री]डतनुः पयोधिपयसो विश्व-⁷

¹ It is stated that the share is given to provide Akhamāmbikā with *haridrā* (i.e. turmeric powder used as a toilet only by women with living husbands).

² The list of donees ends with the signature (*vrālu*) of the donor Viśvōśvarabhatta.

³ The inscription gives him the following attributes—“the gem of plenty (*chintāmani*) in (bestowing) gifts (mentioned by) Hēmādri, (the very god) Śamkara (Śiva) (riding) on the bulls (*basuva*), viz. the enemy kings, Phalgunā (Arjuna) on the battle field and the paramour of prostitutes, i.e. the proud hostile chiefs.” The third attribute was a surname of his father Pedda-Kōmatī-Vōma.

⁴ The channel was evidently so named after Jaganobbaganda, a title of frequent occurrence among the Redḍi kings.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 12 f.

⁶ From ink impressions supplied by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

⁷ The *anustāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 4 भरासुदहन् । भारापेतफणा-
 5 विवर्तनवशान्नोदाय यस्या-
 6 सवन्निर्यत्ना भुजगेंद्रसौक्तिमणि-
 7 भिनीराजनप्रक्रिया । [1] तमो हरे-
 8 ता तव पुष्पवती राकासु
 9 पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथागली-
 10 लामिव दर्शयती पुरा पुरा-
 11 रे पृथिवी-यस्य । [2*] मानुपाकारकिम्बो-
 12 रस्तवेरमव्युर्महः । उन्निद्रय-
 13 तु भद्राणि रुद्राणी येन सुप्रजा['] [1*] [3*]
 14 दक्षौकौ निहित चिराय निगमैर्ध्व-
 15 य च गृधोगिभिर्यज्ञक्षीमृदुपा-
 16 णिपद्मयुगलोमवाहनैर्लालित [1*]
 17 जाना यत्र विद्यन्नदी त्रिजगतीमता-
 18 पन्निवापणी¹ तस्मात्कसभिद. पदादु-
 19 दभवहणी गुणार्णोनिधि² । [4*] तत्रा-
 20 भवत्पममवन्नवती वैमलितीशो जग-
 21 रक्षपाल । एकादशेति प्रतिभाति शंका
 22 पेनादतारा. परमस्य पुम³ । [5*] रा-
 23 ज्य वैम. न चिरमकरोत्याव्यदानैक-
 24 तानो भूमोदेवैर्भुवमुखमुजो
 25 रुक्मिणीपासभुङ्ग⁴ । श्रीशैलाग्रात्प्रभ-
 26 वन्ति पश्चि प्राहपाताऋगणे सोपानानि
 27 प्रत्यधपदवीमारुरुच्यकार । [6*]
 28 साचक्षोणिपतिर्महेद्रमहिमा
 29 वैमलितीशाग्रजो रामाद्यै⁵ सदृशो
 30 वभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्रयो नद-
 31 ता । 'चित्वा जाग्रति रेडिवीतनृपति['] श्री-
 32 कोवटीद्रुततो नागक्षापतिग्लुपा-
 33 तदपुपो धर्माध्यजाना इव । [7*] प्रसूत

¹ Read "नग"² The "प्रगारा" is the "देवादे"³ Read "ममुङ्ग"⁴ Read "कीर्ति"⁵ Read "प्रमथ"⁶ Read "वर्माध"

- 34 पुत्रं पेदकोमटींद्रो विश्राणने कर्णम-
 35 सूतपुत्रं । वेमाभिधानं सुगु-
 36 शैकधानं¹ पाधोनिधिर्नाधमिवौ[ष]-
 37 धीनां । [8*] ²धाटिदुदुभिमांकति³
 38 कलयतो निर्घातरावं रिपू-
 39 न् नामानि द्रुतमर्जुनस्य जपतो
 40 यस्याजिगाडीविनः । संग्रामोपप-
 41 दानि तानि भवतां रक्षाकृते सर्वदा वर्ण्य-⁴
 42 तामिति बोधयंत्यधिपतोन् धीयं-⁵
 43 त्रिणो मंत्रिणः । [9*] श्रीशैले स्थिरमूल-
 44 तामुपगता वृद्धि⁶ कुमाराचले पं-⁷
 45 चारामतले प्रतानसुषमा सिंहा-

South Face.

- 46 चलेंद्रे ततः । श्रीकूर्मे पुरुषोत्त-
 47 मे कुसुमिता ⁸यध्वर्मकीर्तीर्क्षिता
 48 काश्यां विश्वपतेः पुरः फलवती नित्यो-
 49 पहारोचितं । [10*] अभिमन्युकरग्राह्या-
 50 सुत्तरां खड्गपुत्रिकां । नर्तय-
 51 त्याह्वे रंगे यः संग्रामधनं-
 52 जयः । [11*] अश्यांतं गृह्वराजसौध-
 53 निवसन्नक्ष्मीकराभ्यंतरक्रीडांभी-
 54 रुहताळ्वंतनटनप्रस्तावविस्ता-
 55 रितः । वायुः केसरवासनासुर-
 56 ०वितो यस्याध्विचिंतामणेर्रा-
 57 गाचामति दानकेलिजनितं स्वेदां-⁹
 58 भसा जालकं । [12*] सप्तसतानव-
 59 त्यासोद्येन सर्वसहेत्यल । स्पर्धये-
 60 व धृताः कीर्त्या गर्भे लोकाश्चतुर्दश । [13*]

¹ Read ०तान पाधीनिधिर्नाध०.² Read धाटी०.³ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line⁴ Read वृद्धि⁵ Read यध्वर्मकीर्तीर्क्षिता.⁶ Read ०वितो यस्याधि०.⁷ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 61 राजस्तस्य महादेवो राजमौळे-
 62 वांविका । रत्नसिंहासनस्यार्धं राज-
 63 ते सूरमाविका । [14^{*}] ॐ शाकाब्दे शशि-
 64 रामरामधरणीमस्य विरोध्याह-
 65 ये वर्षे फाल्गुननानि मासि बह(हु)के
 66 पक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ¹ । देवी सा पेदकीम-
 67 टीश्वरभुव[*] श्रीवेनष्ट्वीपते[:*] श्रीसं-
 68 तानपयोनिधे कृतवती सम्यक् प्रति-
 69 ष्ठाविधि । [15[†]] लीलालीढतरंगशीकरकणं²
 70 राकाविधौ रकुणा हेरवेण
 71 मदीयशान्तिविधये हेलावगा-
 72 ढ सुहु । राजीवामनरघ्यह-³
 73 सपग्निचचूपुटीचर्वितस्त्रु-³
 74 भोजनृणाङ्गिकाकिसलयकुदे⁴ य-
 75 दीय पयः । [16^{*}] घाटाकठकटोरग-
 76 र्भकुहकीपाकीनधुकीरसस्रोत.सौ-⁵
 77 रभटीकमानसधुलिङ्गकारको-
 78 लाहलैः । वाचालानि वनानि यस्य
 79 सविधे सोय सुधानिर्मलश्रीसंत[1]-
 80 नसमुद्र एष पयसां शशिर्जय-
 81 त्यष्टमः । [17^{*}] वैडूर्यरत्नशकलामल-
 82 वारिपूरे मङ्गु⁶ किमत्र भगवान्ध-⁷
 83 केटभारि⁸ । अगोचकार जगतामवन-
 84 हुरीन⁹ पाठीनककुपवराहसहा-⁹
 85 वतारान् । [18[†]] ॐ श्रीमहाभारते ॥
 86 देवा मनुष्याः पितरो गधर्वो-
 87 रगराक्षसाः । स्थावराणि च भूता-
 88 नि सत्ययति जलाशय । [19[†]] तटापे य-

Read °तिथौ

¹ Do Read °सच्छा°² Read °रत्नौ°³ Read °च्छनि² The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line⁴ Read °कुदे⁵ Read हुस⁶ Read °कक्षप°⁷ Read °नमुकेटभारि

- 89 स्य गावस्तु पिबति दृषिता जलं । [सृ]-
 90 गपक्षिमनुष्याश्च सोशमेधफल
 91 लभेत् । [20⁺] आस्फोटयति पितरः प्रवृत्त्यं¹
 92 ति पितामहाः । अपि नः स कुले जातो
 93 यस्तटाक करिष्यति । [21^{*}] विद्याधिकारी श्री-
 94 नाथो वीरश्रीविमभूपतेः । [अ]करोदा-
 95 करो वाचा निर्मेळ धर्मशासन । [22⁺] श्री [॥^{*}]

East Face.

- 96 ॐ Śāk-ābdamulu sahasramu-
 97 nu munnūmta-muppadiy-o-
 98 kka^mdunun=aina bhavya-samkhyā- | vajalu
 99 Virōdhi-samvatsarāmbuna Phālgū-
 100 nambuna baha(hu)la-pakshambu vidīya [1^{*}]
 101 Śukravārambuna subha-muhū-
 102 [r]tambuna sri-Dhānyavāti-pur-ādhipa-
 103 tyu-|^m Grishnavenna-²jala-kridā-vinō-
 104 dumddun=agu Ganna-bhūpālun=anu-
 105 mgu^m-butri | Viranārāyanu^m-
 106 du-Vēma-vibhūm dēvi | bhūri-sadguna-
 107 nikurumba Sūramāmba | jagamu
 108 vinutimpa Samtāna-sāgar-ākhyā-[1^{*}] vara-
 109 tatāka-pratishth-ōtsavamb=onarchche³ || [23^{*}] Jāhna-
 110 vi-Yamun-ādi-sakala-pāvana-nadi-
 111 vimala-⁴tirdhth-āmbhah-pavitritambu | sa-
 112 vidha-dēsa-sthāyī-Śiva-mauli-bāl-ōmdu-
 113 kaumudī-sampulla-⁵kairavambu | ba-
 114 hu-maha ⁶parivāha-pāthōbhara dhvā-
 115 na-ghumaghumāyita-diśā-gō-
 116 lakambu | jala sārānī-sēka-samvardhi-
 117 t-ānēka-vana-vinīt ādhvag ādhva-sramambu [1^{*}]
 118 balavad-uru-matsya-kachchhapa-⁷dhuli-kalira-[1^{*}]
 119 tumi-tamimgila-vikrama krama-vihāra-[1^{*}]
 120 taralātara-tumga-bhamga-kadamba-chum[bi]-[1^{*}]
 121 t ābhia vidhi(thi) Samtāna-mahā-payōdhi⁸ || [24⁺]
 122 Kapata-sūkatam=aina Kaiābh āsua-vani
 123 khura putambulam^m barikshunnam=⁹a-
 124 syye | Raghu-kul-ōdvaha-dhanur-yam-

¹ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line² Read *onarchche*³ Read *tirdh*⁴ Read *Krishnavenna*⁵ Read *sampulla*⁶ Read *mahā* There is an indistinct syllable written above the line between the letters *ma* and *ha*, it looks like *da*, *du* or *la*⁷ Read *kachchhapa dhv*⁸ Read *payōdhi*⁹ Read *ashunnam*

- 125 tra-muktamul=aīna chichchurammula¹ vē-
 126 mdim jēva darage-|m Gumbha-sambhavu-
 127 nī hast-āmbhō ruhambunan=āpō-
 128 sanamb=ayī hrāsam=omde-|n bīshā-
 129 namulan=achchhabhalla²gōlāmgūla-ka
 130 pi-yūdhamaulachētam gattuvadiye |
 131 vanadhī jō bhamgi sari-rachohun=annaṅgavachchu-[1*]
 132 n=ā-rasātala-gambhīra-vāriy=aguchu-[1*]n-apa-
 133 gat-āpāyam=aguchu śābh-ādhyar=³agu-
 134 chu-[1*]n=anupamamb=aīna Samtāna-vanadhītōda [1*] [25*]

Inscription B.

TEXT.

First Plate, First Side

- 1 कल्याण जगतां तनोतु स विभुः काटंविनीमचकः क्रोडाक्रो-
 2 डतनु. पयोधिपयसो विश्वंभरामुद्वहन् । भारापेतफ-
 3 णाविवर्तनवशान्नोदाय यस्याभवन्निर्यता भुजगेंद्रमौळिम-
 4 णिभिर्नीराजनप्रक्रिया ।[1*] लीलाद्यूतजितां कळाधरकळा मौ-
 5 ळी दृढ कीलितामाहर्तु युगमुन्नमय्य भुजयो-
 6 र्वित्तेषयत्या मिथः । पार्वत्याः कुचकुभपार्श्व-
 7 युगळे सप्रेमलोलेक्षणः कालवेपणमिदुमोचन-
 8 विधौ कांचन् शिवः पातु व ।[2*] भवतु भवतां फलाख्यै कल्पलता
 9 लापि करटिराजमुखी । मधुरसुधारसधारा मधुलव-
 10 ललितेदुमंजरीमंजु ।[3*] तमो हरेतां तव पुष्पव-
 11 तौ राकासु पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथांगलीलामिव दर्श-

First Plate, Second Side.

- 12 यतौ पुरा पुरारेः पृथिवीरवस्व⁴ । [4*] यन्मौळौ निहितं चिराय
 निगमै-
 13 र्ध्वं च यद्योगिभिर्यज्ञस्मोमृदुपाणिपद्मयुगलीसवाहनैः⁵
 14 लित । जाता यत्र वियन्नदी त्रिजगतीसतापनिर्वापणी तस्मात् कस-
 15 भिद् पददुष्टभवद्वर्ण⁶ गुणार्णोनिधि । [5*] तस्मादभूत् प्रोलयवे-

¹ Mr Brown gives the form *chichchutammu* in the sense of 'rocket' The word is a compound of *chichchu* and *ammu* and means a fiery arrow.

² Read *-achchhabhalla* .

³ Read पृथिवीरवस्व

⁴ Read नैला

⁵ Read *-ādhyam*

⁶ Read °द्वर्ण

- 16 मनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविदानशाली¹ । हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदत्तो
 17 निस्सीमभूदाननिरूढकीर्तिः । [6*] वेमक्षितोशो हपमेकपाद ख-
 18 जप्रचार कलिकालदीपात् । दत्ताग्रहारद्विजवेदशक्त्या पथि क्र-
 19 मैरस्त्वलितं चकार । [7*] माचक्षोणिपतिर्महेद्रमहिमा वे-
 20 मक्षितोशग्रजो रामाद्यैः सदृशो वभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्र[यो]
 21 नन्दनाः । कीर्त्या जायति रेड्ढिवीतनृपतिः² श्रीकोमटीद्रस्तो
 22 नागक्ष्मापतिरित्युपात्तवपुषो धर्मार्थकामा³ इव । [8*] वे-
 23 माधिपो माचविभुश्च नन्दनौ श्रीकोमटीद्रश्च⁴ गुणे-

Second Plate, First Side

- 24 कसन्त्रयी । भूलोकमेकोदरजन्मवाङ्मया भूयोवतीर्णाविव
 25 रामलक्ष्मणी । [9*] 'चूडामणिर्नृपाण 'दुर्मदपरिपदिशिखरिदभो-
 26 ङिः । सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती⁵ पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति । [10*] सोयं वेस-
 27 [म*]हीपालो भूपालपरमेश्वर । भूदानवीरमूर्धन्यो [धी]रो-
 28 दात्तगुणोत्तरः⁶ । [11*] श्रीशाकाब्दे पयोराशिरामरामेन्द्र-
 29 सम्निते । नन्दने मासि माघाख्ये शिवरात्र्या रविग्रहे⁷ । [12*]
 30 पितुः पितामहो यस्य मह[नी]ययशोनि[धि]ः । मा-
 31 धवो नाम मेधावी विश्वविद्याविहारभू[] । [13*] पितामहो महा-
 32 विद्वान् यस्य श्रीगुडयाभिधः । वेदादीना विशुद्धाना वि-
 33 द्याना जन्ममन्दिरं । [14*] शापानुग्रहदत्तो लक्ष्मोनरसिंहम-
 34 त्संसिद्धः [] सकलकविसार्वभौमो माधवभट्टः पिता यस्य[] [15*]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 35 श्रीविश्वेश्वरविदुषे भारद्वाजान्वयावतसाय । स्मयविरहि-
 36 ताय तस्मै विद्याविनयान्विताय पुण्याय । [16*] प्रदानिलिङ्ग-⁸
 37 विषये वेलनाडौ मनोरमे । तुंगभद्रातरगिण्याः प्रा-
 38 क्तीरे पर्यवस्थित । [17*] आलपाडुरिति ख्यात ग्राममाचद्रता-
 39 रक । साष्टैश्वर्यं ह्यष्टभोग धारापूर्वं धराधिप[] [18*]
 40 अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि देशभाषया लिख्यते []⁹

¹ Read °विधान°

² Read धर्माद्य°

³ Read श्रीकोमटीद्रस्त.

⁴ This verse is found also in the *Śringārādi-pīṭā* Read °नृपाण

⁵ Read दुर्मदपरिपदि°

⁶ Read गुणोत्तर.

⁷ The letters here are somewhat illegible though the reading is almost certain

⁸ Read प्रादक्षि°.

⁹ The rest of this side as well as the whole of plate 3 which are taken up with a description of the boundary line of Ālapādu in Telugu prose have not been transcribed. Plates 4 and 5 which contain the names of donees, who received the grant from Viśveśvara-bhaṭṭa, are also left out

Inscription C

TEXT.

- 1 Śāk-īb[d]amulu sahasrambunu mun[n]ūnta-muppadi[y-ēdunu]
 2 1yopp[u] migu'la | m hanjam=aina Manmatha-iatarambuna Ma[kh]a-² mīsa-
 3 munam būrnimā-dīnamuna | Hēmādri-dīna-chuntīmaniy-a-
 4 mājya-basuva-³Samkar[u]md-āji-Phalgunumddu | sa-mad āri-rāya-vē-
 5 syā-bhujamgumddu Vēmaya-Rāchavēmana-kshmāvarumddu | dalli-
 6 Sūrāmbachē samutpinnam-aguchum [i] baragu Samtāna-vā-
 7 rdhiki varuva gīmgā | {n=ō}liya gūvīhinnla Jaganobbagamda-[i*]kē-
 8 luva ghatimchen=i-tīakambu gīmgā ||

|| Śrinātha-kṛti ||

No 31—MARUDAPALLI GRANT OF ŚRĪ-RANGARĀYA II, ŚAKA 1497

By V. NAGESA AIAI, B.A.

The sal joined grant is published from two sets of Sir Walter Elliot's ink-impressions which the late Government Epigraphist for India was kind enough to place at my disposal. It is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1497, the cyclic year probably being Yuva, and belongs to the reign of Śrī-Rangarāya II, of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Mr Sewall is of opinion that this date¹ marks the commencement of Śrī-Rangarāya's rule.

Although a number of inscriptions belonging to this dynasty has already appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*, yet not a single Sanskrit inscription of this particular king has been published *in extenso*². And what is more, even the chroniclers of these times do not seem to have thought it either necessary or proper to make more than a passing mention of the successors of the renowned Rāmāyā on the Vijayanagar throne. This, perhaps, is partly accounted for by the fact that the battle of Tānkōṭa of A.D. 1565 in which king Rāmāyā fell sounded, as it were, the death-knell of the dynasty and crippled its power and resources once and for ever. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that such information as can be gleaned from the grants and other documents of the rulers of this

¹ Read *śūnūn=oppu*

² Read *Magha*

³ Read *basara*

⁴ Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 218

⁵ A fragmentary translation of an inscription of this king from Dēvanahalli in Mysore is published in Mr Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*. See No. 140, p. 252 E.

dynasty who lived during the days of its decline, will be useful in so far at least as they will enable us to determine with tolerable certainty the extent of their dominions and the seats of their government, if not also their relations with their quondam viceroys in distant provinces

Turning to the grant itself, it may be observed that the tops of the first, second, fourth, and sixth pages of the impressions are marked by the Telugu numerals 1 2, 3 and 4. There also appear faint traces of the numeral 5 at the top of the eighth page. This seems to indicate that the grant was originally incised on five plates of which the first and the last were engraved only on the inner, and the intervening three on both sides. Judging from the impressions, the plates can be said to have been in good preservation. They measure $9\frac{3}{8}" \times 7\frac{1}{4}"$ and seem to have had raised rims and a ring passing through the centre of their top.

The alphabet is Nandinūgarī. The following are some of the orthographical peculiarities and errors —

- (1) the doubling of *y*, *t*, and *d* after *r* in *-turyyō* (ll 9 and 13), *-sauryyēna* (l 25), *-mūritih* (l 46), *-lirtti-* (l 61), *bharttum* (l 87), and *-sārdḍūlamarddanah* (l. 117),
- (2) the doubling of *n* when followed by *r* in *nvasannrājati* (l 81),
- (3) the dropping of the *visarga* before sibilants in *-saptamasrīpati-* (l 11) and *svaḥlāmānīsvatanu-* (l 18),
- (4) the use of the *anusāra* instead of class nasals in *narēndrah* (l 11), *Tātapinnama-* (l 13), *haram* (l 14), *nīramjanāni* (l 34), *-bhāvāmcitah* (l 65), and *-mandalika-* (ll 102 and 105),
- (5) the use of *n* instead of *ṇ* in *ḍinnāgān* (l 58),
- (6) the use of *l* instead of *ḷ* due, perhaps to vernacular influence in *lālitaṁ* (l 5), *-rhalakṣhmā-* (l 10), *surabhlāsugam* (l 21) and *-mē(ma)rāla-* (l 55), and lastly,
- (7) the use of the symbol for *dh* to denote *th* (ll 57 and 58). The words *chaurāsi* (l 90), *sāmula* (l 94), *dhatta* (l 107) and *disāpatta*, which occur in the Vilāpaka grant¹, are also found here.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Gaṇādhipati and consists of eighty-three Sanskrit verses. It closes with the word *Śrī-Virūpākṣha* in old Kanaṇese characters. The first three verses invoke respectively the gods Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa in the manner of the British Museum Plates of Sadāsivarāya.² The following eighteen verses carry the genealogy of the dynasty, partly mythical and partly historical, down to Tirumalarāya's reign and have their exact parallel in verses 3-20 of the Kondyāta grant of Venkata II.³ Verses 22-29 describe king Tirumalarāya but record no historical facts.⁴ With verse 30 begins the description of the donor Śrī-Rangarāya II, son of king Tirumala and Vengalāmbā. In verse 42 he is said to have belonged to the *Ātrēya-gōtra*.

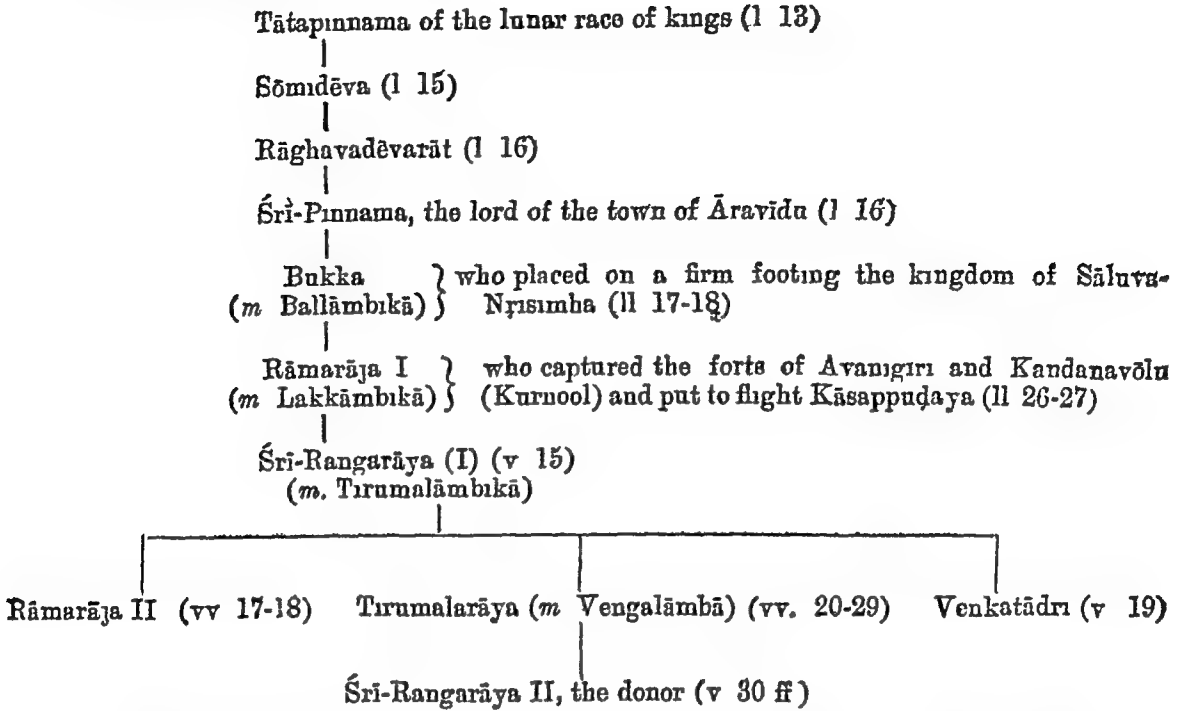
¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 270

² *Ibid* p 12

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 129

⁴ Identical with these are the verses 24, 27, 29, 30 and 32 of the Tumkur Plates of Tirumalarāya (see *Ep Carn*, Vol XII, pp 2-3)

His ancestry is given as follows —



Most of these details are found in the Kūṇiyūr plates of Venkata II¹ Śrī-Rangarāja II is reported to have captured several fortresses including the inaccessible Kondavidu and Vinikondapura from his camp at Uddagiri (Udayagiri in Nellore) and to have been residing at Penukonda (v. 31)² He married two wives, viz, Tirumaladēvi and Krishnāmbā (v 32) He reduced the Chaurāsīdurga (i.e. eighty-four hill forts, perhaps, in Mahārāshtra) He bore in his heart Śārngadhara (i.e. the god Viṣṇu) (v 35) Some of his *birudas* were *Manniyān Sāmula* (v 36), *Gandaragūḥi* and *Manyapulū* (v 38) He was highly extolled as the vanquisher of Avahalurāja and the king of Utkala (vv 37-8) He was the lord of Āraṇḍu and adopted the surnames *Vēngyātrībhuvaṇīmalla* (l 102), *Urgōlasuratrāṇa* (i.e. Sultān of Orangal) (l 103), *Ranamukharāmabhadra* (l. 104), *Kalyāṇapurādhipa* and *Chālīkkachakravartin* (ll 108-9) As suggested by Dr Hultzsch the first and the fourth of these *birudas* were perhaps reminiscences of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas³ He calls himself the suzerain of the Rattas and Magadhas (l 107) *Konarāṇi-kōṭṭala-konga*, and *Oddiyarāja-diśāpatta* (v 45) With verse 53 commences the grant proper

The date is expressed as the twelfth tithi (*prathamadvādasitithau*) of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in the Śaka year reckoned by the horses (7), the treasures (9), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1) (i.e. 1497), the cyclic year being Yuva. This date falls in A.D. 1574 expired⁴

The grant was made before the god Rāmachandra⁵ The donee was Aubhalabhatta who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and was a follower of the Kātyāyana-sūtra and the

¹ *Ind Ant.*, Vol. III, pp. 238-9

² This is already known to us from two inscriptions published by Mr. Rice (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Sh. 83, and Vol. XII, Cl. 89), see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 94

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 270

⁴ Sewell's *Indian Calendar*, p. LXXX

⁵ Perhaps, the Rāmasvāmī temple at Penugonda is referred to here. It may be noted in this connection that although the capital of this dynasty had been removed to Penugonda by king Tirumala, the father of the present donor, the name of the guardian deity occurring at the end of the grant is given as Śrī-Viṛūpākṣha.

Śuklayajñh-śākhā He was the son of Varadabhatta and grandson of Bālēndubhaṭṭa (vv 55-7)

The village granted was Mārēdapallī *alias* Kṛṣṇāpuram belonging to the Rāyadurga-rājya gurt round by Hastināvati (i.e. the modern Hampi in the Bellary District), to the Pennavēntha (?-nādu) and to the Bhūdigumma-sīma¹ (vv 58-9) It was to the east of the river Penna (? Northern Pennār) and south of the hill bounding the village of Chōlasamudra and near the chemada-bush lying east of Nilādri (*lit* blue hill) situated on the outskirts of the village of Korakodru and close to the river Penna It was to the west of the blue elevated ground bordering on the Giddamāligāni-lshētra and lying to the west of Kummariḷapallī, which again was the western boundary of the village of Palukūr, west of the tamarind tree adjoining the sandy tract bounding the village of Vēlētī. It was to the north of the stone pillar set up near the śamī tree growing on the outskirts of Timmāpura Of these places, Kṛṣṇāpuram may have taken its name from Virakṛṣṇama of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, at whose instance the grant was made He was the son of Varabaiyappa and lord of Manināgapura and is said to have borne the biruda *Sitakaraganḍāṅka* (vv 70-3) and to have been the terror of Dhavalāṅka(na)²

The titles *Sindhu-Gōvinda*, *Sitakaraganḍa*, *Davalāṅka-Bhīma* and *Manināgapuravarādhīśvara* are applied to Tirumalarāja of Udayagiri in an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1457, the cyclic year Maumatha, corresponding to A D 1535-36.³ In a copper-plate record of Śaka-Samvat 1484, the cyclic year Rudhirōdgārīn, corresponding to A D 1563-64⁴ the same epithets are given to Kṛṣṇapa-Nāyaka, son of Baiyappa-Nāyaka, of Balam (Bēlūr) Of Kṛṣṇapa-Nāyaka (also called Eja-Kṛṣṇapa-Nāyaka) Mr Rice remarks, that he "is represented in most of the inscriptions as the head of the family, who was enfeoffed by Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara He was the *hadapada*, or bearer of the king's betel-bag"⁵ According to Mr Rice, Venkatādrī-Nāyaka, son of Kṛṣṇapa-Nāyaka, was the head of the Balam family in Śaka-Samvat 1498, the cyclic year Dhātrī, corresponding to A D 1576-7⁶ About Manināgapura Mr Rice adds, "I have been unable to identify Manināgapura It appears to be a place in the Central Provinces."

The composer of the inscription was the son of Sabhāpati and the engraver Ganapayāchārya, the son of Virana These two persons also figure in the same capacities in the Tumkūr Plates of Tirumalarāja⁷

The grant concludes with the usual imprecatory verses and *Śrī-Virūpākṣa* in old Kanarese characters at the end

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । ⁸स्तुगशिरसुंविचंद्रचाम-
- 2 रचावे⁹ । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शभवे ।(॥) [१*] ¹⁰हरेर्लीलाव-
- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादडस पातु वः ।[हे]माद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्रि-
- 4 य दधौ ।(॥) [२*] ¹⁰कल्याणायास्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूर्हतिमिरापह । यद्गजो-
- 5 यगजोद्धूत पंचास्येनापि लाकित¹¹ ।(॥) [३*] ¹⁰जयति क्षीरजलधेर्जात(त)

¹ Būdigumma is the name of a village in the Rāyadrug tāluka of the Bellary District. It is 29 miles east of Rāyadrug

² The correct form of this biruda is *Davalāṅka Bhīma* as will be seen in the next paragraph.

³ *Ep Carn*, Vol III, Sr 95

⁴ *ibidem*, Vol V, H N. 5.

⁵ *ibidem*, Vol V, Part I, p xxxiii

⁶ *ibidem*, Vol IV, Yd. 59.

⁷ *ibidem*, Vol. XII, p 5.

⁸ Metre Anushtubh Read नमस्तुग⁹

⁹ Read °चारवे.

¹⁰ Metre Anushtubh

¹¹ Read लाकित-

- 6 सव्येक्षणं हरे । आलवनं चकीराणाममरायुष्कर¹ मह. 1(II) [४*] 'पौत्र-
 7 स्तस्य पुरुरवा बुधसुतस्तस्यायुरस(स्या)लजः सजज्ञे नहुपो² यया-
 8 तिरभवत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः । तद्वशे भरतो बभूव स(नृ)पतिस्तत्त-
 9 तो शंतनुस्तत्तुर्यो विजयोभिमन्युरुदभृत्तस्मात्परि(री)चित्तत[.*॥५*]
 10 'नदस्तस्याष्टमोभूत्समजनि नव[म]स्तस्य राजद्यक्किच्चापत्त-³
 11 सप्तम[*] श्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेन्द्रः । तस्यासीद्विज्ज[ञ्जि]-
 12 द्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेम्माकिरायस्ताचीयोको⁴ मुगारी क-
 13 तनतिरुदभृत्तस्य मायापरोष.⁵ 1(II) [६*] 'तत्तुर्योजनि तातपिनम-
 14 महीपालो निजालोकनत्रस्तामित्रगणस्ततोजनि हरं दुर्गा-
 15 णि सप्ताहितात् । अङ्गेकेन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तथैव जज्ञ(ज्ञे) सु-
 16 तो वीरो राघवदेवगडिति तत[*] श्रीपिन्नमोभूत्त(नृ)पः । (II) [७*] 'आरवीटि-
 17 'ननरीविभोरभूदस्य व(वु)क्कधरणीपतिस्मृत । येन साकुवन्-
 18 सिहराज्यमप्येधमानमहसा स्थिरीकृत 1(II) [८*] 'स्वःकामिनो⁶ स्वत-
 19 नुकांतिभिर[१*]क्षिपती बुक्कावनोपतिलको बुधकल्पशाखो । क-
 20 ल्याणिनीं कमलनाभ इवाद्विकन्या⁷ वल्लाविकामुदवहइह-
 21 मान्यशीलां 1(II) [९*] 'सुर्तव कलशावुधे. सुरभिक्कायुग माघवात्तु-
 22 मारमिव शंकरात्कुलमहीतत⁸ कनाका⁹ । जयतमसरप्रभो-

Second Plate, First Side

- 23 रपि शचीव बुक्काधिपाश्छत्¹⁰ जगति वल्लमालभत रा-
 24 मराज सुत 1(II) [१०*] 'सहस्रैस्सप्तत्या सहितमपि यस्सिधुजनुपां
 25 सपादस्थानीक समिति भुजशीर्येण महता । विजित्यादत्ते-
 26 स्मादवनिगिरिदुर्गं विभुतया विधूतैः कासप्पुडयमपि
 27 विद्राव्य सहसा 1(II) [११*] 'कदनवोलिदुर्गंमुसकंदक्कद[भ्यु*]दयो वा[हु]व-
 28 लेन यो बहुतरेण विजित्य हरे । सन्निहितस्य तत्र चरणाभु(वु)-
 29 षु भक्ततया ज्ञातिभिरर्षित¹¹ सुधयति स्म निशेव्य¹² विषं 1(II) [१२*] 'श्री-

¹ Read 'युष्कर

² Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Read 'पुरीष

⁴ Read 'मगरीविभो'.

⁵ Metre: Prithvī.

⁶ Read 'पाश्छत्.

⁷ Read 'रपित

⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikridita.

⁹ Read 'यजिक्कापत्त'

¹⁰ Read हरन्

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹² Read 'महीभूत

¹³ Metre: Śikharin

¹⁴ Read निषेव्य.

¹⁵ Read नहुपो

¹⁶ Read 'साचीयोको

¹⁷ Metre: Bathōddhatū

¹⁸ Read स्वःकामिनो

¹⁹ Read 'विकन्या.

²⁰ Read कन्या

²¹ Metre: Sulaśikhā

²² Metre: Indravajrā

2

[illegible]

H KRISHNA SASTRI

217

२४ मचाउ तसतस सस सोत तिमिनि सस उडि या
 २६ सवा डसो दाम सस तिमि सोम तिमि सस तिमि
 २८ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ३० सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ३२ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ३४ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ३६ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ३८ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ४० सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ४२ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ४४ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस
 ४६ सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस तिमि सस

8SCALE 55

48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68

रा नत मयवा भाविप्रसात्रग आ वा न वरु कु मा
वतिमि त जायमा अउम तिन तिष्मा निउ म मे वरा
दी सवामा विसम मुनि वित नान रा खना मगे स न स म
स न दू नि मे के स नि वा प्र वि सो रा ना कु पु न न ति य वा
माना दे वी प द मु म नि न इथा नि य स मा नि पी ट ने ऊ ख वि
नि वि म ते दू ते ते इमु र ते का नि त ना म वा त सु र ते न
वि क स नु ड नी को म म स खि त र व स म अ के न क फ ल रा
भा त स ते क नि भा त त सा मा ते म ना ल व मि व वि च र्त्त डी
मी न ड ड मा ने ना ग है वि र ते वि जि त ग र नि य ना नि ना
ऊ न स ड ते डे ऊ ल स र नि नि म म ड रा ते वि म रा र ता र
द्वी गानि त रा मु दू ती व म छि नार ती व ति वा नि नी स ते त्स
गु मा स न डे क रा ना मु न ते ते म मा न वि न व त त क ड को
छ मु म तो म स वि आ या नि न सु म क र न मु र न रा त स नि ना
सा न स मा मु म वा स व अ नि प मा नि स म नि व ते ते नि नि मा
वि अ म स नि मा ता ड ड मा य मान रा स न ग ते नि न डे स म ड
कु है गु वि ना व जा उ स म ता व नि त म मा स ते वि नि गु मा ड
न वि मा म श्रु ता स्मा तः प वे तो र तो रा प्र स र नि वि नि मा य
ना नि त स र व ता का र व तः पा नी गः व क तु म ना त नु व ने
ते त्रे र ग रा रा ना ग त मा न ग न स न न ग रा ना डा न
व तो वा न ने स वा न ग न रा न स न न व ने श्वा ना प म मे उ व
नि वा त म नि म ना च र व न न मा न ने स मा गु का म शि ना न
रा ता स व मा स ते वि न ते ग रा स ड डी म रा यः उ स रा

70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92

ते वैसा ग न मा नि वा मा उ न ड मा ग स न न ड मा मा
ते डे न व सा त वि ग ते ह मा व वा न मा वा न व ड मा मा
वि सो न ग रा वा व न क न क स त ना तो व ला डी रा मु स आ व र मा
व तो स र्ध व त ग ते वि अ व नु ग स र म स मा इ व ज्ञा नु न
धे श्व न क न म न ना मु न मा इ नि ना ना ग ना नि वी न रा न न
नि स म म स नि न ग मा नि ना नि ग छि न रा व तो स वा न
अ न वि मा ना न मा मी ते का रा वि न मा तु ना ते क ते ले क स
ते ते डी ते वा व न ते क ड के ड न ते न ते न ग उ तो त व क
(सि ते स्र वा ड ते छ त रा सी रा वे ग ला वा वि न उ मा च वि स
नी ग ना गे स त ना ग अ ग उ र ग नी छि ग नि न वि उ ते व
उ ग ज्ञा न ड ग म मा ड वा ड वि नि मा उ न व क र ना उ व
न मा म न ड व गे ग ड ड ने नि व व दू ज नि गे स म ग म म ना
र म ना दू न ते सो अ न मा नि व री न (रा ता न म न स व ना
ति मा वि तो र मी ते वि उ गे ते न मु म डे डे वि गे स म मा वा र
आ व अ म ते उ नी त म म ता नि क को स वे ग डे ग क न वा नि
म न क व स रे स वे ता न तो म ग ते न गु मा ड रा र ग न
अ न ते स रा व रा मी न व म न ना तो उ र वा न ना आ ना ना
म मी ले म म वा वि क न ते न डे उ ज्ञा म नी रा रा र त क ना व
ने डे वा नि ना ड रौ त व नी जा स नः डी न ला न मा तो म स न
न आ वि मा नि य क रा ना नि क र क वि न म ग अ ने स न
गो नि ता वि ना रा गा नी म वि रो य थ या सी ना रा ड गे क वि
ना व र मी व ना स र ग मा य म ना व म न रा उ अ न
गे न ग त ते न उ न नि म मा नी क फ तो ना व मा ना तो स वि
गे न ग म ना य ना ते त्रि म ड म ति ते व नि त थ ना म कु ना

- 30 रामराजक्षितिपस्य तस्य चितामणेरर्वि(र्थि)कदवकाना । [ल]-
 31 क्षी[रि]वांभोरुहलोचनस्य [ल]काबिकासुथ महिष्यलासी-
 32 त् ।(॥) [१३*] ¹तस्याधिकैस्समभवत्तनयस्तपोभिश्चरगराज-
 33 पतिश्शशिवंशदी[प] । आसन् समुल्लसति धामति² यस्य चि-
 34 चं नेत्राणि वैरिसुदृशां च [नि]रजनानि ।(॥) [१४*] ³सतीं तिरुमुला-
 (मला)वि-
 35 कां चरितलीलयारुधतोप्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमती-
 36 यशी रुधतीं । हिमाशुरि[व] रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणी सद्ग(ङ्गु)णै-
 37 रमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवा[प्य*] वीराग्रणीः ।(॥) [१५*] ⁴रचितनयविचा-
 38 र(र) रामराज च धीर वरतिरुमलराय वेकटाद्रिचितीशं [।*]
 39 अजनयत स एतानानुपूर्व्यां कुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्या[मि]-
 40 व राजा महौजाः ।(॥) [१६*] ⁵[अ](स)कलभुवनकांटकानरातीन् समिति नि-
 41 हत्य स रामराजवीरः । भरतमनु भगोरथादिराजप्रथित-
 42 यशाः प्रशशास चक्रसुर्व्याः ।(॥)[१७*]⁶ वितरणपरिपाटीं यस्य वि-
 43 द्याधु(ध)रीणा नखरमुखरवीणानादगीता निशम्य । अनु-
 44 कलमयमावालाव(वु)र्[व*]वापदेशादमरनगरशाखी लज्ज-
 45 या मज्जतीव ।(॥) [१८*] ⁷'व्यराजत' श्रीवरवेकटाद्रिराज' चिती लक्ष्म-
 46 णचारुमूर्तिः । ज्याघोषदूरोक्ततमेघनादः कुर्वन् सुमित्रा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 47 शयहृष(र्ष)पोष ।(॥) [१९*] ⁸त्रिषु श्रीरगक्ष्मापरिवृ(वृ)ढकुमा-
 48 रेखधिरण विजित्यारिक्क्ष्मापास्तिरुमलमह[।*]रायनृ-
 49 [प]तिः । महा(हौ)जास्साम्राज्ये सुमतिरभिषिक्ता(क्तो) निरुपमे प्रशास्यु-
 50 वीं सर्वामपि तिसृषु मूर्तिष्विव हरिः ।(॥) [२०*] ⁹'यशस्विनामगं(ग्र)-
 सरस्य य-
 51 स्य पद्माभिषेके सति पत्थिवेदो.¹⁰ । दानाबुपूरैररभिषिचा-¹⁰
 52 माना देवीपदे भूमिरिय दधाति ।(॥) [२१*] ¹¹यस्यातिप्रौढतजस्मवि-
 53 तरि ¹²विमतह्वातमेदिन्युदीते कीर्त्तिञ्जीरार्णवांतस्फुटर-

¹ Metre Vasantatilakā

⁴ Metre Mālīnī

⁷ Metre, Upajāti

¹⁰ Read 'पूरैरभिषिच'.

² Read धामनि

⁵ Metre Pushpitāgrā

⁶ Metre Śikharinī

¹¹ Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Metre Prithvī.

⁶ Metre, Mālīnī

⁸ Read पार्थिवेदो

¹² Read विमतह्वातमेदिन्युदीते.

- 54 विकसत्पुंडरीकोपमस्य । श्वेतश्चक्रस्य¹ मध्ये² कनककलशि-
 55 का भासते कर्णिकाभा तस्योपांत³ मेराकद्वयमिव विचलच्चा-
 56 मरद्वंद्वमास्ते ।(॥) [२२*] 'भोगित्वे विदितेपि जिह्वर्ग⁴ इति व्याकाधिरा-
 57 जं लसद्वत्तत्वे⁵ जळसंश्रयोति⁶ कमटं⁷ दानेपि मंदा इति । दि-
 58 द्वा(ङ्ना)गान् भृशमुन्नतौ च कठिना⁸ इत्योव⁹ हित्वा गिगीस्तत्तत्स-
 59 हुणसपदेकशरे(र)णं भूरेति हर्षेण य ।(॥) [२३*] 'स्त्रैरं संहृतकंठको-
 60 [य] सुहृतोत्कृष्ट विधायाखिलं क्षाकेदारमुदारदानसलिला-
 61 सारैस्समापूर्य्य च । संवर्द्धा(र्ध्या)नघकीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं तत्पालिकां
 62 ¹¹विक्रमः श्रीकातां भुजकायमानशिखरे धत्ते हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥) [२४*] ¹²जि-
 63 ण्णुत्वं शुचिता प्रजासु समतावर्त्तित्वमप्याश्रितो वृत्ति(त्तिं) पुण्यज-
 64 नप्रियामधिगत. ख्यातः प्रचेता इति । प्राप्तस्पर्शनवि(वि)भ्रमाय-¹³
 65 [न]पतिस्सर्व[ज्ञ*]भावांचितः प्रायो यः प्रकटीकरोति भुवने
 66 तत्तद्दिगोशाश्रता ।(॥) [२५*] ¹⁴हुत्वा मंत्रपुरसर रिपुयशोलाजान्
 67 प्रतापानले ।(॥) सपापय्य¹⁴ पदान¹⁵ सप्त भुवनेष्वारोप्य मेरूप-
 68 ल । प्रीतः कीर्त्तिमयीं वधूं परिणयन् सत्का(त्कौ)तुकोत्तामिनीं य-
 69 स्सिंहासनमाश्रितो विजयते गृह्य¹⁷ द्विजं(जै)द्राशिषः ।(॥)[२६*] ¹⁸अत्रां-

Third Plate, First Side

- 70 तविश्राणनकीर्त्तिसाम्य सुरद्रुमा यस्य तु लब्धु(ब्धु)कामाः ।
 71 तटै(टै) तपस्यंति वि(वि)यत्तटिन्याः प्रवाक्काषायपटा जटास[र*]: ।(॥) [२७*]
¹⁹[कां]-
 72 चित्रोरगशेषाचलकनकसभाहोवकाद्रीशमुख्येष्वाहृत्या-
 73 वृत्य सर्वेष्वतनुत विधिवभृ(ङ्गु)यसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु [तो]-
 74 र्थेष्वपि कनकतुलापूरुषादीनि नानादानान्येषोपदानैर-
 75 पि सममखिले(लै)रागमौ(मो)क्तानि तानि ।(॥) [२८*] ²⁰यस्मिन् शासत्येकवोरे
 76 धरित्रीमेणाक्षीणामेव कार्श्यं विलग्ने । टिल्यं²¹ तत्कुंतके कर्क[श]-
 77 त्व तद्वक्षोच्चे(जे) चापलं तत्कटाक्षे ।(॥) [२९*]¹⁸ अनंतरं तत्तनयः
 प्रतोतश्चक[र]-

¹ Read श्वेतश्चक्रस्य

⁴ Metre. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Read जल°

⁸ Read इत्यथ

⁹ Read °विषमो यन°.

¹⁰ Read गृह्यन्दि°.

¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read मध्ये

³ Read जिह्वर्ग

⁶ Read कमट

¹¹ Read विक्रमश्री°.

¹² Read संप्रापय्य.

¹³ Metre Upajāti.

¹⁴ Read कौटिल्य.

² Read °पाते मराल°.

⁵ Read °इत्यले

⁸ Read कठिना

¹² Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁴ Read पदानि

¹⁸ Metre. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 78 स्ति हस्तापजितद्युतशाखी¹ । श्रीवेंगळंवाचिरपुण्यराशि[.*] श्री-
 79 रगराय[.*] अत्रितभागधेयः ।(॥) [३०*] ²उद्गिरौ स्थितः परिवि(वि)जित्य च
 80 दुर्गज(च)यान् दुर्गमकोंडवीडुविनिकोंडपुरप्रमुखान् । भूव-
 81 लयैकरत्नपेनुगोंडपुरे निवसन्नाजति यः समग्रमकरा-
 82 दिमलाच्छनतः ।(॥) [३१*] ³श्रीधरणीरिव⁴ श्रीरेशिशिरकरस्येव रो-
 83 ह्मिणीचित्रे । देव्यौ ते विजयेते [ति*]रुमलदेवी च यस्य कृष्णांवा ।(॥)
 [३२*] ⁵य-
 84 थाविधि महीसुरोत्तमकृताभिप्रेकोत्सवे यदीयकरवारि-
 85 [दि] कनकवृष्टिदे सर्वतः । यशोमयतरगिणी दशदिगंतरे
 86 जृम्भते सतां प्रशमितोभवत्कृपणतोरुदावानलः ।(॥) [३३*] ⁶धात्रीभा-
 87 रमशेषमपा(प्य)विकलं भर्तुं भुज व्यातनोदाशादंतिक(कु)लाच-
 88 लेंद्रफणिराडशैस्सरोजासनः । वीरश्रीरमणस्य यस्य प-
 89 र[धा] विक्रातिमानेष किं दानाभः कटकां च नमय⁷ धत्ते सदा
 90 भोगिता ।(॥) [३४*] ⁸वाराशिगांभीर्यविशेषधुय्य(र्य)श्रीराशिदुर्गेकवि-
 91 भाक्वर्थ्ये⁹ । पराष्टदित्रायमनःप्रकामभयंकरः शार्ज(ङ्ग)धरां-
 92 तरंगः ।(॥) [३५*] ¹⁰हतरिपुरनिमेषानोककहो¹¹ याचकानां होसवि-
 93 [रु]दरगडो रायराहत्तमिंडः¹² । महितचरितधन्यो मन्त्रिया-

Third Plate , Second Side.

- 94 न्नामुलादिप्रकटितविदु(रु)दश्रीः पाटिताराति-
 95 लोकः ।(॥) [३६*] ¹³उभयदक्षपितामहो नतानामभयपदार्पण-
 96 तत्परो रिपूणां । अयमवहकुरायमानमही(ही)त्यसि¹⁴
 97 लजनैरभिधीयमानधामा ।(॥) [३७*] ¹⁵तांडवितोदयो विरुदम-
 98 न्यरगंडतयोद्दवलीकलेन्द्रजयपंडितवीरयु-
 99 तः । चडिमशास्त्रिबाहुवलदंडितवैरिगं(ग)णो गंडरगू-
 100 किमन्यपुलिमान्यमहाविरुदः ।(॥) [३८*] ¹⁶सारचीररमया¹⁷ ससु-
 101 झसन्नारवीटिपुरद्वारनायकः । कुंडलीश्वरमहाभुज¹⁸

¹ Read °द्युशाखी

⁴ Read श्रीधरणी इव.

⁷ Read काञ्चनमय

¹⁰ Metro Māhāt.

¹³ Metro Pushpitāgrā

¹⁴ Metro: Rathōddhatā.

² Metro Śaṭaśikhā

⁵ Metro Prithvī.

⁶ Metro Upajāti.

¹¹ Read °नोकहो

¹⁴ Read °नखिलजने

¹⁷ Read सारवीर°.

³ Metro: Giti.

⁶ Metro Śārdūlavāṇīkita.

⁹ Read °वर्थ°.

¹² Read °राहुतमिड°.

¹⁵ Metro: Śaṭaśikhā.

¹⁸ Read महाभुज°.

- 102 अयन्मडलीकधरणीवराहता । (॥) [३८*] ^१वैग्यत्रिभुवनीमल्ल[.*]
 103 सख्यक्षितिकलार्जुनः । (॥) [४०*] ^२उरिगोलसुरचाण(णो) हरिगोचर-
 104 मानसः । राज्ञा वरो रणमुखरामभद्र इति श्रुतः । (॥) [४१*] ^३वर्णि-
 105 तविरुदो नानावर्णश्रीमडलीकगड इति । आचयेयगो-
 106 व्रजानामग्रसरो भूभुजामुदारयशः । (॥) [४२*] ^३अतिविरुदतुर-
 107 गधट्टो मतिगुरुरारट्टमगधमान्यपदः । शल्यारिनी-
 108 तिशाली कल्याणपुराधिपः कलाचतुरः । [१*][४३*] ^३चाक्किचक्र-
 109 वर्त्ती ^४माणिकमहाकिरीटमहनीयः । एवि[रु]दरायरा-
 110 हुतवेशैकभुजगविरुदरमणीयः । (॥) [४४*] ^३कूलंकश(प?)कोन-
 111 रानी(॥)[कोटल*]कोगजयविरुदभरितश्रीः^५ । ^६रमातरकीरिरो-
 112 डिड[य*]रायदिशापट्टविरुदघोषेण । (॥) [४५*] ^७ओषधिपत्युपमा-
 113 यितगडस्तोषणपू(रू)पजितासमकाडः । भाषगीतप्य(प्यु)व-
 114 रायरगडः पोषणनिर्भरभूनवनखडः^८ । (॥) [४६*] ^९राजाधिरा-
 115 जस्तेजस्वी श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः । मूर्धुरायरगंडांकी मेरु-
 116 लघियशोभरः । (॥) [४७*] ^९परदारेषु विमुखः पररायभयंकरः ।
 117 शिष्टसरक्षणपरो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः । (॥) [४८*] ^९हिदुरायसुर-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 118 [त्रा]णस्त्रिधुराजगभीरधि^{१०} । अरोभगडभेरुडो
 119 हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः । (॥) [४९*] ^९इत्यादिविरुदैर्वदितया नि-
 120 त्यमभिष्टतः^{११} । जय जीवेति वादिन्य[१*] गनिताजलिबं-
 121 र्धया^{१२} । (॥) [५०*] ^९कीं(कां)भोजभोजकाकिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः । प्र-
 122 तीहारपदं प्राप्तैः प्रस्तुतस्तुतिघोषणः । (॥) [५१*] ^{१३}सीयं श्रीरंग-
 123 राय^{१४} क्षितिपतितिलको रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या
 124 निरस्यवृगनकनहुषानप्यचन्यामथान्यान्^{१५} । आ सेतो-

^१ Here is a half of an Anushtubh verse, the other half is wanting

^२ Metre Anushtubh

^३ Metre Giti

^४ Read माणिक्य°

^५ The corresponding passage in the Tumkur plates of Tirumalarāya published in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, p. 8 runs thus —

Kēlakāsa konarāri-kōtala gonga-jaya bīruda bhārta śrīh!

^६ Read रस्यतरकीर्तिरी°

^७ Metre Dōdhaka

^८ Read °मूनवखड्ड .

^९ Metre Anushtubh

^{१०} Read °गभीरधी

^{११} Read °मभिष्टत.

^{१२} Read जनिताजलिबधया.

^{१३} Metre - Sraḥḍha-ā.

^{१४} Read श्रीरगराय or °रायक्षिति°.

^{१५} Read °प्यदन्या°.

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140 मं प्रमदगुल्लससमाप (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 142 रा" इतिमा ससुवा (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 144 अना (तमेगुण्यसु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 146 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 148 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 150 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 152 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 154 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 156 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 158 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा

160 गी इतुदुगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 162 रा" इतिमा ससुवा (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 164 अना (तमेगुण्यसु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 166 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 168 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 170 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा
 172 तमेगुण्यसु (सु) तमेगुण्यसु (सु) नाउपला रा

ॐ नमो भगवते

- 125 रा सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुतः खैरमा चोदयाद्रेरा पाञ्चा-
 126 त्याचलांतादखिलहृदयमावर्ज्य राज्य प्रशास्ति ।(॥) [५२*] ^१श्रीश-
 127 काब्दे ह्यनिधिवेदेदुगणिते क्रमाती^२ श्रीमसुवाह्वये
 128 वर्षे मासि चाषाढनामनि ।(॥) [५३*] पत्ते वक्तृत्वे पुण्याया प्रथम-
 129 द्वादशीतिथौ । सन्निधौ रामचद्रस्य सर्वसपदिधायिनि ।(॥) [५४*]
 130 श्रीमत्काश्यपगोत्राय श्रीकाल्यायनसूत्रिणे । ख्यातशुक्लयजु-
 131 श्शा[खा]द्वयिने^३ गुणशालिने ।(॥) [५५*] ^४वाह्विर्जुम्भन्निर्जुतव(व)लशा-
 132 सनमंत्रिणे । ^५श्रीचावालैलुभट्टस्य पौत्राय प्रियवादिने ।(॥) [५६*]
 133 ^६श्रीमद्वररभट्टाभिचितारत्नायितात्मने । प्रख्यातौभक्त-
 134 भट्टाय पुरोगाय विपश्चिता ।(॥) [५७*] वक्तृत्वे हस्तिनावत्या वि
 135 ख्यातिमधिकामित(ते) । श्रीरायदुर्गराज्ये च ^७पेन्नवेढ च वि-
 136 श्रुत ।(॥) [५८*] वसति भूदिगुम्भेश्रीसीमाया^८ च अमश्रित^९ । श्रीमत्पेन-
 137 नदोतीरात्र्याग्निश्च समुपाश्रितं ।(॥) [५९*] ^{१०}कोरकोद्रुग्रामवरसी-
 138 मांतरचितस्थिते । पेन्नद्याश्च(श्च) सविधानीलाद्रे पा(प्रा)च्यता-
 139 मितात् ।(॥) [६०*] ख्यातचोक्तसमुद्राख्यग्रामसीमांचलस्थितात् । श्री-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 140 मञ्जेमडगुल्मस्य समीपस्थितिमे(मी)युषः ।(॥) [६१*] सुखिरादुपका(ला)दा-
 141 शा दक्षिणा समुपाश्रित । वेलेटिगा(या)मसीमांतसैकताश्री^{११}
 142 धरातिकात् ।(॥) [६२*] चौरकश्रीतिंतिणीक्ष्मारुहादपि च पश्चिमा-
 143 त् । पल्लुकूर्ग्रांमसीमांतात्पश्चिमत्व पपेदुपः^{१२} ।(॥) [६३*] कुम्भर्षपल्लि-
 144 सीमातात्पश्चिमाया दिशि स्थितात् । ^{१३}प्रख्यातश्रीगिड्डमाळि-
 145 गानिचेत्राचलस्थितात् ।(॥) [६४*] नीलोन्नतस्थलाद्रम्यादायात् पश्चि-
 146 मा दिशं । श्रीतिम्मापुरसीमांतशमीवृक्षातिकस्थले ।(॥) [६५*] स्थापि-
 147 ^{१४}तादुपलस्थभादुत्तरत्वमुपाश्रितं । श्रीकृष्णापुरमित्येव प्र-
 148 तिनामसमाश्रित ।(॥) [६६*] [मा]रेडपल्लिनामांख्य(क) ग्राममारामशोभि-
 149 त । ^{१५}सवमान्य चतुष्सीमासंयुत च समततः ।(॥) [६७*] निधिनित्येपपाषाण-
 150 सिद्धसाद्व(ध्य)जलानित^{१६} । अक्षिण्यागामिसयुक्तमेकभोग्यं समूर-

^१ Metro of ११ 53 75 Anushtubh

^२ Read कमात । श्रीमद्युवाह्वये

^३ Read ^०ध्यायिने

^४ Read वाग्विजुम्भ^०

^५ Perhaps, the reading intended is श्रीमद्वालेन्दुभट्टस्य

^६ The reading intended may be श्रीमद्वररभट्टा^०

^७ Read पेन्नवेढे

^८ Read मूदिगुम्भ^०

^९ Read समाश्रित

^{१०} This *pāda* of the Anushtubh verse is irregular

^{११} Read ^०सैकताश्री^०

^{१२} Read प्रपेदुप

^{१३} This *pāda* of the verse is irregular

^{१४} Read ^०सभा^०

^{१५} Read सर्वमान्य

^{१६} Read ^०जलान्वित

- 151 हं ।(॥) [६८*] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छारामैश्च सयुतं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भो-
 152 ग्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं ।(॥) [६९*] दाना[ध]मनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयो-
 153 चितं । काश्यपान्वयदीपस्य काश्यपीकल्पशासि(वि)नः ।(॥) [७०*]
 सिंधु(धु)राजग-
 154 भीरस्य सिधुगोविंदतेजसः । श्रीसितकरगंडांकमहाविरुदशो-
 155 भिन[०७१*] (मे)धवळांकनभीमस्य धनदैश्वर्यशालिनः । मणिनागपुरेश-
 156 स्य मथितारातिभूभुजः ।(॥) [७२*] 'वरवय्यात्वभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मनः । 'नी-
 157 रक्षणमभूपस्य विज्रप्तिमनुपालयन् ।(॥) [७३*] परीतः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरा(रो)-
 158 हितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैश्चैतपधिकैरधिकैर्गिरा ।(॥) [७४*] श्रीरगरा-
 159 य[भू]पालो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वम् दत्तवा-
 [न्मु]दा ।(॥) [७५*]

Fifth Plate

- 160 'तदिदं नयधुर्यस्य प्रथितश्रीरंगरायवर्यस्य[१*]
 161 'शासनमतिवलशासनतरुकरदानस्य गुणनिदा(धा)न[स्य][॥७६*]
 162 'श्रीरगरायनृपतेश्शासनस्ताम्रशासनश्लोकान्^५ । कविश[१]-
 163 सनस्त्रयभूस्तरसमभाषीत्सभापतेस्सूनुः ।(॥) [७७*] 'श्रीरंगरायभू-
 164 पालशासनाद्वीरणात्मजः । [श्री]मङ्गणपयाचार्यो व्यलित्त्वत्ता-
 165 म्रशासनं ।(॥) [७८*] दानपालनयोर्मङ्गे^७ दानाच्छ्रेयोतुरा(पा)लनं । दानात्स्व-
 166 र्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्यत(च्युतं) पदं ।(॥) [७९*] स्वदत्तादि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परद-
 167 त्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥) [८०*] स्वद-
 168 त्ता परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां । 'षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि वि-
 169 श्वायां^९ जायते क्रिमिः^{१०} ॥ [८१*] एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां ।
 170 न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुधरा ।(॥) [८२*] ^{११}समान्योयं धर्मसे-
 171 तुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिस्सर्वानेतान्^{१२} भावि-
 172 नः पार्थिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः॥[८३*]=॥=॥=॥=॥
 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१३}

^१ Read वरवय्यप्प°^२ Metre Giti^६ The metre of vv. 78-82 is Anushtubh^९ Read षष्टि वर्ष°.^{११} Metre Sālini^{१३} The characters are old Kannarese.^२ Perhaps वीरकृष्ण° is meant.^४ Read °वलशासन°.^९ Read °श्यायां.^{१२} Read भवद्भिः । सर्वा°.^५ Read °शासनतस्ताम्र°.^७ Read °र्मङ्गे.^{१०} Read क्रिमि°.

No 35—MALEPADU PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA,
THE FIFTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B A

Mr J Ramayya Pantulu, B A, B L, while he was Deputy Collector in charge of the Jammalamadugu Division of the Cuddapah district, in 1904, brought to the notice of the Madras Epigraphical Department a set of copper plates and a number of stone inscriptions relating to a family of kings whose existence was not known till then. These copper plates and stone records¹ were secured by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, through the kind offices of Mr Ramayya Pantulu, and a brief account of their contents was given in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p 48, paragraphs 5 and 6. I publish below, with the permission of the Editor, the inscription on the copper plates and also append in a postscript, as a specimen, the text and translation of one of the well-preserved stone epigraphs whose importance will be recognised when it is stated that they are the earliest Telugu records from the Cuddapah district and belong to a dynasty of kings who, though claiming Chōla descent, had, nevertheless, their dominion in the Pallava territory.

Regarding the discovery of the plates, Mr Ramayya Pantulu writes —“They were given to me by a man of the Sāli caste named Varadappa, who told me that he found the plates while digging foundations for a *mutt* at Mālēpādu. He preserved the plates in the temple of Embērumān at Vēlpucharla whither he had removed himself and gave them to me when I visited that temple.” The plates are three in number, and measure, roughly, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ” by $2\frac{1}{8}$ ” “They are held together by a ring whose ends are secured in an oval shaped seal which measures about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ” by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ”, and which bears in high relief, a tiger which stands to the proper left, raises the left fore-paw, opens the mouth and has a twisted tail.”² The first and last of the plates are written only on their inner sides and show traces of having had raised rims, which were apparently meant to protect the writing on these plates from coming into contact with the written sides of the middle plate. The circular copper ring which holds the plates together, measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter and is about $\frac{5}{8}$ ” thick. The plates with seal and ring weigh 93 tolas. They have been presented to the Madras Museum—again through the kind intervention of Mr Ramayya Pantulu—and will be deposited there after the final proof of the subjoined article has been passed for printing.

The seal with the emblem cut on it in bold relief—evidently the crest of the kings to whom the record belongs—deserves special consideration. The posture of the animal,³ the sharp twist of its tail above the back, and the profuse mane round its neck—all considered together—make the figure look more like a lion than a tiger, although the possibility of the latter was suggested by Mr Venkayya when he first discussed the question, from the supposed connection the kings mentioned in the Mālēpādu record bore to the Chōlas of Tanjore whose crest was the tiger (*vēngai*).⁴ Similar figures are engraved on the top of a broken slab at

¹ Some of the stone records which were not either set up in temples or otherwise properly cared for, were removed to the Madras Museum for preservation in the year 1905.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-5, p 48.

³ See the accompanying plate.

⁴ *Eg* in the historical introductions of Virarājendra I the king is stated to have “despatched (*the banner of*) the ferocious tiger into all directions” (*S-I I*, Vol III, Part I, p 37), see also, above, Vol III, p 125, note 3. Fine specimens of the Chōla tiger are depicted on the seal of the large Leyden Grant, the Tiruvālangādu plates and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chōla (*Ep Ind*, Vol III, Plate facing p 104). They are seen also on the coins of Uttama Chōla and on the Chōla pillar on the top of Mahēndragiri in the Gaujam district (No 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896).

Peddarnūdyam¹ and on another at Muddanūr,² both of which bear records of about the same age as the subjoined inscription and belong, evidently, also to members of the same family. That these figures represent a lion and not a tiger, receives confirmation from an unexpected source. In a record of the 11th century A.D. from the Bastar State³ it is stated that a chief named Chandrāditya, a feudatory of the Nāgavamśi king Jagadōkabhūṣana-Mahārāja Dhārāvāsha, was a descendant of Kaiikāla-Chōla of the solar race, belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra, was the lord of the river Kāvērī (Cauvery) and of the (historic) town of Oraiyūr (Urayūr in the Trichinopoly district) and bore the lion-crest.⁴ As the kings mentioned in the Mālōpādu plates will also be seen from the sequel to have possessed almost the same family-titles, and as it is not improbable that Chandrāditya of Bastar (whose capital was Anna-gāma⁴) may have been a later member connected with some collateral branch of this same family, it may be assumed for the present, that the crest figured on the seal of the Mālōpādu plates, is a lion like that of Chandrāditya of Bastar. It is curious to note also that Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* (Plate II, Nos. 49 to 54) refers to certain specimens which bear on their obverse sides the same figure as the one under discussion and tentatively attributes them to the Pallava kings of Vōṅgi. The monolithic shrine at Śīyamangulam which was excavated in the time of the Pallava king Lalitankura (i.e., Mahēndravarman I.) about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.,⁵ also bears sculptures of two identical lions which face one another and are similar in design to the lion depicted on the Muddanūr stone (see accompanying plate). The seals of Indravarman⁶ and Vikramōndravarman II⁷ of the Vishnukundin family and that of the Urayupallī plates of the early Pallava king Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarman⁸ bear similar figures. A small signet of *lapis lazuli* discovered among the Buddhist ruins of Amarāvati has on it the representation of a lion with the open mouth and the raised left foreleg together with the legend *Bhūtiśa* written in early Brāhmī characters of the 3rd century B.C.⁹ Ancient coins recently found at Bojjanākonda in the Vizagapatam district by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Madras, bear almost the same crest on their obverse sides.¹⁰

The writing on the plates belongs to the Southern class of alphabets and closely resembles that of the Eḍūr plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya II (A.D. 799 to 843).¹¹ The horizontal top-strokes, often left unfinished in our plates, indicate perhaps an even earlier stage of development. Accordingly, in many cases, we find two points (one on each side of the letter) taking the place of a complete top line. The letter *ḷ* is distinguished from *l* by a vertical stem which projecting from the top of the right side of the latter, supports over it the *talakṣṣa*

¹ No. 251 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² No. 400 of the same collection for 1904.

³ No. 231 of the same collection for 1908.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 112.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 320.

⁶ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 110, paragraph 62.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, Plate, facing p. 244.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 50.

⁹ Director General's Archaeological *Annual* for 1905-6, p. 166.

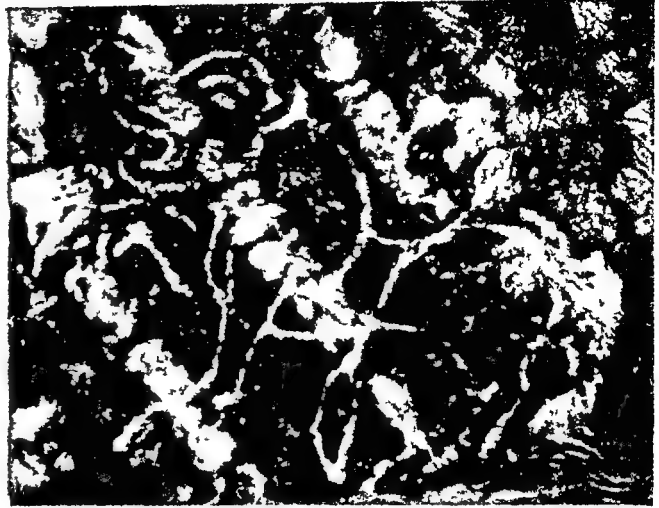
¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 5, paragraph 5. The tiger crest of the Hoysālas figured on the frontispiece of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, has also got the twisted tail, the mane, the conventional slender waist, and the face of a lion. Sir Walter Elliot interprets similar figures (P) on two Hoysāla gold coins (*South Indian Coins*, p. 152 D, Nos. 90 and 91) as maned lions. In the legend about Rāja, the founder of the Hoysālas, the Kannarese word used is *pulī* which distinctly means 'a tiger'. It is not altogether impossible that a tiger was also represented by the artists of the day, with the mane and other features that were naturally characteristic of a lion. It is stated in the *Sukranīṭisāra* (IV, 1, 167) that a tiger and a lion have almost the same form, the difference being only in the mane which the latter possesses.

¹¹ Above, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 120.

Lion seal and sculptures of about the Seventh Century A D



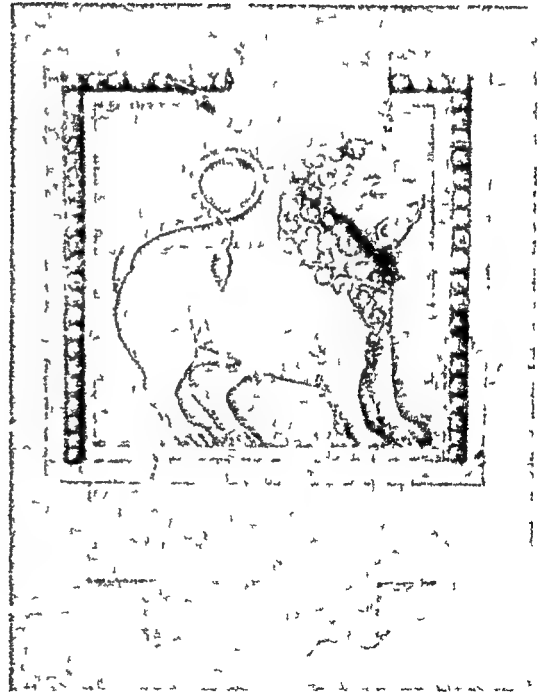
A — Seal of Punyakumara plates



B — Sculpture on a broken slab at
Peddamudiem



C — Sculpture on a slab at Muddanur



D — Sculpture on the rock-cut temple,
Siyamangalam

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY V MADHURANAYAKAM PILLAI

on head-line This stem of *l* is found to be in continuation of the right side of the letter *r* in the Edir plates, whereas here the stem begins a little removed from the right top of *r* The use of the Dravidian *la* (l 9), *ṛa* (l 20) and *ḷa* (ll 8, 18 and 19) is also worth recording As regards orthography it may be remarked that *m* and *v* coming after a *rēpha* are doubled (ll 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22 and 24), except in *Pōrmukharāma* (l 12 f). The consonants *d* and *t* are likewise doubled after *r* in ll 17, 22 and 24, and before *r* in l 23, the only exceptions being *Purushasārdūla* and *Mārdavachitta*, in l 13 The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose An invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end are, however, written in the Āryā-Gitī and Anushtubh metres, respectively

After an invocation to Śiva, the record introduces us to a king Nandivarman of the Kāṣṭhapa-gōtra He was born in the family of Karikāla who was "the (celestial) tree *mandāra* on the mountain Mandara¹ — the race of the Sun, the doer of many eminent deeds such as stopping the overflow over its banks of the (*waters of the*) daughter of Kāvēra (*i.e.* the river Kāvērī), who made his own the dignity of the three kings (*of the South*) Nandivarman had three sons, Simhavishnu, Sundarananda and Dhanamjayavarman The youngest Dhanamjayavarman, on whom devolved the sovereignty in regular succession, had a son "who acquired the title Chōla-Mahārāja, was well versed in grammar and other sciences and was the lord of the Pāndya, Chōla and Kērala (countries)" This was Mahēndravikramavarman, "who was equal in prowess to (*god*) Mahēndra and possessed many surnames such as the glorious Muditaśulākshara,² Navarāma,³ etc" His son was king Gunamudita and the latter's brother was the prosperous king Punyakumāra This Punyakumāra, otherwise known as Pōrmukharāma,⁴ Purushasārdūla,⁵ Mārdavachitta,⁶ Madanavilāsa,⁷ etc thus ordered the inhabitants of his own dominion as well as those of Hiranya-rāshtra "Be it known to you that we, in the current fifth year, of our increasing and victorious reign on the full-moon day of (*the month of*) Kārttika, have granted free from all molestations and taxes twice twenty-five (*i.e.* fifty) *manānas* of land (measured) by the royal unit, in the south-east quarter of the village named Birapūru (situated) in Hiranya-rāshtra, on the southern bank of the river Supravōga, to (*a certain*) Chiruvanahala-Kēśavaśarman of the Ātrēya-gōtra, at the request of (*the chief*) Kottikuldarāja" The inscription ends with two imprecatory verses (ll 23 to 27) and a short Sanskrit clause invoking felicity on cows and Brāhmanas (l 27)

Of the foregoing kings, Karikāla who held sway over the three kingdoms of the south and stopped the overflow of freshes in the Cauvery, is identical with the quasi-historical Karikāla-Chōla of Tamil literature, of whom many stories are related in the poems *Puranāpūru*, *Porunārāruppadai*,⁸ *Śilappadigāram* and *Patṭinappālai*⁹ Karikāla-Chōla is claimed by the Chōla kings of Tanjore to have been one of their famous ancestors, and to him is attributed the characteristic feat of constructing banks on either side of the river Cauvery and of renewing the town of Kāñchi with gold¹⁰ The exact time when this king flourished has not been properly made out Inscriptions of a family of Telugu chiefs grouped by Mr Venkayya under the name

¹ *I.e.* an ornament to the family which was as high (noble) as the mountain Mandara

² Literally 'one who delighted in stone script (*i.e.* in inscriptions)'

³ *I.e.* a new Rāma

⁴ A Rāma in front of battle It may be noticed that the first component of this title, *viz pōr* is a Dravidian word meaning 'battle' and cannot according to strict rules of Grammar be compounded with non-Dravidian Sanskrit words

⁵ A tiger among men (*i.e.* the best of men)

⁶ One whose heart is tender

⁷ Amorous like (the god of) Love (Madana)

⁸ Mr Kanakasabhai's *Tamils*, Ch V

⁹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XLI, pp 144 to 149

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 15

Telugu-Chōdas,¹ state that an ancestor of these was a certain Karikāla "who caused the banks of (the river) Kāvērī to be built by Trilōchana and other kings who fixed their glances on (his) lotus feet (i.e. were subordinate to him)"² Apparently here also, the reference is to the king Karikāla-Chōla mentioned in the Mālēpādu plates. Karikāla's subordinate Trilōchana was, in all probability, a Telugu contemporary whose approximate date is possible to deduce from inscriptions. Trilōchana, Trinētra, Trinayana and Mukkanta are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava, as the name of a mythical ruler of Pallava origin who held sway over the Telugu country at some period of its early history.³ The Paurāṇik genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings invented as early as the time of Vimalāditya,⁴ refers to a Trilōchana-Pallava⁵ as the ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a powerful opponent of the Chālukya adventurer Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā. This Trilōchana-Pallava is, perhaps, identical with the Trilōchana of the Telugu-Chōda inscriptions and with Trinayana-Pallava and Mukkanta of other Telugu epigraphs. It may therefore be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava were almost contemporaneous. From the account given in the Eastern Chālukya copper plates—whatever its historic value may be—it appears as if five generations had intervened between the mythical king Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishnuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēṅgi dēśa and founded the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. Dr Fleet has proved that this Kubja-Vishnuvardhana was the younger brother of Pulakēśin II—the Satyāśraya-Vallabhēndra of Eastern Chālukya records—and that he succeeded to the throne as *yuvarāja*, in or about A.D. 615.⁶ Calculating backwards for five generations, we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā and, therefore, also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D.⁷ The history of the Pallavas at this period is obscure, and it is not unlikely that Karikāla-Chōla was supreme at the time and held the Pallava dominions under his sway. The three kings of

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paragraph 44.

² The actual phrase which precedes the name Karikāla in these inscriptions is *charana sarōruha-vihāta-trilōchana Trilōchana pramukh-ākṣhila-prithvīstara-lārīta-Kātērī tīra*. Some inscriptions substitute the word *viḥata* for *viḥita*. In this case the explanation would perhaps be *charana-sarōrukṣhēna viḥatāh-tādītāh ata ēva trilōchanāh-vinashita drśat, tējasa itī yārat, Trilōchana pramukhā yasya sah*, i.e. Trilōchana and other lords of earth whose eyes were blurred by (the brilliance of) his (viz. Karikāla's) lotus-feet (on the occasion when they prostrated to him). Karikāla is stated to have got thousands of Ceylonese coolies "to work on the embankments of the Kāvērī river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed" (Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 416). Almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the south which trace their origin to the Sun, mention Karikāla among their ancestors and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvērī. The Kākatiyas of Warangal and, in latter times, the Maṭla chiefs of Cuddapah and the Sāluva chiefs of Kārvētinagar and a number of feudatory families who intermarried with the Vijayanagara kings of the lunar race, mention Karikāla in their genealogy. In the Telugu poem *Narasabḥūpāliyam* which was dedicated to one of the Toraganti chiefs of the solar race who were related to the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty by intermarriage, it is stated that Karikāla planted rows of avenue trees on either bank of the Kāvērī in order to hide her 'who was the queen of the ocean' from public gaze.

³ See *eg.* above, Vol. VI, p. 277, footnote 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 348 f.

⁵ The modern village Peddamudiyam in the Jammalamadugu tāluka of the Cuddapah district, is called Trilōchanapura in one of its later records. It was, as Mr. Ramayya Pantulu has pointed out to me, the ancient Mudivēmu Agrahāra where Vishnuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā, was born and brought up. Its name Trilōchanapura connects it with the mythical king Trilōchana Pallava who opposed Vijayāditya. The Pallava genealogy so far disclosed, either from copper plates or stone inscriptions, does not mention any name like Trilōchana-Pallava, but the Kādambas of Goa (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 566) and the Nolambas of Hēmavati (above, Vol. X, p. 58) claim, respectively, Trilōchana-Kādamba and Trinayana-Pallava as the founders of those dynasties.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 352 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

⁷ *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1905-6, p. 174 f.

the South whom Karikāla is stated to have subdued were, evidently, the Pāndya, Chōla and Kērala¹ as specified in 19 of the text, in connection with Mahēndravikramavarman—a later member of this same family. The inclusion of the Chōla among the kings conquered, although it is wrong is, nevertheless, meant to show that Karikāla virtually ruled over the whole of Southern India. The Tamil poem *Śilappadigāram* says of him that he was an ally of Avanti and the overlord of Vajra and Magadha².

Of Nandivarman and his three sons Simhavishnu, Sundarānanda and Dhanamjayavarman we do not know much at present. The first two names bear resemblance to Pallava names. Sundarānanda figures as one of the ancestors of an unidentified Telugu-Chōda chief Śrīkantha whose Madras Museum plates have been noticed by Professor Kielhorn in one of the previous volumes of this journal³. A certain Dhanamjaya Eriga referred to in some epigraphical records from the Maddur village of the Tumkur district calls himself a Chōla⁴ ruling the Ālvādi six hundred district⁵. Mr Rice assigns these records, on palaeographical evidence, to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The Chōlas of the Tumkur district (round Nidugal and Hēmavati) may have been of a common stock with the Chōlas of Cuddapah, and Dhanamjaya Eriga was either directly or indirectly connected with Dhanamjayavarman of the Mālēpādu plates. Again, a stone record at Kalamalla⁶ in the Cuddapah district makes mention of a certain D[h]anamjoyundu who was ruling Rēnāndu. The record is not dated, but to judge from the characters, it may roughly be referred to the same period as the Mālēpādu plates. It is, therefore, not unlikely that we have here a direct reference to Dhanamjayavarman, the last son of Nandivarman. Mahēndravikramavarman who assumed the titles Chōla-Mahārāja, Mudita-śīlākshara and Navarāma, appears to have been so named after Mahēndravikrama, a name or surname of Mahēndravarmān I,⁷ the Pallava contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Puṣyabhūti II, in the 7th century A.D.⁸ After Gunamudita, of whom nothing is stated in the inscription, came Panyakumāra Pōrmukharīma to whose reign our grant belongs. Two of the *virudas* assumed by him, viz. Mārdavachitta and Madanavilisa indicate some apparent affinity to Mattavilisa and Vichitrachitta, the recognised *virudas* of Mahēndravarmān I.⁹ This resemblance in the *virudas* suggests, as will be pointed out below, the possibility of some undefined relationship, political or otherwise, that may have existed between the Chōlas of the Cuddapah district and the Pallavas of Kāñchi.

Panyakumāra, we are told, addressed his order to the inhabitants of his own dominion and to those of Hiranyarāshtra. The latter territorial division, though not actually included in the province governed by Panyakumāra, must have been bordering on it and perhaps also subordinate to him. It is not impossible that this was actually the kingdom ruled by Kottikuḍarāja,

¹ Tamil literature refers to "the battle at Venni where Karikāla defeated the Chōra and the Pāndya kings" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 146). It is not impossible to interpret the word *trairājya* *sthiti* of 14 in the sense of "the position of *trairājya*". In Western Chalukya copper plates the Pallava King is often referred to as *Trairājya Pallava* or *Trairājya Kāñchīpati*, where *trairājya* evidently denotes the sovereignty over the whole of Southern India.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 26f.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 123, note. Professor Kielhorn who has compared the palaeography of these with that of the Masulipatnam plates of Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888), is of opinion that the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkantha are also of about the same period. It may be pointed out that an ancient coin of about the 4th or 5th century A.D., discovered at Bojjanankonda, bears on one of its sides the legend *Śrīkantha* and on the other the Pallava symbol of the vase and the lion (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part I, paragraph 5).

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Introduction, p. (7).

⁵ No. 380 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁶ *A. S. R.* for 1903-4, p. 271, and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14. The names Navarāma and Mahēndravarmān also occur in the plates of Śrīkantha noticed above.

⁷ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 350.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14.

at whose request the subjoined grant was made. The river Suprayōga, on whose southern bank the village Birapāru was situated, is mentioned again in the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava king *Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman*¹. It is there stated to have formed one of the boundaries of the village of Uruvupalli situated in the district of Munda-rāshtra. Kendakūra or Kandukūra, another boundary of Uruvupalli, mentioned in the same plates, is suggested by Mr Venkayya to be identical with the modern Kandukūru,² the headquarters of a tāluka of that name in the Nellore district. And as Munda-rāshtra is probably the same as Munda-nādu mentioned in some of the Nellore Tamil inscriptions,³ the river Suprayōga has to be looked for somewhere in the Nellore district. Punyakumāra's sway thus appears to have extended beyond Cuddapah, even into Nellore. An inscription at Kalujavvalapādu in the Podili division of the Nellore district refers to a chief of the solar race (to which also Punyakumāra belonged) and is worded almost in the same style as the stone epigraphs of the family under reference⁴. The existence of this record may be taken to be a further proof of the influence of the Chōla kings, in the Nellore district, already at this early period. I am unable to identify the village of Birapāru which was situated on the bank of the river Suprayōga.

Before fixing the probable period to which the Mālēpādu plates belong, it may be useful to examine some of the allied lithic records referred to at the beginning of this paper. One from Rāmēśvaram near Proddutūru⁵ and another from Chippili near Madanapalle,⁶ have to be assigned on palaeographical evidence to Punyakumāra of the Mālēpādu plates, though neither of them which mentions him refers to the family to which he belonged or the *gōtra* in which he was born. The latter is a memorial tablet in the Kanarese language and registers that "while the glorious Punyakomarān (i.e. Punyakumāra) was ruling Chirpuli (Chippili), Indarāla rose (in rebellion?), and (in the conflict that ensued, a certain) Parasurāman pierced and fell." The former tells us: "In the victorious and increasing years of the reign of the lord of the earth (*prithvivallabha*), the Chōla-Mahārāja Pōrmukharāma Punyakumāra, in (his) fifth year, queen Vasantapōri-Chōla-Mahādēvi presented three hundred (measures) of land in the fields of Viripariti to the temple of Vaśantīśvara at Tārumunri—the *ānati* (*āṇāpti*) of the grant being a certain Māripidugu Rattagudlu." Although one may feel doubtful about the identity of Punyakomarān of the Chippili record, there is little doubt that Pōrmukharāma Punyakumāra of the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription is identical with the donor of the Mālēpādu copper plates. The mention in this record of (Punyakumāra's?) queen Vasantapōri-Chōla Mahādēvi, of (his) officer Māripidugu Rattagudlu and of the villages Viripariti and Tārumunri is apparently of much historical interest. Māripidugu is a name or surname quite familiar to the period to which the inscription belongs and was in use among the ruling Pallava sovereigns and their subordinates⁷. Rattagudlu is an honorific title largely used in the epigraphs under reference. Its significance, as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later Sanskrit word *rāshtrakūta* which has been explained in the sense "the headman of a

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 53.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-05, Part II, paragraph 2.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 283 and note.

⁴ *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1179. The occurrence of epithets like *raddōḍiya* and *raddōḍlu* in connection with the original founders of the temple as stated in this record, is also worthy of note.

⁵ No. 384 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁶ No. 299 of the same collection for 1905.

⁷ Names ending in *pidugu* were common in Pallava times. Perumbidugu was the name of a channel which was dug from the river Pālūr to feed the Paramēśvara tank in the village of Kūram near Conjeeveram, in the time of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I (*South Ind. Insers.*, Vol. I, p. 155). Pagāppidugu was the surname of King Mahendrarvarman I. Māripidugu was the epithet either of a Pallava king named Dantivarman or of one of his subordinates in whose time a well was constructed at Tiruvellāra in the Trichinopoly district. A tank at Ālambākham in the same district was called Māripidugū. Agrapīdugu occurs among the names of the ancestors of the Telugu Chōla chief Śrīlantha who perhaps belonged to the same family as Punyakumāra. According to the *Nandīkkalambakam*, Vidēlpidugu was a surname of the hero of that Tamil poem.

village" The following other forms of *rattagudlu* are also found in the Chōla records of the Cuddapah district (1) *rattodlu*, (2) *rattaguttu* (perhaps the singular form of *rattagudlu*) and (3) *rattādlu*. Further, in some inscriptions, *rattagudi* is found compounded with the name of a royal family, as Salki-Rattakudi, Chalki-Rattagudi, Gagga-Rattagudi, Vallava-Rattagudi, Chōliya-Rattaguttu, and Chōla-Rattōdi. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty Salki or Chalki (i.e. Chalukya), Gagga (Ganga), Vallava (Pallava² or Valabha-Rāshtrakūta) and Chōliya or Chōla, under whose patronage the dignity (*pattam*) of *rattagudi* was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase *rāshtrakūta-pramukhān-lutumbinah*, which occurs in copper plate inscriptions, shows also that the *rāshtrakūtas* were *lutumbins* 'cultivators' (*hudi* in Tamil) who enjoyed a higher social status than others of their community. The Reddis of the Telugu country according to their own account belong to the *Pantakula* 'the cultivating caste' and command much respect. A class of Reddis in the Nizam's Dominions, is still known by the name Radiaddis which appears to me to be a reminiscence of the older honorific *rattōdi*. Thus the Sanskrit *rāshtrakūta* and the modern *reddi* have to be traced to the form *rattagudi* and its variants which were current in the Cuddapah district in the period of the lithic records under discussion¹.

Six other stone epigraphs,² from the Cuddapah district, begin with a short eulogy of the Chōla kings, which is identically the same in all³. The ruling chief is introduced by the general appellation Chōla Mahārāja and not by his proper name. Four allied records refer to an unnamed eldest son (*prathama-priya-putra*) of Vikramāditya Bempanādhirāja,⁴ a Vikramāditya-Chōla-Mahārāja and queen Elañchōla-Mahādēvi⁵ and prince Śatyaditunru, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) Chōla-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya⁶. These are names not mentioned in the genealogical portion of the Mālēpādu plates and consequently their relationship to Punyakumāra, to whose family they must belong, is not certain. The general appellation Chōla-Mahārāja, however, was, according to text line 8, first acquired by Mahēndravikramavarman, the father of Punyakumāra. It is not improbable that the Chōla-Mahārāja mentioned in the six lithic records quoted above, is identical with Mahēndravikramavarman. The province over which these Chōla kings apparently ruled is stated in four records to have been the Rēnāndu seven thousand. One stone epigraph from Mālēpādu (see Postscript, below) adds the district Śiddhi one thousand, perhaps the same as the Siddhant country. A later inscription of the 12th century A.D. from Peddamudiyaṁ,⁷ mentions the Rēnādu seventy, which must have formed a sub-division of the Rēnāndu seven thousand district. Mr Ramayya Pantulu identifies Rēnādu with "the black-soil country which roughly includes large portions of the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, along the valley of the Kundūru river".

The period of the record could only be approximately fixed. The lion crest adopted by the Chōla kings was, as we have seen, already familiar in the 3rd century B.C. It was a Buddhist symbol used also by the Pallavas of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era and

¹ For a detailed criticism on the terms *ratta* and *rāshtrakūta* see above, Vol VII, p. 221 f. A similar development of the title *Gauda* from the earlier *grāma-kūta*, *gāmauda* has been maintained by Dr Fleet, *ibidem*, p. 183.

² Nos 403, 406 and 408 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904, No 352 of the collection for 1905 and Nos 466 and 517 of the collection for 1906.

³ This eulogy runs as follows — *Seasti śrī ari dūrdhara vara bhuj āsi bhāsura prachanda-pradyōta-Dinakara-kula-nandana Kāśyapa gōtra Karikāl ānvaya*—'Hail! Prosperity' (Chōla Mahārāja) who is resplendent with an excellent sword in hand which his enemies could not oppose, who gladdens the family of the Sun whose rays are powerful, who belongs to the Kāśyapa gōtra (and) to the family of Karikāla.

⁴ No 403 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁵ No 400 of the same collection.

⁶ No 393 of the same collection. The text of this record with translation is published below, in a postscript.

⁷ No 350 of the same collection for 1905 (below p. 344, n. 2). Inscriptions of the 16th century A.D. at Peddamudiyaṁ and Dombara Nandyāla refer to the country in which these villages were situated as Rēnāta-Sīma in the Ghandukōṭa rājya.

by the Viṣṇukundin family of about the 7th century A D. Again the adoption by Puṇyakumāra and his ancestors of titles and names which were current among the Pallava kings of the Simhaviṣṇu line, makes it probable that they were either the subordinates of those Pallavas or succeeded them politically in, at least, a portion of their extensive territory. Besides, the existence of a kingdom called Chu-li-ye in the time of the Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang (640 A D)¹ somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu-Chōla records, is conclusive proof "that this kingdom existed in the 7th century A D." Allowing thus a little more than a century to the five rulers from Nandivarman to Puṇyakumāra, the date of the Mālēpādu plates may roughly be referred to about the end of the 8th century A D which is also the period determined by palæographical evidence.

The connection that existed between these Telugu-Chōlas of the Cuddapah district and the Tamil Chōlas of Tanjore, both of whom claim Karikāla as their ancestor, is not clear. After a more or less independent rule in Rēnāṇḍu for about a century or two, the Chōlas of Cuddapah appear to have dispersed. Some of them became subordinate to the Western Chālukyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country.² A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōṭa under the Nāgavamśi king [Dhāravarsha] Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa-Mahārāja (A D 1060-61).³ In the 12th and 13th centuries there flourished in the Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Chōla (now changed into Telugu-Chōḍa) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatīyas of Warangal.⁴ The Kākatīyas themselves trace their descent from the sun and count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla-Chōla.⁵ In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Chōlas. Even as late as the 16th century A D, Chōla chiefs with the traditionary legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Urayūr⁶ are found serving as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate

- 1 ⁸Jayati dhrita-chandra rēkh[ō] vi[pul-ā]mala-tāraka[h] śubh-ālōka[h] [!]
gagana-
- 2 m=iva suprasanna[h Tri]pura-pratīma[!]⁹la-kamta-hā[gam]rah⁹ || Dinakara-
kula-Manda-

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, p. 49

² A Kanarese record (No 350 of 1905) of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI dated in Śaka 1046 (= A D 1124-25) mentions the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Atyana Chōlamahārāja whose eulogy begins with the very same passage as in the earlier Chōla records of the Cuddapah district under reference. Pedda mudiyam, the village from which it comes, is described as "the jewel of villages, the great *agrahāra* Mudivēma, where resided one hundred and fifty pious (Brāhmanas) who were well versed in Vēdas and Purānas, in penance and in devotion to Nārāyaṇa and who were the lotus tank (as it were), in which the Mahārājādhirāja Viṣṇuvardhana and others had their birth." The last adjunct is explained by Mr Ramayya Pantulu to be a clear reference to the birth of Viṣṇuvardhana at Mudivēmu mentioned in the mythological account of the later Eastern Chālukya copper plates.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 112

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, p. 17 f

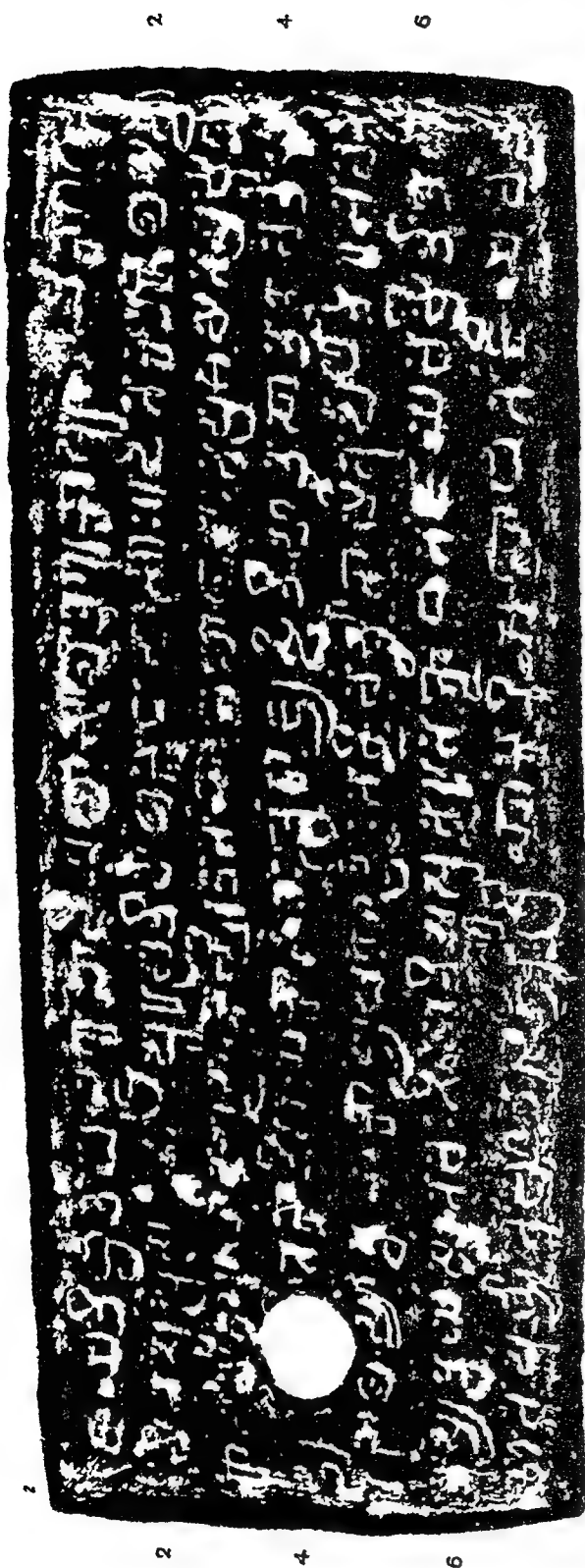
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106, paragraph 44

⁶ The title 'lord of Urayūr (Oreyūr)' assumed by the Telugu Chōḍa chiefs occurs for the first time in the Bastar record of Chandrādityadēva of the 11th century A D. Earlier Chōla inscriptions from Cuddapah do not speak of Oreyūr.

⁷ From the original plates

⁸ A faint symbol for Ōm is visible at the beginning of the line.

⁹ Metre: Āryā Giti. Read -*kanthagō hārah*. The adjectives which qualify *hārah* 'the necklace' (of Śiva), are applicable also to *gagana* 'the sky' to which the necklace is compared. In the first case the necklace is made up of beads resembling the digit of the moon and of pearls big and bright, it is also auspiciously brilliant and flawless. The sky is the seat of the digit of the moon, full of big and bright stars, full also of good lustre shed by the stars and clear. It may be noted that *Chandrahāra* in Kanarese means 'a necklace of flat moon like (circular) gold beads'.



16

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- 3 r-ācha[la*]-Mandāru(ra)-pādapasya Kāvēra-tanayā-[vē]l-ō[l*]lamghana-
praśamana-pramukh-ā-
4 dy-anēka-ātśāya-kārinah trairāja-sūhṛtīm=ātmasāt=kritavatah Ka-
5 rikālasya=ānvayō Kāśyapa-gōtrah Nandivarmanā nāma nripatir=ab-
bhavat [l*]
6 Tasya traya[s*]=[sū]navah [Simha]vishṇu[s*]-Sundarana[ndō]
Dhanamjayavarman=ēti [l*] Tō [pu]-
7 [tr-ā]nu[pu]try=ānubhūta-rāja-śrīyah [l*] Kaniya[sō] Dhanamjayavarman=

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 nah putrah paṃprāpta-Chōla-Mahārāja-śabdah [Śabda-śāstr-ā]-
9 dy-anēka-pāragah Pāndya-Chōla-Kēralānām=adhipatih [l*] Tasya
10 śrī-Muditaśīlakshara-Navarām-ādy-anēka-nāmadhēya-
11 Mahēndra-sama-vikramasya Mahēndravikramavarmanah putrah Gu-
12 namuditō nāma nripatir=a[bha]va[t] [l*] Tasya priyō bhrātā Pō-
13 rmukharāma-Purushaśārdūla-Mardavachitta-Madanavilās-ādy-anē-
14 ka-nāmadhēyah śrīmā[n-Pu]nyakumārō nāma nripatir=a-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 [bha]va[t] || Asau Hiranya-rāshtra-[sa]hitā[n=sva]-rāshtra-nivāsina=sa-
16 rvvān=ittham=ājñāpayati [l*] Veditam=astu vō [=]smābhīh pravarddha[mā]-
17 na-vijaya-rāja-samvatsarē pañchamē varṭimānē Kārtti-
18 ka-[pau]rnamāsyān=tithau Kottikuldarāja-vijñāpanayā
19 Ātrēya-[gō]trāya [Chi]ruvana[hala]-Kēśavaśarmmanē Hira-
20 nya-rāshtrō Supra[yō]ga-nadyā dakṣiṇa-tirō Birapāru-nāma-
21 grāmah [ta]sya grāmasya dakṣiṇa-pūrvvasyām diśi rāja-

Third Plate

- 22 mānēna dvā-pañchavimsati-nivarttanō¹ kshētrō sarvva-
23 bādhā-kara-parihāran=dattō² || Abbhīr=ddattam ³ttribhīr=bhuktam
24 sadbhīś=cha paṃpūlitam [l*] ētāni na nivarttanō pūrvva-
25 rāja-kṛitāni cha || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō
26 haiēta vasundharām [l*] shashti-varsha-sahasrāni vi-
27 shthāyām [jāyatē] kṛimih || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ ||

POSTSCRIPT

TEXT. ⁴*First Face*

- 1 © Svasti śrī-Chōla-Ma-
2 h[ā]rājādhirāja pa-
3 ramēśvara Vikramādi-
4 tya Śaktikomara Vi-
5 kramādity[ā]ula koduk[u-
6 l] Kāśyapa-g[ō]tru-
7 [nru] Śatyaditunru Śiddhi-
8 [vey]u Rēnāndu-ēlu[vē-

¹ Read -nivarttanam kshētram² Read =dattam³ Read tribhīr=⁴ No 393 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904. The characters are quite similar to those of the Ajapa inscriptions of Udayāvara (above, Vol. IX, pp 15 24), which Prof Hultzsch assigns to about A D 800. It deserves to be noted that the record is written from the bottom upwards like the Amarāvati pillar inscription of Simhavarmā (above, Vol IX, p 43 and Plate) and one of the sides of the Bezwāda pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1910, p 82.)

- 9 la] čluchun¹ Ko[ma-
 10 ri]pāra-Rēvaśa-
 11 [rmma] Kāśyapa-gō-
 12 [t]ri(tru)ni(ni)ki ichchina .
 13 Chirumbūri² utta-
 14 4a tu(tū)rpunni diśa
 15 [d]u Juggi-pola-ga[ra]-
 16 su da[kshi]na-[diśa] .
 17 pāra [ma]

Second Face

- 18 čnu marutru-gā-
 19 nu tāgiri [l*] Dē(di)ni
 20 salpinavānikī
 21 vč-gn[l]ava vč-se-
 22 ravula včānṛ-u(ū)-
 23 rlu nilpinam³ punyam-
 24 bu [l*]diuiki vakrambu
 25 vachchuva(vā)ṇṛu putra-va-
 26 dya(dha)-stī-vadya(dha)-[gō-va]-
 27 dya(dha)-pañcha-ma[ha-
 28 pū]takañ=chcī[na]-
 29 vāni loka[m*][bu-
 30 n=u]n[du*]vāṇṛu ©

TRANSLATION. ⁴

Hail! Śatyaditunru (Śatyāditya) of the Kāśyapa gōtra, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Chōla-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, while ruling the Śiddhi one thousand and the Rēnādu seven thousand (*districts*), gave to Rēvaśarmma of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, (*a resident*)⁵ of Komaripāra, five *marutru*⁶ (of land) at Chirumbūru . on the north side . east side . the boundary of the fields of Juggi; (*on*) the south side . To him that maintains this (*charity*), (*shall accrue*) the merit of establishing a thousand temples, a thousand tanks (and) a thousand villages! He that obstructs this, shall live in the world of him who commits the five great sins (*such as*) the murder of a son, the murder of a woman (*and*) the murder of a cow!

¹ The vowel sign for *u* is added, though wrongly, to the compound letter *nr*.

² The *anuscāra* which is to be connected with *ru* is placed over the letter *bū* which follows it. This peculiar position of the *anuscāra* is often found in the Telugu records of this period. The pronunciation intended may be either Chirumbūru or Chirubūru (the modern Chilamkūru near the Kalamalla railway station). The latter possibility is supported by the system of spelling generally followed in Prakrit manuscripts where an *anuscāra* placed at the top of any letter has the effect of doubling the preceding letter. The similar position of the *anuscāra* in the words *punyanbu* and *vakrambu* (l. 23 f) cannot be explained in the same way. ³ Read *nilpina*.

⁴ The subjoined is only a tentative translation of the inscription. Its peculiarities of orthography, grammar and idiom require independent study and discussion. I could only here draw particular attention to the use of *nr* for *ndu*, *ndi*, the use of the Dravidian *l* for *l*, the wrong forms *gōtriniki* for *gōtriniki* (l. 12) and *dēni* for *dini* (l. 19), the addition of the genitive suffix to the qualifying adjective instead of to the noun (ll. 10 to 12), the use of the expletive suffix *vu* in *vč-gu||vu* (l. 21), the ungrammatical *včānṛ-ūṇṛu* for *vč-vū||u* and the word *vadya* for *vadha*. Again, I am unable to explain the phrase *čnu marutru-gānu tāgiri* in l. 18 f.

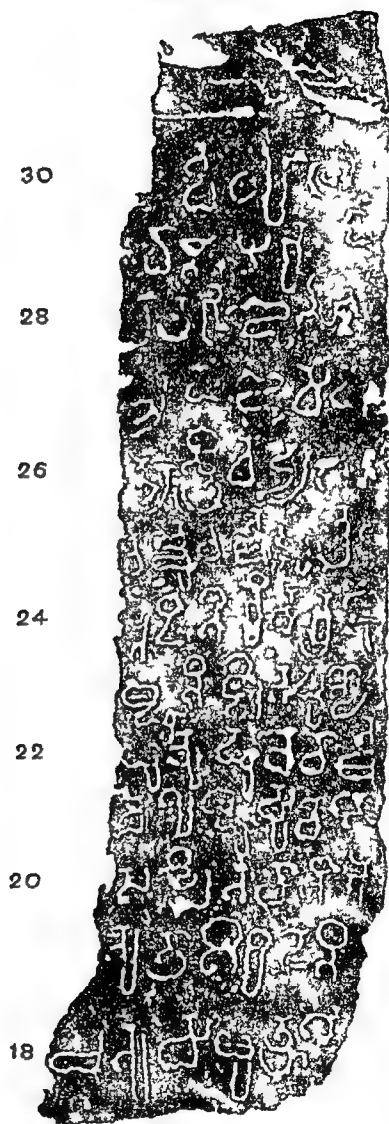
⁵ *Marutru* is evidently the plural of *marutu*, which again is a corruption of the Kanarese *mattar*, *mattaru* 'a measure of land.'

Malepadu stone inscription of Satyaditya

First Face



Second Face



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¹ The figures refer to pages; n after a figure, to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district, division, *do* = date, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *f* = female, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *sur* = surname, *ts* = temple, *vi* = village, town, *W* = Western

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